

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

Prepared and revised by D. Claszen

Volume I: Introduction

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Abbreviations

AL	<i>Annales Laureshamenses</i>
AM	<i>Annales Mosellani</i>
AMP	<i>Annales Mettenses Priores</i>
ARF	<i>Annales Regni Francorum</i>
ASGW	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Philologisch-Historische Classe
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale
BOD	<i>Bedae Venerabilis opera. Pars VI: Opera didascalica.</i> Vol. 2, C.W. Jones ed. (Turnhout 1977).
BOT	<i>Bedae opera de temporibus,</i> C.W. Jones ed. (Cambridge 1943).
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
CM	<i>Chronica Maiora</i>
CMM	<i>Chronicon Moissiacense Maius</i>
CMM I	<i>Chronicon Moissiacense Maius</i> , Volume I: Introduction
CMM II	<i>Chronicon Moissiacense Maius</i> , Volume II: Text Edition
CSLMA	<i>Clavis scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi: auctores Galliae, 735-987,</i> Marie- Hélène Jullien and Françoise Perelman ed. (Turnhout 1999).
CPL	<i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum qua in Corpus Christianorum edendum optimas quasque scriptorum recensiones a Tertulliano ad Bedam,</i> Eligius Dekker and Aemilius Gaar ed. (Turnhout 1995).
CCSL	<i>Corpus christianorum series latina</i> (Turnhout 1953-).
CU-741	<i>Chronicon Universale 741</i>
CSEL	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i> (Vienna etc. 1866-).
DCD	Augustine, <i>De civitate Dei</i> , B. Dombart and A. Kalb ed. CCSL 47-48 (1955).
DTR	<i>De Temporum Ratione</i>
FDG	Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte
HGF	<i>Historia vel Gesta Francorum</i>
HGL	Histoire générale de Languedoc
KBR	Bibliothèque royale de Belgique
LHF	<i>Liber Historiae Francorum</i>

MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
AA	Auctores antiquissimi
Poetae	Poetae latini medii aevi
Schriften	Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica
SRG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
SRM	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
SS	Scriptores
MPL	Jacques-Paul Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i> . 221 Vols. (1844-1855, 1862-1865 Paris).
NA	Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
<i>Recueil</i>	M. Bouquet, <i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> . 23 vols. (Paris 1738-1776).
<i>Scriptorium</i>	<i>Scriptorium: Revue internationale des études relative aux manuscrits</i>

Sigla

AA	BN lat. 5941.
B	Besançon, bibl. mun. 186.
Br	Brussels, KBR, 17349-60.
Duch.	Rome, BAV, MS Reg. Lat. 213, fols. 149-151. (Duchesne Fragment)
FrV	Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 515. (Vienna Fragment)
Mu	Munich, BSB Clm 246.
P	Paris, BN lat. 4886.
S	Leiden, Scaliger 28.
StP	Sankt Paul, Stiftsarchiv, cod. 8/1.

Preface

Originally intended as a PhD dissertation, the late J.M.J.G. Kats had completed an extraordinary amount of work on this introduction and edition of the *Chronicon Moissiacense Maius* in a remarkably short period of time. When the revision and completion of his manuscript fell to me, the introduction already counted roughly 155 pages and the edition seemed almost finished. However, revising and publishing a posthumous manuscript is never an easy task. New evidence had made certain theories untenable, whereas practical matters demanded the correction of other segments.

The original text featured a layout of four chapters, but themes and subjects ran throughout this layout in a flowing narrative. Though there was a certain substance to this presentation, it was rather impractical to maintain as it forced avoidable repetition on the text of the introduction. Formerly, the first chapter had the character of an introduction; the second chapter explored the authors of CMM and their backgrounds, while the third chapter delved into their sources. The fourth, very extensive chapter, featured another introduction and covered previous editions, all the manuscripts, the chronology, Latinity, and presentation of the edition. The current introduction features parts from the original first and fourth chapters. Chapters one and three derive solely from the fourth chapter. Although the second chapter also depends to a large degree on text from the fourth chapter, it has been amended with material from the original first two chapters. The current fourth and fifth chapters correspond to the original second and third chapters; the last three chapters all present segments of the original fourth chapter. Each chapter was revised or reordered so as to fit into the new composition.

The introduction and all the chapters have been partly rewritten to accommodate the latest scholarly works. Originally, Kats had persuasively argued throughout his text for a Moissac origin of the *Chronicon Moissiacense Maius*, hence the title. However, in light of new evidence this theory could no longer be plausibly defended. This meant that extensive segments of all chapters had to be rewritten or sometimes had to be left out entirely. However, the title has been retained; the chronicle in BN lat. 4886 is still widely known as the *Chronicon Moissiacense* and selecting an entirely different title would only be confusing. Other extensive revisions and additions from my hand include the reviewed contents of BN lat. 4886, BN lat. 5941 and Clm 246; an updated stemma based on a larger pool of evidence; a slightly expanded third and fourth chapter; the addition of a Trojan origin myth in the fifth, and a more substantive exploration of a Roman connection in the sixth chapter. The eighth

chapter has been enlarged and was partly translated from Dutch to English. Finally, the bibliography has been updated and was, in the process, adapted to a new format.

Smaller revisions were made throughout the entire text. The addition of more material and secondary literature is most visible in the annotation. Many of the large number of footnotes had been left unfinished. Where possible these omissions have been completed and the annotation was expanded with about another hundred footnotes. Wherever necessary, sigla and abbreviations were introduced and streamlined.

The edition proper was already remarkably accurate and little had to be changed in terms of content. The main improvements here concerned the completion of the endnotes and critical apparatus, and a revision of the layout of the apparatus. Most of the endnotes had only been done cursorily without reference to sources; these have now been completed. The critical apparatus was a work in progress and somewhat impractical in its original form. Many old entries deemed superfluous by Kats and had been marked in red, to be removed in the future, whereas yellow segments referred to an unsure reading. The red entries have now been deleted and the yellow marked entries have been revised together with the entire text; some yellow markers remain to signal my own uncertain reading. Originally it was difficult to differentiate between each separate entry in the apparatus; additional space between each entry now facilitates a clear overview. During a complete review of CMM's sources, numerous entries in the apparatus have been revised and additional layout improvements – bold type for sources, Roman type for variations – were added. Lastly, the pages of the edition had to be revised. Some were almost blank whereas others were filled to the brim and overburdened by the addition of space to clear up the format.

Because of time constraints some parts of the edition were left unfinished while other parts of the introduction beg to be expanded. The largest remaining task concerns the careful review of the collation of all the manuscripts associated with BN lat. 4886; at the moment I have only reviewed the transcription of BN lat. 4886 on the basis of a photocopy of the codex. Completing this review would necessitate a visit to the various archives where the manuscripts are stored. Chapters four, five and six deserve to be expanded with a closer study of each of their respective topics. Finally, as I am not a specialist of medieval Latin, chapter seven would require additional attention so as to adequately distinguish the peculiarities of the various manuscripts. Kats had already intended to accompany this chapter with a comparison of the Latin of the various manuscripts of CMM, as well as a comparison with the Latin used in Fredegar's *Chronicles*, the *Liber Historiae Francorum*, and the *Annales*

Laureshamenses. Especially the last comparison might provide valuable insight into which version of the *Annales Laureshamenses* was used.

Completing a posthumous manuscript is not entirely alien to a historian's methods. A manuscript whose original author can no longer defend himself demands a fair and charitable interpretation, an effort to come to an understanding of the author's ideas and intentions, and to present them as sensible as possible in light of new scientific evidence. I hope to have succeeded in this task. Of course, any remaining faults or inaccuracies are entirely my own.

David Claszen

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Introduction

Written in the second half of the eleventh century, the codex preserved under catalogue number BN lat. 4886 in the Bibliothèque Nationale is still in rather good condition. From folio 2v to 54v it contains a universal chronicle that narrates the events from Adam up until a few years after Charlemagne's death. Described by the library catalogue as a 'Liber chronicorum Bedani, Presbyteri, famuli Christi', it has become better known as the *Chronicle of Moissac*, named after the place it had first been discovered, the abbey of Moissac.¹ The chronicle is a fascinating and unique historical work that offers accounts of the Franco-Moorish confrontations and events in the north from 803 to 818 which are otherwise unavailable.² Moreover, it contains the first universal chronicle that narrates the history of the world from Creation well into the mature years of the Carolingians.³ In the same library a closely related codex is stored under reference BN lat. 5941. Its first text, a set of annals, is listed as 'Genealogia, ortus, vel actus Caroli, atque piissimi Imperatoris' and covers the period from 670 to 840.⁴ For its frequent reference to the monastery of Aniane this document is often referred to as the *Aniane Annals*.

Scholars have had difficulties adequately distinguishing these two texts ever since they were edited and published. They have denoted the last part of the Moissac text and the *Aniane Annals* indiscriminately as the *Chronique de Moissac* or the *Moissac Chronicle*, and although the *Aniane Annals* are commonly indicated as annals, they have also been referred to as the Aniane Chronicle.⁵ Both texts share a common ancestor, but it should be stressed

¹ Anicetus Melot ed., *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae. Codices manuscriptos latinos*. Vol. 4 (Paris 1744) 13. The complete description is: 'Liber chronicorum Bedani, Presbyteri, famuli Christi; sive potiùs chronicon ex Hieronymo, Augustino, Ambrosio, Isidoro, Orosio, Josepho, Rufino, Marcellino Comite, & Beda Presbytero concinnatum, & à creatione mundi ad annum Christi 818 productum: porrò illud chronicon vulgò Moysiaccense appellatur.'

² According to some these unique entries in P served as a continuation to the *Annales Laureshamenses*. Wattenbach, Levison and Löwe, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter II*, 188, 265-266.

³ Other attempts in later decennia of the ninth century to achieve comparable historiographical results are reflected in the composition of texts or text communities. Typical examples are the Gregory-Fredegar hybrids so called by Collins, 'The Frankish Past and the Carolingian Present', 317. They consist of a restructured version of the *Decem libri* in nine books, to which a tenth book was added that contained the fourth book of Fredegar and the first 24 chapters of the Continuations. They are found in most of the codices of the Fredegar manuscripts of class 5. Another example can be found in the codex Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 473. It contains a combination of the first 43 chapters of the *Liber Historiae Francorum*, the first 24 chapters of the Fredegar Continuations and the *Annales Regni Francorum*.

⁴ Melot ed., *Catalogus codicum*, 179. In full: 'Genealogia, ortus, vel actus Caroli, atque piissimi Imperatoris; sive potiùs chronicon Anianense, ab anno 670 ad an. 821 decimo tertio faeculo exaratum.'

⁵ *Extrait des Annales d'Aniane*, Claude DeVic and Joseph Vaissete ed., HGL Vol. 2, Preuves (Toulouse 1875) 1-12. The title *Chronicon Moysiaccense* is in use since the current MGH edition by Pertz. Gabriel Monod protested against the way his German colleague, Wilhelm Wattenbach, had confused the chronicle and the annals in the latest edition of *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*. Monod criticized that neither of

that they are nonetheless very different works. The Moissac text has been compiled according to the principles of a medieval universal chronicle and offers a rich compilation, structured from a great variety of sources. The annals, on the other hand, provide an account of Charlemagne's ascent and life. It is a reproduction of an ancestor of the Moissac text, heavily interpolated with passages taken from Einhard's *Vita Karoli*. Whereas the chronicle covers the history of the world from creation to the first years of the reign of Louis the Pious, the annals cover only the history of the Carolingian rulers from 670 to 840. The Moissac text breathes the spirit of a monastic metropolis and shows great interest in the affairs of the world; the Aniane text is a local product and focuses much on the Spanish March. They nevertheless share a substantial amount of text and constitute the only witnesses of an otherwise lost source.

The difficulties experienced in merely differentiating the two manuscripts had been long in the making. The very first editor of the Moissac chronicle, André Duchesne (1584-1640), included only the last part of the text while using someone else's transcription.⁶ Although Duchesne did not forgo to present his text as excerpts, later editors had little qualm about ignoring this note and gradually the notion of a partial edition disappeared. Another common oversight originates from a gap in the manuscript. One or two folios dealing with the years from 717 to 776 are missing. Not long after the discovery and publication of the *Aniane Annals* the French Benedictine and historian, Martin Bouquet (1685-1745), published a new edition of the Moissac text for which he used the Aniane text to fill the gap, the result of which he titled the *Chronique de Moissac*.⁷

Later editions fared not much better. Heinrich Pertz included the Moissac narrative in his MGH publications but he omitted to correct the mistakes of his predecessors. Deeming both texts to be identical he based his edition on the Aniane manuscript and the previous Moissac editions by Bouquet and Duchesne.⁸ When he visited Paris in 1827 he was the first editor to lay eyes on codex BN lat. 4886, but he did not think it necessary to revise his work. He declared to be satisfied with what he had done and left his edition mostly unchanged.⁹ The erroneous nature of these early editions did not go unnoticed and during the last fifty years

the descriptions supplied by Wattenbach offered an adequate reflection of their source material. G. Monod, *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature* 67 Deuxième Semestre (18 October 1873) 253-263, here 262.

⁶ *Excerpta Chronici Veteris*, A. Duchesne ed., *Historiae Francorum scriptores*. Vol. 3 (Paris 1641) 130-148.

⁷ *Chronique de Moissac*, M. Bouquet ed., *Recueil*. Vol. 3 (Paris 1738) xviii, 647-656.

⁸ *Chronicon Moissiacense*, G.H. Pertz ed., MGH SS I (Hannover 1826) 280-312.

⁹ He slightly revised his text concerning the years 803-813. *Ex Chronico Moissiacense*, G.H. Pertz ed., MGH SS II (Hannover 1929) 256-259.

calls for a closer analysis of the relationship between the two texts have surfaced.¹⁰ In 2000 Walter Kettemann published his *Subsidia Anianensia*, the result of vast research on St Benedict of Aniane, the monastery of Aniane, and Benedict's monastic reforms. Kettemann's work constitutes the first serious attempt to chart the transmission of a group of texts to which both BN lat. 4886 and BN lat. 5941 belong. His synoptic edition of both texts allows for an easy and clear comparison. Only the *Aniane Annals* are fully published however; the first section of the Moissac text is left out.¹¹ For sake of brevity, from here on out the chronicle in BN lat. 4886 will be referred to as P, the set of annals in BN lat. 5941 as AA. The title, *Chronicon Moissiacense Maius*, or CMM, refers to the edition, which is mainly based on P and AA, but also on an older group of manuscripts explored in section 1.3.

Before Kettemann, both P and AA had not received the attention they deserved, but their importance for Carolingian history was undeniable and scholars had to deal with these texts one way or another. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century P and AA became entangled with a debate on the origins of a wide group of Carolingian annals. By then both codices were firmly melted into one text, Pertz's *Chronicon*, which did little to facilitate the efforts.¹² P and AA were mainly involved as possible witnesses of one or more 'Verlorene Werke'. The debate more or less ended with Kurze who argued for as much as three of such lost texts.¹³ Meanwhile others looked to P and AA as evidence for either a lost southern or

¹⁰ Patrick Geary wrote on the Moissac text that '(...) bien que le texte du *CM* comporte de nombreux traits septimaniens, son origine et l'histoire de l'unique manuscrit qui contient le texte sont restées un mystère'. P. Geary, 'Un fragment récemment découvert du *Chronicon Moissiacense*', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 136 (1978) 69-73. Philippe Buc remarked that 'A full analysis of the relationship between Paris BNF, Latin 4886 ('Moissac') and 5941 ('Aniane') remains to be done; it may lead to the reconstruction of their common archetype.' P. Buc, 'Ritual and Interpretation: the early medieval case', *Early Medieval Europe* 9.2 (2000) 183-210, here 204. See also: Wilhelm Wattenbach, Wilhelm Levison and Heinz Löwe, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter, III: Die Karolinger vom Tode Karls des Grossen bis zum Vertrag von Verdun* (Weimar 1957) 347; Ludwig Falkenstein, *Der »Lateran« der karolingischen Pfalz zu Aachen* (Cologne 1966) 22-30; Ernst Tremp, *Studien zu den Gesta Hludowici imperatoris des Thrierer Chrobischofs Thegan*. MGH Schriften 32 (Hannover 1988) 23.

¹¹ Walter Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia: Überlieferungs- und textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Witiza-Benedikts, seines Klosters Aniane und zur sogenannten »anianischen Reform«* 2 Vols. (Duisburg; dissertation 2000).

¹² Particularly von Simson's painstaking textual comparison between Pertz's edition and Munich BSB Clm 246, a manuscript closely related to P, clearly shows the difficulties he encountered when trying to lay bare the connections between the texts without having recourse to the manuscript of P. Bernhard von Simson, 'Die überarbeitete und bis zum Jahre 741 fortgesetzte Chronik des Beda', *FDG* 19 (1879) 97-135, there 107-115.

¹³ Friedrich Kurze, 'Über die karolingischen Reichsannalen von 741-829 und ihre Überarbeitung. I. Die handschriftliche Überlieferung', *NA* 19 (1894) 295-339, 'II. Quellen und Verfasser des ersten Teiles', *NA* 20 (1894) 295-339, 'III. Die zweite Hälfte und die Überarbeitung', *NA* 21 (1896) 9-78; idem, 'Die karolingischen Annalen des achten Jahrhunderts', *NA* 25 (1900) 291-315; idem, 'Die verlorene Chronik von S. Denis (-805), ihre Bearbeitungen und die daraus abgeleiteten Quellen', *NA* 28 (1903) 9-35. For a short summary: Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 35-36. Pückert summarised much of the early debate and provides a lengthy analysis of the connections between the Verlorenen Werke and other Carolingian works, including P and AA.

Aquitanian source.¹⁴ Until Kettemann, Monod's call to hypothesize a common southern source for P and AA had been largely ignored, though the Septimanian character of P had already been noted by Pückert.¹⁵

A new and complete edition of P is due for multiple reasons. First of all, the textual reproduction of the original has never been done properly and the manuscript has never been edited as a whole. The errors, corrections and reconstructions of its editors have mostly distorted the original; so much so that it has become a complicated matter to even identify many passages of the Pertz edition with their equivalents in BN lat. 4886. The current edition by Pertz is unreliable for both linguistic purposes as well as orthographical comparison with contemporary sources, even if one makes use of the (rather inconvenient) text-critical notes. Kettemann's diplomatic edition, while a great improvement on Pertz, covers P only from folio 43v onwards. Furthermore, since Pertz's edition several new manuscripts belonging to the same tradition as BN lat. 4886 have been found and analysed, which Kettemann also takes into account only cursorily.¹⁶ Four of them (Leiden Scaliger 28, Brussels KBR Ms. 17349-60, BSB Clm 246 and Besançon bibl. mun. 186) are closely related to the text of P until the year 741, while a fifth, the codex Stiftsbibl. St Paul 8/1, covers most of the last part of P.¹⁷ Each of these is of unique text-critical value and they are much closer to the common archetype than the Pertz edition.¹⁸ To come to a full understanding of the base text and to provide solid support for a new edition it is necessary to consult these manuscripts as well. Also, it is too simple a solution to just resort to BN lat. 5941 to fill the lacuna of the missing folios in BN lat. 4886, as Bouquet and Pertz had done. For the period up to 741 the four manuscripts just mentioned have to be taken into account.

Wilhelm Pückert, 'Über die kleine Lorscher Frankenchronik (Annales Laurissenses minores), ihre verlorene Grundlage und die Annales Einharti', in: *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Leipzig. Philologisch-Historische Classe* 36 (1884) 106-190.

¹⁴ Robert Dorr argued for an Aquitanian source and followed up his claim by publishing two works, which amongst others drew on AA and P, and which he titled the *Chronicon Aquitanicum* and *Annales Aquitanici*. Robert Dorr, *De Bellis Francorum cum Arabis gestis usque ad obitum Karoli Magni* (Königsberg 1861).

¹⁵ Monod, *Revue critique d'histoire*, 262; Pückert, 'Über die kleine Lorscher Frankenchronik', 152-153.

¹⁶ For his edition Kettemann made use of Dorr's *Chronicon Aquitanicum* and *Annales Aquitanici*, as well as the *Chronicon Universale 741*, G. Waitz ed., MGH SS XXIII (Hannover 1881) 1-715. The Besançon manuscript has not been covered by any of these publications.

¹⁷ These witnesses have been noted and described by Jaffé, von Simson, and Waitz, all in the last part of the nineteenth century. For Waitz, see the next page. P. Jaffé, 'Über die Handschrift Leid. Scal. 28', in: T. Mommsen ed., *Die Chronik des Cassiodorus Senator vom J. 519 n. Chr.* Beilage II. ASGW 8 (Leipzig 1861) 677-683; Simson, 'Die überarbeitete und bis zum Jahre 741 fortgesetzte Chronik des Beda', 97-135.

¹⁸ For 'archetype' I use the definition as given by Dain: the oldest witness of the tradition, in which the text of the author is preserved in the form transmitted to us. A. Dain, *Les manuscrits* (Paris 1975) 108.

Finally, the collation of the other manuscripts can serve to clarify current editions of related works. These include the *Chronicon Universale 741* (CU-741), the *Annales Laureshamenses* (AL) and AA. P has considerable overlaps with all three. Waitz used four manuscripts – Scaliger 28, Clm 246, Bruxelles 17351 and P – for his 1881 edition of the *Chronicon Universale 741*.¹⁹ This CU-741 presented a new narrative, hailed by Waitz as the first universal chronicle of Carolingian times since Fredegar. But, just as Duchesne had not edited the complete chronicle of BN lat. 4886, neither had Waitz – he selected only a part of the texts at his disposal and, with some regret, left the greater part unpublished.²⁰ The edition is still in use and there is no fundamental reason for a revision. However, a comparison with P produces many differences not noted by Waitz, some of which are significant. The real improvement over his edition, however, will consist of the additional use of the Besançon manuscript. So far the Besançon manuscript has not been collated.²¹

The complicated text of the *Annales Laureshamenses* would also benefit from a CMM edition. The first AL edition was made by Aemilianus Ussermann (d. 1794) in 1790, using a manuscript now known as the codex Stiftsbibliothek St Paul 8/1.²² Pertz saw reasons to revise Ussermann's edition for his MGH edition and drew on the only other two extant manuscripts, both fragments, which Ussermann did not consult. Pertz had no success in tracing Ussermann's manuscript and he was forced to take Ussermann's edition at face value. For a long time this remained the standard edition.²³ In 1889 Eberhard Katz claimed to have identified the Ussermann codex in the library of the abbey of St Paul in Carinthia. He compared it with Pertz' edition and after he discovered numerous errors Pertz had reproduced from Ussermann's edition, he decided to author a revised edition.²⁴ Katz used the *Chronicon Moissiacense* of Pertz for support, believing it to be identical to the text in BN lat. 4886. The edition of CMM presented here allows for a proper comparison of the two texts.

The third edition under review concerns the *Aniane Annals*. Its first edition, published in 1730 by Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, was for a long time the only edition that

¹⁹ The latter two had been collated for him by Johannes Heller. *Chronicon Universale 741*, Waitz ed., 1-19.

²⁰ *Chronicon Universale 741*, Waitz ed., 3.

²¹ Already more than a century ago Léopold Delisle recommended that whoever wished to know more about the composition of the Moissac chronicle should pay close attention to the Besançon codex. Léopold Delisle, 'Note sur un manuscrit interpolé de la chronique de Bède, conservé à Besançon.', *Bibliothèque de L'école des Chartes* 56 (1895) 528-536.

²² *Germaniae Sacrae Podromus seu Collectio Momumentorum Res Alemanicas Illustrantium* 1, Aemilianus Ussermann ed. (St Blasien, Carinthia 1790).

²³ *Annales Laureshamenses*, G.H. Pertz ed., MGH SS I (Hannover 1926) 19-39.

²⁴ *Annalium Laureshamensium editio emendata secundum codicem St Paulensem, Separatabdruck von Jahresbericht des Öffentlichen Stiftsuntergymnasium der Benediktiner zu St. Paul*, E. Katz ed. (St Paul 1889).

covered the underlying manuscript correctly, albeit not completely. After that first edition AA was mostly used as a substitute for P. Pertz mishandled its text and discarded many of its interpolations, or only referenced to their sources. Still, it is a unique source for the years during the transition from Merovingian to Carolingian rule for which otherwise little information is left. Kettemann's synoptic edition of AA and the corresponding part of P make the contents of the former completely and clearly accessible for the first time. Nonetheless, because of their relationship, leaving out a collation with AA would detract from the value of this edition and AA remains the only source for the missing folios after 741.

The interpolations in P, shared by some of the other manuscripts mentioned above, proffer another reason for a new edition. Already in the last decennia of the 18th century the large first part of P was recognised to have been grafted on to chapter 66 (*De sex huius saeculi aetatibus*) of Bede's *De Ratione Temporum*.²⁵ P alters this text and expands it with an abundance of interpolations from other sources. Delisle discerned these interpolations and listed Besançon 186 as a 'Bede manuscript'.²⁶ Mommsen did not know this specific manuscript at the time of his Bede edition, but he had recognised and singled out other manuscripts for the same reason. He grouped Scaliger 28, Clm 246 and Bruxelles 17351, as well as the newly discovered Paris BN nouv. acq. lat. 1615 and linked them to P.²⁷ However, he did not consider their interpolations to be of much historical value and only discussed their mutual similarities and differences. He included two series as annexes to his edition of Bede's *Chronica Maiora* (CM): the limited number in BN nouv. acq. lat. 1615 and those of Clm 246 (starting with the reign of Diocletian). For the longer interpolations he only provided their opening and closing words together with a reference to their source. It is strange that he listed only those of BN nouv. acq. lat. 1615 and Clm 246 (and not even all of them) though it is likely that, in line with the MGH-views of his days, he gave no priority to texts that did not directly belong to the edition under preparation.²⁸

Although these manuscripts are far from identical, the same interpolations abound in all but one of them. Moreover, these interpolations occur more often and increase in size as the narrative develops and they are certainly not just minor insertions. Sometimes they fill large parts of a folio or even entire folios. Together they make up around 30% of the text not published by Pertz. They are borrowed from an interesting variety of ancient and early

²⁵ *Beda's Chronica Maiora, AD A. DCCXXV*, T. Mommsen ed., MGH AA XIII (Berlin 1898) 223-356.

²⁶ Delisle, 'Note sur un manuscrit interpolé', 528-536.

²⁷ *Beda's Chronica Maiora*, Mommsen ed., 237-239.

²⁸ R. McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame 2004) 26.

medieval authors. On several occasions they have been composed from multiple parts of fragmented texts and deliberately put in a new order, interwoven with Bede's text or simply put up against his framework. The interpolations do not provide much new information, but taken together in their new composition and in the context of their long preamble to the Merovingian and Carolingian times, they definitely constitute a history quite different to Bede's. Commonly only the Frankish episodes of the manuscript have found their way to publication, but this does little justice to what the compiler wanted to convey. In effect some editors left out more than half of the original text.

A new edition is also useful because of the contextual and historiographical value of CMM taken as a whole. Practically all its sources have been charted before and most of the cited parts have, in one form or another, already been edited, but the precise compilation of these parts can only be studied either from the manuscript itself or from a comprehensive edition. The contextual significance of its composition is not merely derived from a codicologically interesting and historically comprehensive text community but also from its intrinsic value, written as it has been by at least two persons. The first, henceforth referred to as the composer, was responsible for the period up to 741. The second, from here on referred to as the compiler, continued the work of the composer to the year 818.²⁹

The compiler of CMM cannot be credited with the same creativity as the composer of its archetype. In fact, he did little more than copy the whole of that particular text to include it in his own, much more extensive compilation. But the value of the final result can hardly be questioned. To compare, the Vienna codex 475 contains no more (but also no less) than the frequently edited highlights of Carolingian historiography: the *Liber Historiae Francorum* (LHF), the first 24 chapters of the Fredegar continuations, and the *Annales Regni Francorum* (ARF).³⁰ As Reimnitz makes clear, the text is nonetheless of significant interest simply from its codicological composition, linking the said works to each other. The compiler similarly wrote a new book of history on the basis of his sources. He had his own purpose, his own assessment of historical values, and his own audience to which he wanted to convey his text; together they constitute a purpose distinctly different from what his sources, the composer of CMM's archetype, Fredegar, the Lorsch annalist, and others had in mind.

²⁹ For the composer and compiler, see chapter two, section 1.

³⁰ H. Reimnitz, 'Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch aus Saint-Amand und der Codex Vindobonensis palat. 473' in: Christoph Egger and Herwig Wiegl, ed., *Tekst-Schrift-Codex. Quellenkundliche Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (Vienna 1999) 34-90.

The appreciation of the value of this kind of text is of a rather recent date. The views of historians are no longer the same as in the days of Waitz and Mommsen. Roger Collins formulates it best as follows:

It is also worth stressing the methodological points that 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*.³¹

Rosamond McKitterick is probably the most powerful advocate amongst modern historians for a revaluation of such composite texts. Often these texts can teach us as much, or more, than the usually paraded works of history. Their compositional setting may explain what the producer of the text in question wanted his audience to be taught and what perception of history he intended to transmit.

The entire text of each history needs to be assessed, for it is this that can best offer insights into the intellectual world of the early medieval historical writers and compilers and their perspective on and knowledge of, the past. The text created can help us to understand the motives for the selection of particular themes and information.³²

The text of CMM may be considered the first complete Carolingian world chronicle and as such it deserves a thorough approach.

The first chapter below reviews all the manuscripts related to CMM. Continuing with the matter of manuscripts, the second chapter charts their location in the stemma, whereas the third chapter briefly discusses all the previous editions of concern here. The fourth, fifth and sixth chapter delve into the contents of CMM, offering a short introduction and overview to the genre, a review of the sources of CMM, and lastly an analysis of the various chronological systems and their usage. The seventh chapter offers some cautious words on the Latinity of CMM. Finally, the last chapter briefly explains the use of the apparatus.

³¹ R. Collins, ‘The Frankish Past and the Carolingian Present in the Age of Charlemagne’ in: Peter Godman, Jörg Jarnut and Peter Johanek ed., *Am Vorabend der Kaiserkrönung* (Berlin 2002) 301-322, there 321.

³² McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, 4.

Chapter One: The manuscripts

1.1 – Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 4886

This codex, containing the text commonly known as the *Chronicon Moissiacense*, was first found in the abbey of Moissac. Léopold Delisle's detailed account of the history of the French Imperial National Library provides us with a vivid story of the sorry state the once rich possessions of the abbey were encountered in 1676.³³ On behalf of Etienne Baluze, Nicolas-Joseph Foucault had ordered the area of Montauban to be searched for new acquisitions for Minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683). During the preparations Foucault sent a note to Baluze, expressing the hope that he might still find some interesting works after Pierre de Marca, amongst others, had already taken away some of the more curious pieces.³⁴ In 1678 two inventories were made of the documents found in the monastery of Moissac, among them under catalogue number 1463 a detailed account of BN lat. 4886.³⁵ With some exceptions the works were subsequently sold en bloc to Colbert in 1678. After his death in 1683 the codex made its way to the Bibliothèque Nationale where it still resides today.

The codex has generally been dated to the eleventh century based on a list of popes and their pontificates.³⁶ The list was most likely written by a different hand than the rest of the codex, though it is difficult to be certain. Its writing is quite small and terse so as to fit on the rest of folio 67v.³⁷ Each name is followed by a very brief remark on and the length of the pontificate of the respective pope. With some space left on the folio it ends with 'Alexander, qui vocatur Anselmo, ann. X', thus, the tenth year of the pontificate of Pope Alexander II (1061-1073), the year 1071. This date can roughly be used as the *terminus post quem*. It is unlikely that this section was added to the codex at a later time. It fits well with the topic of the previous text, a list of apostles and disciples, and follows this text quite naturally. Both texts start with the same type of rubricated capital.³⁸ It may be assumed that the final round of corrections and the last note on Pope Alexander's reign occurred not long after each other.

³³ L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*. Vol. 1 (Paris 1868) 457.

³⁴ Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*. Vol 1, 457.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, 521-523.

³⁶ J. Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*. Hautes Etudes Médiévales et Modernes 15 (Paris and Genève 1972) 139; Geary, 'Un fragment', 71; Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 503. Only Johannes Heller dated the manuscript to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. However, he consulted the manuscript with the specific purpose of collating it for Waitz and might not have noticed the list. *Chronicon Universale 741*, Waitz ed., 2

³⁷ Kettemann states that after the title and the first eleven words the list is written in a different hand. Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 503.

³⁸ Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 2, XI, note 4.

Much less certainty exists about the provenance of the codex. One lead concerns a small note on the recto side of the first folio, which seems to have served as a makeshift cover already at the time of writing. First quoted by Delisle, the note reads: ‘Iste liber fuit prioris de Rapistagno, monachi monasterii Moysiaccensis’.³⁹ In accordance with this note, scholars and editors have most commonly referred to either the abbey of Moissac or Rabastens as the place of origin. However, neither option is supported by the evidence. Kettemann, before going on to give his own analysis, rightly states that the origins of BN lat. 4886 are completely unknown.⁴⁰ A third possibility was offered by Dobschütz who mistakenly called for Ripoll as a place of origin, referring in fact to BN lat. 5941.⁴¹ Dufour passed on this error when he too mentioned Ripoll as provenance for BN lat. 4886, annotating Dobschütz in his notes.⁴² Roger Collins picked up the baton from Dufour and in turn also referred to Ripoll.⁴³

The note mentioned above is the only evidence that points to Rabastens. Nonetheless, Wilhelm Pückert argued that Rabastens would be more likely than Moissac. According to him, P possesses a Septimanian character and Rabastens was closer to the Septimanian border than Moissac, which is situated more to the west near the Garonne.⁴⁴ But, as Patrick Geary argues, it is unlikely that a monk in the priory of Rabastens would have had access to the rich and numerous historical works necessary for the compilation of P.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the first time the priory of Rabastens is mentioned as a possession of Moissac is in 1240 in a Papal bull of Gregory IX.⁴⁶ If we take into account that the note referring to Rabastens was dated to the fifteenth century it is more likely that the codex was not produced in Rabastens but was moved there sometime before the fifteenth century.

³⁹ Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, 519. Pertz dated this note to the fifteenth century. Dufour dated it, first to the thirteenth century, but in a newer publication also to the fifteenth century. *Ex Chronico Moysiaccense*, Pertz ed., 256; Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*, 17; J. Dufour, ‘La composition de la bibliothèque de Moissac à la lumière d’un inventaire du XVII^e siècle nouvellement découvert’, *Scriptorium* 35 (1981) 175-226, there 194.

⁴⁰ Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 34.

⁴¹ Ernst von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum De Libris recipiendis et non recipiendis* (Leipzig 1912) 159.

⁴² Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*, 17.

⁴³ Roger Collins, *Charlemagne* (New Haven 2003) 6, 176.

⁴⁴ The distance between the two, however, is only about 60 kilometres.

⁴⁵ Patrick Geary makes a lengthy argument against Wilhelm Pückert, whom he thinks argues in favour of a Rabastens origin. Yet Pückert never explicitly concludes for Rabastens; he merely states that it is more likely than Moissac. Geary, ‘Un fragment’, 70-71; Pückert, ‘Über die kleine Lorscher Frankenchronik’, 152-153.

⁴⁶ Axel Müssigbrod, *Die Abtei Moissac 1050-1150: zu einem Zentrum Cluniacensischen Mönchtums in Südwestfrankreich* (Munich 1988) 349. According to Müssigbrod the list of possessions most likely changed little between 1150 and 1250. Rabastens thus could have been a part of Moissac earlier, but probably not as early as 1071.

Regardless of the manuscript's customary name, Moissac is an equally unlikely place of origin. Both Pückert and Philippe Buc remark that Americ de Peyrat, abbot of Moissac (1377-1406) did not use P for his own chronicle. The chronology and subject of the codex would have certainly fitted his needs and he did consult similar works and authors such as the ARF and Einhard.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the evidence of the former possessions of the Moissac library and scriptorium make no mention of P. One note, dated by Delisle to the eleventh century, is very brief and only states that 60 holy texts were present in the *armarium* while 37 other works were kept somewhere else in the monastery.⁴⁸ These other works are listed and consist of missals and similar texts. Another list, written on folio 160v of BN lat. 4871, was dated to the twelfth century by Delisle; date not agreed on by Dufour, who decided on a date in the second half of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth century.⁴⁹ However, apart from some books of Jerome and Pope Gregory the Great nothing in the list hints at available sources for the texts in BN lat. 4886.⁵⁰ Finally, according to the inventory of the Moissac library made by Foucault for Colbert, the abbey had an abundance of historical works at that time, but neither Merovingian nor Carolingian history was well covered.⁵¹

Another place of origin has been offered by Geary, admittedly rather tentatively. Geary found a fragment of a text in a cartulary of the archbishopric of Narbonne written in 1154, describing the synod of Frankfurt of 794.⁵² The text is very similar to a passage in BN lat. 4886 and Geary thus concluded that Narbonne was a likely candidate.⁵³ Apart from evidence pointing elsewhere, Narbonne cannot be invalidated as a possible place of origin, but merely having had a copy or witness of P within the reach of Narbonne is no indisputable proof that BN lat. 4886 was produced there.⁵⁴ However, this Narbonne connection does warrant caution against a Moissac provenance. Had the codex been produced in Moissac, it or a very early copy of (parts of) it would have had to make its way from Moissac to Narbonne

⁴⁷ Pückert, 'Über die kleine Lorscher Frankenchronik', 153; Buc, 'Ritual and Interpretation', 202.

⁴⁸ Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*. Vol 2, 440 The note is included in BN lat. 17002, f. 221v. Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*, 13 and annexe 1. This inventory is also mentioned and dated to the first half of the eleventh century in: E. Privat ed., *Moissac et l'Occident au XIe siècle: pour un IXe centenaire: actes du colloque international de Moissac, 3-5 mai 1963* (1964) 202.

⁴⁹ Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*, 13-14.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, 81-82.

⁵¹ Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*. Vol 1, 521-523.

⁵² Paris BN lat. 11015, 16v.

⁵³ BN lat. 4886, 48v-49r; Geary, 'Un fragment', 71-73. There is no corresponding passage in BN lat. 5941.

⁵⁴ Furthermore, the two texts are not as similar as Geary would have us believe. In the short fragment (briefer than one folio) I counted nineteen differences rather than the five noted by Geary. Most of them are orthographical, six are mistakes of transcription. Thus it is quite possible that the fragment in BN lat. 11015 was not copied directly from BN lat. 4886.

before the twelfth century, to Rabastens before the end of the fifteenth, to then be returned to Moissac before the end of the seventeenth century. While not impossible, Moissac does not seem to allow for the most likely geographical dissemination.

Kettemann called attention to another piece of evidence which points to the monastery of Psalmodi.⁵⁵ In the marginalia of BN lat. 4886 on folio 47r it reads for the year 786: ‘In isto anno Cabila Psalmodio insula monasterium hedificit secundum regulam S. Benedicti vixitque annos XXIII’.⁵⁶ The gloss refers to the founding of the monastery of Psalmodi by the priest Corbilla and can be elucidated at the hand of another, more coherent sample found in the *Chronique d’Uzès*.

This text has been dated to the fourteenth century and was first printed by Caseneuve in 1645 from a manuscript belonging to Marca, at that time archbishop of Toulouse.⁵⁷ The manuscript, first lost, was later found by Delisle in the Bibliothèque Nationale.⁵⁸ The chronicle in it comprises a group of annalistic entries with hopelessly erroneous chronology that are scribbled down in the margins next to a treatise of Bernard Gui’s *Catalogus summorum pontificum*. It consists of twelve records covering the period from 701 to 820. The author states that he found his sources in the archives of the cathedral of St Theodorite in Uzès, about 25 kilometres from Nîmes. Though several of the entries have no relation whatsoever with either P or AA, one entry corresponds with P and there is considerable overlap with AA.⁵⁹ Kettemann concludes that the Uzès text used a common ancestor of P and AA, which he refers to as the *Annales Benedicti Anianensis*, linking P and AA to Benedict of Aniane.⁶⁰ The Uzès chronicle carries a similar gloss as the one above: ‘Anno Domini DCCLXII, Corbilla presbiter in Psalmodio monasterium edificat secundum regulam S. Benedicti’.⁶¹ According to Kettemann the additional remark in BN lat. 4886 that Corbilla ‘vixitque annos XXIII’ had been calculated by the scribe of BN lat. 4886 based on another

⁵⁵ Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 503.

⁵⁶ This is a rather generous interpretation of the actual text which has become partly unreadable. The last part reads only ‘hedif (...) secundum regu (...) dicti (...) vixitque (...) XXIII’. For comprehensibility the gaps have been filled according to the evidence presented by Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 518-519.

⁵⁷ *Ancienne Chronique d’Uzès*, in: Pierre de Caseneuve ed., *Le franc-alleu de la province de Languedoc établi et défendu* (Toulouse 1645) 235. DeVic, Vaissete and André Vernet all agree on dating the text to the fourteenth century. DeVic and Vaissete, HGL Vol. 2, Preuves, 23-24, note 1; A. Vernet, ‘La diffusion de l’oeuvre de Bernard Gui d’après la tradition manuscrite in Bernard Gui et son monde’, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux Toulouse* 16 (1981) 221-242, there 240.

⁵⁸ Under catalogue reference BN lat. 4974.

⁵⁹ Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 508-520.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, 485-486.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, 518; DeVic and Vaissete, HGL Vol. 2, Preuves, 23.

gloss from the source P and AA shared, the *Annales Benedicti Anianensis*, thus contracting two glosses into one in BN lat. 4886.⁶²

The interest awarded to the founding of Psalmodi and the subsequent death of its founder leads to believe that the codex was made in connection with this monastery. Kettemann points specifically to Guilelmus Pharaldus de Sauve, abbot of Psalmodi during the approximate period between 1060 and 1076. He further concludes that BN lat. 4886 had either been made in Psalmodi or was brought there soon after it had been made at the behest of Guilelmus while he was still in Gellone or Sauve.⁶³ Judging from a later witness, the manuscript probably still resided in or around Psalmodi in the early thirteenth century. As Kettemann notes, Gervase of Tilbury used excerpts of the chronicle for his *Otia Imperialia*, written somewhere between 1210 and 1214; Gervase had moved to Arles, not far from Psalmodi, around 1190.⁶⁴ While I hesitate to narrow down the provenance of BN lat. 4886 to specifically the abbey of Gellone or the priory of Sauve, the general region is well in tune with the close relationship of P with AA, whose most likely provenance lies in Aniane, a neighbour of Gellone, about 60 kilometres from Psalmodi and located between Uzès and Narbonne.

Another text that points to the same region was found in the archives of the monastery of St Gilles in a manuscript containing the *Notitia de Servitio Monasteriorum*.⁶⁵ This *Notitia* is a summary of the duties and services, or exemptions thereof, required from about eighty monasteries throughout the Frankish empire as laid down in the *scedula* promulgated by Louis the Pious in 819. Two versions of the *Notitia* were preserved in the monastery of St Gilles which were subsequently printed by French editors.⁶⁶ The two manuscripts differed on several points, the principal of which is that one provides but the note itself, whereas the other includes it as part of an annalistic entry for 818, preceded by a fragment of a chronicle covering the years 813 to 817. The manuscript containing the fragment was first edited by

⁶² Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 518-519.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, 503.

⁶⁴ Gervase of Tilbury, *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia in einer Auswahl neu herausgegeben*, Felix Liebrecht ed. (Hannover 1856); Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, F. Liebermann and R. Pauli ed., MGH SS XXVII (Hannover 1885) 259-394; Pückert, 'Über die kleine Lorscher Frankenchronik', 152-154; Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 504. A typo must have slipped into Kettemann's work as he erroneously mentions that Gervase lived in Arles since 1290.

⁶⁵ E. Lesne, 'Les ordonnances monastiques de Louis le Pieux et la Notitia de servitio monasteriorum', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 6.32 (1920) 321-338. St Gilles is also near Nîmes, but in a direction opposite from Uzès and about 25 kilometres from Psalmodi.

⁶⁶ The manuscripts are now lost. It should not be excluded that perhaps even three manuscripts existed. It is, however, more likely that one of them was edited almost simultaneously by two editors, Duchesne and Sirmont, unaware of each other's work.

Léon Ménard, historian of Nîmes, who dated the writing to the thirteenth century.⁶⁷ A comparison with P shows more than a close textual relationship.⁶⁸

P:

Et in ipso anno, mense Septimbrio, iam dictus imperator Karolus fecit conventum magnum populi apud Aquis palatium de omni regno vel imperio suo. Et convenerunt ad eum episcopi, abbates, comites et senatus Francorum ad imperatorem in Aquis. Et ibidem constituerunt capitula numero XLVI, de causis, que in /f53r necessariae aecclesiae Dei et christiano populo.⁶⁹

Histoire civile:

Hoc anno, in mense Septembri, sedens piissimus rex Carolus apud Aquis-palatium, fecit conventum magnum prelatorum de omni regno vel imperio suo. Et convenerunt ad eum episcopi, abbates, comites, barones, senatus, & majores natu Francorum, in Aquis; & ibi constituerunt capitula, numero XLVI causis que necessarie erant ecclesie Dei & christiano populo.⁷⁰

It reveals that the St Gilles text definitely belongs to the tradition of P and AA, but did not derive from either one of them.⁷¹ As we will see in the next chapter, it is most likely that this piece was derived from a common ancestor of P and AA which still existed at that time.

Finally, a rather obscure and brief set of annals, the annals of St Victor of Marseilles, have been pointed to as another possible vestige of a lost southern source made use of in P.⁷² For the years 715 and 801 these annals contain very short entries which are otherwise only known from P and AA. They could have been drawn from either of them. What is noteworthy, however, is an entry for the year 785 on the capture of Girona, followed by a description of miraculous signs in the sky.⁷³ Though such a passage can also be found in P,

⁶⁷ Léon Ménard, *Histoire civile, ecclésiastique et littéraire de la ville de Nismes, avec des notes et les preuves, suivie de dissertations historiques et critiques sur ses antiquités et de diverses observations sur son histoire naturelle* Vol 1. Preuves Deuxième Partie (1750) 2-3.

⁶⁸ See also Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 588-592. The close textual similarities between the St Gilles fragment, P and AA was for Kettemann reason for renewed research on the *Notitia*.

⁶⁹ BN lat. 4886, 52v-53r.

⁷⁰ Ménard, *Histoire civile*, 2-3.

⁷¹ Pückert concluded the same. Pückert, 'Über die kleine Lorscher Frankenchronik', 132-147.

⁷² *Annales Sancti Victoris Massilienses*, G.H. Pertz ed., MGH SS XXIII (Hannover 1870) 1-7, there 1-2; Bernhard von Simson, 'Kleine Bemerkungen zu Karolingischen Annalen I: zu dem C.M., den Annales Maximiani und den Annales Breves', FDG 14 (1874) 131-154, there 133-135.

⁷³ 'Gerundam civitatem homines tradiderunt regi Karolo. Apparuerunt acies in celo, et signum † in vestimentis hominum, et multi viderunt sanguinem pluere. Et mortalitas magna secuta est.' *Annales Sancti Victoris Massilienses*, Pertz ed., 2.

AA, as well as in the Lorsch annals, they present the description of the miracle in December of the following year, unconnected to Girona's misfortune.⁷⁴ One other text existed which also mentions the capture and signs in causal connection. In a footnote to his edition of the *Chronique de Moissac* Bouquet describes this text as an old chronicle of the monastery of Ripoll.⁷⁵ Simson, with some hesitation, suggests that the St Victor annals or the Ripoll chronicle could have been derived from the same lost southern source.⁷⁶ The link between the monasteries of Ripoll and St Victor had been strong. In 1070, Bernard II, count of Barcelona, Girona, Margrave of Gothia and Septimania, had formally given the monastery of Ripoll and all its priories to St Victor of Marseille.⁷⁷ It is possible that an early version of P had used a text which Marseille and Ripoll loaned to one another.

The composition of BN lat. 4886 is as follows:⁷⁸

Folio 1r lines 1 to 12: The last part of Bede's preface to *De Temporum Ratione*.⁷⁹ The first folio is missing and the second folio is almost entirely illegible.

Explicit: fraternitatis intermerata iura custodiat.

Folio 1r line 12 – 2v line 11: Bede, *Chronica Maiora*.⁸⁰ The text begins with Bede's 66th chapter of *De Temporum Ratione*, *De sex huius mundi aetatibus*, but quickly departs from Bede's version. After the explicit the text is followed by a short colophon on chronicles.

⁷⁴ BN lat. 4886, 47r; BN lat. 5941, 13r; *Annales Laureshamenses*, Pertz ed., 33. BN lat. 4886 reads: 'Eo anno mense decembri apparuerunt accies terribiles in celo quales numquam nostris temporibus antea apparuerunt nec non et signa cruces apparuerunt in vestimentis hominum et nonnulli sanguinem dixerunt se videre pluere. Unde pavor ingens et metus in populo inruit ac mortalitas magna postea secuta est.'

⁷⁵ 'Hic Carolus dictus Magnus anno domini 786 cepit civitatem Gerundae, vincens in proelio Machometum, regem ipsius civitatis. Et dum cepit ipsam civitatem, multi viderunt sanguinem pluere et apparuerunt acies in coelo, in vestimentis hominum et signa crucis. Et apparuit crux ignea in aere'. *Chronique de Moissac*, M. Bouquet ed., *Recueil*. Vol. 2. (Paris 1738) 71. See also: G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* (Paris 1905) 65; R. Beer, 'Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll', *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 158 (Vienna 1908) 16-22. The text of the original chronicle of Ripoll has been preserved in a reproduction by Jaime Villanueva ed., *Viage Literario a las Iglesias de Espana*. Vol. 5 (Madrid 1806) 241-249, under the title *Chronicon alterum Rivipullense*. It is almost identical to the text in the *Annales Sancti Victoris Massilienses*.

⁷⁶ Simson, 'Kleine Bemerkungen', 131-154.

⁷⁷ Privat ed., *Moissac et l'Occident au XIe siècle*, 243; Benjamin Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille*. Vol. 2 (1867) nr. 817, 819; Beer, 'Die Handschriften', 14

⁷⁸ I am heavily indebted to Kettemann, Falkenstein and Schütte for having done the brunt of the work in identifying the contents of BN lat. 4886. Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 2, VIII-XII; Falkenstein, *Der »Lateran«*, 22-24; Bernd Schütte, 'Quellenkritische Untersuchungen zur Ersterwähnung von Halle/S. im Jahre 806', *Sachsen und Anhalt: Jahrbuch der Historischen Kommission für die Provinz Sachsen und für Anhalt* 24 (2007) 1-29, there 12-15.

⁷⁹ Jones, *BOT*, 175.

⁸⁰ Jones, *BOD*, lines 1-47.

Incipit: DE SEX HUIUS SECULI ETATIBUS BEDE PRESBITERI.

Explicit: et graciaram actio per infinita secula seculorum amen.

Folio 2v line 18 – 54v line 13: *Chronicon Moissiacense*.⁸¹

Incipit: In Christi nomine incipit LIBER CRONICORUM BEDANI PRESBYTERI.

Explicit: reversi sunt ad imperatore, occisos tyrannos et terra quievit.

Folio 54v line 13 – 55v line 18: Bede, *Chronica Maiora*. Chapters 67 and 68.⁸²

Incipit: DE RELIQUIS SEXTE ETATIS Haec decursu praeteriti seculi ex ebraica veritate.

Explicit: Hoc tolerat in nullo eorum errat quia nichil eorum aut infirmat aut negat.

Folio 55v line 18 – 55v last line: Extracts from Pseudo-Alcuin, *Liber de divinis officiis*, chapters 38-39.⁸³ The manuscript has been damaged by use of reagents and the incipit is barely legible.

Incipit: DE ... X LINEIS. Solent milites habere tunicas lineas.

Explicit: Alba autem vestimenta albatorum sunt opera iustorum munda et candida omni tempore.

Folio 56r line 1 – 59r line 12: Isidore of Seville, *In libros veteris ac novi Testamenti prooemia*.⁸⁴ Because of some missing folios – probably an entire quire, a binion or greater – the text does not begin with Genesis but with Isaiah.

Incipit: exordia sive que propter transacto huius mundi figura futura sunt.

Explicit: fedus amicitiarum cum romanorum ducibus actaque legationum.

Folio 59r line 12 – 61v line 24: *Decretum Gelasianum*.⁸⁵

Incipit: INCIPIT DECRETALE IN URBE ROMA AB ORMISDA PAPAE DICTUM DE SCRIPTURIS DIVINIS QUID UNIVERSALITER CATHOLICA RECIPIT AECCLESIA VEL POST HAEC QUID VITARE DEBEAT.

Explicit: in aeternum confitemur esse dampnata. EXPLICIT CUIUSDAM.

Folio 61v line 24 – 62r line 17: *Obtrectant tibi homines*.⁸⁶ A short edifying text.

Incipit: Obtrectant tibi homines. Malis enim displicere laudare est.

⁸¹ For its numerous and various editions, see the bibliography.

⁸² *Bedae Chronica Maiora*, Mommsen ed., 321-323.

⁸³ CSLMA, 133.

⁸⁴ CPL, nr. 1192.

⁸⁵ CPL, nr. 1676; Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum*. Although about ten witnesses of the *Decretum* originate from Spain or the Languedoc, according to Kettemann BN lat. 4886 shows remarkable similarity with the remaining two, which today reside in Central Germany. Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 2, IX.

⁸⁶ No known editions of this text exist, but two other manuscripts carry the text as well, namely BN lat. 2449, f. 48; Rome, Bibl. Vat., Reginensis lat. 1625, f. 65; F. Dolbeau, 'Deux opuscules latins, relatifs aux personnages de la Bible et antérieurs à Isidore de Séville', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 16 (1986) 83-139, there 89.

Explicit: Obtrectant tibi homines. Peiores illis qui hoc in mea faciem loqueris. De animo amantis hodiensis fecisti.

Folio 62r line 17 – 62v line 9: *Dicetur tibi bone christiane.* Another edifying text.

Incipit: Dicetur bone christiane a quocumque infidele moritus es ut ego. Responde

Explicit: Laudabile est et vincere adversarios et non nocere superatos. Amen.

Folio 62v line 10 – 62v line 1: *Libellus sancti Epiphanii.*⁸⁷

Incipit: INCIPIT LIBELLUS SANCTI EPIPHANII EPISCOPI PRIORUM PROPHETARUM QUIS UBI PASSUS SIT MARTYRIUM ET SANCTA EORUM CORPORA QUIESCUNT. DE ESAYA. Esayas fuit in iherusalem ibique prophetavit.

Explicit: in memoria sacerdotum et regnum erat prophetarum et potentissimorum et sanctorum virorum tantumodo.

Folio 62v line 10 – 67v line 9: List of apostles and disciples.

Incipit: Symon qui interpretatur obediens, Petrus agnoscens filius Iohannis.

Explicit: Evangelium secundum Iohannem temporibus Traiani dictatum est a Iohanne sub quo modo explicit.

Folio 67v line 9 – end of 67v: List of popes and their pontificates.

Incipit: NOMINA APOSTOLORUM QUI FUERUNT IN ROMA. Petrus apostolus annis XXV et mensibus II, dies III.

Explicit: Alexander qui vocatur Anselmo annis X.

Folio 68r line 1 – 69v line 31: *Commonitorium palladia.*⁸⁸

Incipit: Commonitorium palladi. FINITIMA PROSII AD PALLADIUM. mens tua que et discere et multum dicere cupit.

Explicit: pervenit temporibus imperatoris quoddam Neronis qui Petrum et Paulum sanctos apostolos interemit. Explicit.

Folio 69v line 31 – 70r line 32: *Dicta Leonis.*⁸⁹ A short moralistic pedagogical text intended for teaching reading.

Incipit: DICTA LEONIS. Deum time. Sanctos cole. Regem honora.

⁸⁷ Dolbeau, 'Deux opuscles latins', 115-130; idem, 'Listes latines d'apôtres et de disciples, traduites du grec', *Apocrypha. Revue Internationale des Littératures apocryphes* 3 (1992) 259-278, references BN lat. 4886; CPL, nr. 1191.

⁸⁸ Lellia Cracco Ruggini, 'Sulla cristianizzazione della cultura pagana: il mito greco e latino di Alessandro dall'età antonina al Medioevo', *Athenaeum* 43 (1965) 3-80, with reference to BN lat. 4886. An edition based on BN lat. 4886 and BN lat. 1720 can be found in: Gottfried Bernhardt, *Analecta in Geographos Graecorum minores* (Halle 1850) 43-47.

⁸⁹ CPL, nr. 540a; F. Dolbeau, 'Deux manuels latins de morale élémentaire', in: Claude Lepelley et al. ed., *Haut Moyen-Âge: culture, éducation et société: études offertes à Pierre Riché* (La Garenne-Colombes 1990) 183-196, with reference to BN lat. 4886.

Explicit: Si christum oraveris semper audit.

Folio 70r line 32 – 70v line 10: *Proprietatis gentium*.⁹⁰

Incipit: DE VII VICIIS. DE BONIS NATURIS GENTIUM. Invidia Iudeorum.

Explicit: Francus gravis. Romanus levis. Afrus versi pellis.

Folio 70v line 10 – 71r line 13: Illustrations to the recipients of the Pauline Epistles.⁹¹

Incipit: HOC TULIUS MARCUS DIXIT. Romani sunt partis italie.

Explicit: cum gaudio suscepistis cognoscentes habere meliorem et manentem substantiam

Folio 71r line 14 – line 29: *De septem gradibus in ecclesia*.⁹² A text on the seven degrees of priesthood with examples of how Christ achieved them all during his life on earth.

Incipit: HII SUNT GRADUS VII QUIBUS CHRISTUS ADVENIT. Hostiarius fuit quando percutiebat portas inferni.

Explicit: Episcopum oportet eum predicare, confirmare, ordinare, offerre, babtizare per verba.

Folio 71r line 29 – 71v line 22: Extracts from Pseudo-Isidor of Seville, *Quaestiones de veteri et novo testamento*.⁹³

Incipit: INCIPIT INTERROGATIO DE VETUS ET NOVUM TESTAMENTUM.

Quid est inter verus et novum testamentum.

Explicit: Deum ergo plus quam nos diligere debemus. Proximos sicut nos.

Folio 71v line 23 – end of 71v: Four articles of the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) dealing with Jewish affairs.⁹⁴

Incipit: XIII. Plerique qui ex Iudeis dudum a christianam fidem.

Explicit: XVI. Dignum est: ut a corpore christi separetur qui inimicis christi patronus efficitur.

The topics presented in the codex are all in all not unusual for a monastic institution. The elected clauses of the Toledo Council are somewhat curious. They specifically concern the conversion of Jews and the dangers of the latter holding ecclesiastical office. More than four centuries after the convention the clauses in question must have acquired a particular

⁹⁰ *Additamentum IX. De Proprietatibus Gentium*, T. Mommsen ed., MGH AA XI (Berlin 1894) 389-390.

⁹¹ Donatien de Bruyne, *Préfaces de la Bible latine* (Namur 1920) 235-238, nr. 15.

⁹² CPL, nr. 764, 1155h and 1222.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, 1194.

⁹⁴ *Concilios Visigoticos*, José Vives et al. ed. (Barcelone and Madrid 1963) 211-212.

actuality. Added with an underlined title, but not neatly justified against the margins, the piece might have been added at a later time to fill up the last folio.

Although the layout of the script looks neater or more regular on some folios, the script (a Caroline miniscule) has been done mostly by one hand. Different hands wrote the later part of the list of popes on 67v, and the interlinear glosses in the *Dicta Leonis* on 69v-70r. The majority of corrections and marginalia were done by the same hand or, at the very least, a hand trained very much in the same school. The scribe used at least three different sorts of ink to write the chronicle.⁹⁵

Dufour made a thorough study of the features of manuscripts written in the Moissac scriptorium.⁹⁶ In the case of forming the ligature for *ro*, as well as the writing of the same letter combination, he saw Visigoth influences which the script of BN lat. 4886 shared with manuscripts written in Ripoll and Arles-sur-Tech.⁹⁷ However, his conclusions provide no further evidence that would point to a Moissac origin for the codex.

The first folio disappeared at an early stage, at least before the prior of Rabastens claimed property on the next folio which by then had become the new cover page. Whoever numbered the pages with Latin numerals continued this custom. The numbering was done by another hand than the one who registered the book in Colbert's library. That registration, also on the first folio, consists of the catalogue reference: 'Cod. Colbert 1463'. After its move to the royal library the codex was stamped and received the number 'Regius 4057 5', repeated underneath the folio 'olim 4057 5'. Finally, to the right, the last catalogue reference was added, 'nunc 4886'. This folio suffered from wear and tear and is considerably less legible than the following folios. The main disturbances in later parts of the manuscript consist of some stains caused by bleaching of the upper middle part of the first 28 folios, affecting the text over a depth of two lines.

The parchment used was not of finest quality. Already before they were bound several folios had small holes and some folios were not large enough to correspond with the required page measurements. The whitish flesh-side folios are placed recto and the hair-side ones verso. The folios measure 280mm by 170mm (235mm x 130mm) and count 32 lines.

⁹⁵ They have now turned to a golden brown colour for the first part until folio 7v, a black colour for the folios 7v to 30r and sepia for the remaining part. The same is true for the marginalia.

⁹⁶ Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*, 45-78. Dufour noted a strong Visigothic influence in the Moissac manuscripts until the eleventh century. From then on the decorations show Spanish influences, reflected in titles and *lettres enclavés*.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, 79-80; Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*. Vol 1, 518.

According to Dufour the binding is organised as follows:⁹⁸

1 ⁶ (f. 1-6)	5 ⁶ (f. 24-29)	9 ⁸ (f. 48-55)
2 ² (f. 7-8)	6 ⁸ (f. 30-37)	10 ⁸ (f. 56-63)
3 ⁹ (f. 9-17)	7 ⁶ (f. 38-43)	11 ⁸ (f. 64-71)
4 ⁶ (f. 18-23)	8 ⁴ (f. 44-47)	

During my last visit to the Bibliothèque Nationale, the conservator, Charlotte Denoë, checked the binding and reached a different conclusion for folios 7 to 17. She found after the first ternion (f. 1-6) a quire of 11 folios (f. 7-17) of which folio 9 seemed an isolated one. Between the folios numbered 45 and 46 several folios are missing. Given the binding of the eighth quire, at least two folios are lost, but possibly even four. Between folios 55 and 56 at least another binion is missing.⁹⁹ Signatures were not placed or have disappeared.

Throughout the manuscript capital letters are accentuated in red ink, marking the beginning of special sentences such as those starting with *anno* or proper names. Capitals are also quite frequently encountered midsentence without a discernible purpose. Numerals, like the Hebrew and Septuagint year dates, are underlined with red ink. The punctuation was done mainly to distinguish pauses in the text rather than to form sentences. Titles are very rare.

The decorations are modest and scarce. The most remarkable ones consist of elaborately ornamented capital letters (most frequently the letter A). They are used mostly as display script in front of the text, sometimes to mark the beginning of a new chapter or a new paragraph. They measure two to four lines in height and seem to follow no specific pattern; their frequency varies much throughout the text. Only very few are found on the first eight folios; they become more abundant up to folio 32 (with sometimes up to five on one page) after which their frequency declines to roughly one per page, becoming very rare again after folio 40. The pattern of their design differs, but they were probably the work of one person.

Other decorations or sketches are very rare and simple and were used to mark a special moment in the text. On folio 2v one finds an extremely long I, stretched alongside nine lines; on folio 22r a little cross; on folio 36r a diagonal figure of 8 with one stroke pointing upwards to the right; on folio 37v some little circles, in which written *Benedictus abbas*; on folio 39r a little encircled cross; another one on folio 43r; and a little cross on folio 43v where AA begin. Another encircled cross on folio 44r marks the spot where AA continues. Finally, on folio 48v we find a very simple five pointed star. It is probable that,

⁹⁸ Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*, 139.

⁹⁹ Falkenstein, *Der »Lateran«*, 22-23.

just like the decorations on 43v and 44r, the other crosses and circles are also references. Most likely they were present in and copied from the common ancestor of AA and P.

The same holds true for some of the marginalia, some of which AA and P have in common.¹⁰⁰ There are two types which are quite frequent and found throughout P. One type places the marginalia inside frames, either drawn with simple straight lines or with ornamented shadowed ones. They generally mark special events like the birth of Charles Martel, the foundation of Rome, the origin of the Lombards, and other events such as synods and persecutions. The other type consists of small or large notes, both without frames. These served as a mnemonic or as a short epitome of important events. Although they seem to have been written by the same person, they often present puzzling orthographical differences within a distance of just a few centimetres.

1.2 – Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5941

Like BN lat. 4886, this codex became part of the Bibliothèque Royale in 1718 after the death of its first known owner, Etienne Baluze. Two catalogue registrations on the cover folio – Reg. 9618 2 and Bal. 88 – bear witness. When and where Baluze purchased the book for his vast and rich collection is unknown. He could have acquired it when he worked as an assistant to the archbishop of Toulouse, Pierre de Marca, from 1656 to 1662. Another possibility is that he obtained the book while he worked as a librarian for Colbert during the transfer of the Moissac possessions to Colbert's library.¹⁰¹

Pertz regarded AA to be from the ninth or tenth century, whereas the editors of the revised edition of DeVic and Vaissète's *Histoire générale de Languedoc* thought it ought to be dated to the eleventh century.¹⁰² Paleographically Dufour dated it to the first part of the twelfth century.¹⁰³ The other texts contained with the codex were dated to a range from about the twelfth to the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Kettemann, finally, dated the annals to the twelfth century with a *terminus ante quem* between 1165 and 1170.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 494-496.

¹⁰¹ Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*, 7.

¹⁰² *Chronicon Moissiacense*, Pertz ed., 281; DeVic and Vaissète, HGL Vol. 2, Preuves, 2.

¹⁰³ Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*, 145.

¹⁰⁴ Falkenstein, *Der »Lateran«*, 198-200; Philipp-Sattel, *Parlar bellament*, 106.

¹⁰⁵ According to him passages in the *De sanctitate meritorum et gloria miraculorum beati Caroli Magni*, dated to 1165-1170, were taken from BN lat. 5941. Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 112-113.

The first editors of the *Aniane Annals*, Martène and Durand, mentioned the monastery of Ripoll as place of provenance and called the manuscript the *codex Rivipullensis*.¹⁰⁶ However there is little evidence to support Ripoll as a place of origin. The manuscript was found there and it is almost certain that one of its texts – the *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium* – originally derived from Ripoll. But because the texts in BN lat. 5941 were collected and bound at a later date, any statement about the provenance and age of the codex as a whole says little about the annals.¹⁰⁷ For the text of AA a strong relation with the abbey of Aniane is much more likely. The many observations in the manuscript regarding the Aniane monastery and its first abbots are clearly intentional and they would have made little sense had the text been written elsewhere. As Kettemann argues, the annals in BN lat. 5941 most likely derived from an earlier text made in Aniane which is lost to us today.¹⁰⁸

The manuscript consists of 94 folios of which the first one serves as a table of contents. The composition of BN lat. 5941 is as follows.¹⁰⁹

Folio 2r – 49v: *Aniane Annals*. The annals are written by a trained, twelfth century hand in a miniscule, *gothicisante* script. From folio 37r they are seamlessly continued by a text on Louis the Pious, a fragment of the life of St Benedict of Aniane, and a fragment of the life of William, Duke of Aquitaine and founder of the nearby monastery of Gellone, all by the same hand.¹¹⁰

Incipit: Incipit genealogia, ortus vel actus sive vita Karoli gloriosi atque piissimi imperatoris.

Explicit: Discoperientes autem sepulcrum eius vidimus in frontem et circa labia illius tantum ruborem cum candour quantum numquam nec vivus habuit.

¹⁰⁶ *Annales Veteres Francorum*, Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand ed., *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio* Vol. 5 (Paris 1724) 883-916.

¹⁰⁷ Falkenstein, *Der »Lateran«*, 198-200; Schütte, 'Quellenkritische Untersuchungen', 18-19; Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 34; Nathaniel L. Taylor, 'Inheritance of power in the House of Guifred the Hairy: Contemporary perspectives on the formation of a dynasty', in: Robert F. Berkhofer III, Alan Cooper, and Adam J. Kosto ed., *The experience of power in medieval Europe, 950–1350: Essays in honor of Thomas N. Bisson* (Ashgate 2005) 129–151, there 133; Sabine Philipp-Sattel, *Parlar bellament en vulgar: die Anfänge der katalanischen Schriftkultur im Mittelalter* (Tübingen 1996) 106.

¹⁰⁸ Kettemann calls this text the *Historia Karoli gloriosi*, completed between the second half of the ninth century and 1017. Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 490-503, 528. Only Dufour argued for an entirely different provenance: the monastery of Arlès-sur-Tech. According to him the script of the text resembled that of another manuscript he traced to Arlès-sur-Tech. Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*, 145. This other manuscript is now housed in the municipal library of Perpignan, as the codex Perpignan, Bibliothèque Municipale, 4.

¹⁰⁹ A concise overview can be found in Falkenstein, *Der »Lateran«*, 198-200.

¹¹⁰ See also DeVic and Vaissete, HGL Vol. 2, Preuves, 1-3.

Folio 50r – 91v: *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*. This is a historical narrative dealing with the deeds and achievements of the counts of Barcelona and the kings of Aragon. The text is written in a different, Gothic script, dated to the fourteenth century.¹¹¹ Folio 52v features a drawing of a lion.

Incipit: Incipit prologus gestorum comitum Barchinone et regum Aragonie. Fidelis antiquitas et antiqua fidelitas primevorum.

Explicit: ex qua prolem aliquam non susceperit.

Folio 92r: A poem with the title *epicedion in funere Raimundi Comitis Barcinonensis*.¹¹² It is written by another hand in an eleventh century minuscule and presents a small elegy sung at the funeral of count of Barcelona, Raymond Borrell.¹¹³ The full text is printed by Marca.¹¹⁴

Incipit: Ad Carmen populi flebile cuncti.

Explicit: Que tecum deus flammine regnat. Amen.

Folio 93r-93v: A letter of Presbyter Johannes to Emperor Emmanuel, written in a small and compact Visigoth script of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The version in BN lat. 5941 stands out as the only copy in thirteenth century southern France while most twelfth century witnesses are from northern France and Austria, and most thirteenth century witnesses are centred around southern England and northern France.¹¹⁵

Incipit: Presbiter Johannes virtute et potentia dei et domine nostri Jhesu Christi rex regum et dominus dominantium.

Explicit: et eximus satiri acsi omni genere ciborum essemus replete. Valete.

¹¹¹ Editions can be found in: *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*, Pierre de Marca and Etienne Baluze ed., *Marca Hispanica sive Limes Hispanicus* (Paris 1688) 537-595; *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*, Lluís Barrau Dihigo and Jaume Massó Torrents ed. (Barcelona 1925). See also: Taylor, 'Inheritance of power in the House of Guifred the Hairy', 133-135. Lluís Barrau Dihigo notes two hands in the *Gesta*, both of the fourteenth century, the second beginning on folio 88v.

¹¹² The initial letters of the sentences follow the alphabet; the text has been edited in: Beer, 'Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll', 7, 58.

¹¹³ A note in the margin erroneously refers to count *Raimundus Borelli filius*, or Berenguer Ramon I the Crooked (d. 1035) who ruled from 1017-1035. Raymond Borrell ruled from 993 to his death in 1017.

¹¹⁴ Marca, *Marca Hispanica*, 428-429. Under the year MXVII he wrote that he found the text in an ancient codex. In view of several other references he almost certainly meant BN lat. 5941.

¹¹⁵ The works of Zarncke remain an indispensable guide to the *Epistola Johannis*. Friedrich Zarncke, 'Der Priester Johannes', *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der kgl. sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 7 (1879) 827-1030, 885; and in the same journal, issue 8 (1883) 1-186. In more recent research, Bettina Wagner offers a clear image of the dissemination of the *Epistola*. Bettina Wagner, *Die "Epistola presbiteri Johannis": lateinisch und deutsch: Überlieferung, Textgeschichte, Rezeption und Übertragungen im Mittelalter: mit bisher unedierte Texten* (Tübingen 2000) 93, 167, 254-255.

Folio 94r: On this folio feature two curious pieces each covering less than half the folio. The first is a short genealogical note on the three marital relations of Anna, the grandmother of Jesus Christ, and her offspring.

Incipit: Gloriosa a mater Christi nata est ex patre Nazareno nomine Joachim, matre vero Bethlemitica nomine Anna.

Explicit: Quam dedit marito nomine Zebedeo, de quo nati sunt Jacobus minor et Johannes evangelista.

Folio 94r: The second text on this folio relates the deliberations of the Council of Rome of 1082, referring to a chapter dated on the fourth of the *nonas* of May, in the ninth year of the pontificate of Gregory VII. The text touches on the question whether, according to canonical law, church property could be used to accumulate funds for resistance against archbishop Wibert of Ravenna, the antipope Clement III.¹¹⁶

The annals are written by one hand, but between folio 27 and 29 a parchment half-folio is inserted, used only on the verso side and written in flatter lines but still showing a very similar hand. The script, as said, is *gothicisante* or a late Caroline miniscule with some Visigoth influences. The editors of the HGL classified it as *gothique serrée*.¹¹⁷ The numbering of the folios is of a later date than the manuscript itself and it was probably done by the same person who provided the table of contents and made notes in the margins. He or she titled the first item there as ‘Annalis Monasterii Ananianensis, ab anno DCLXX usque ad an. DCCCXXI’ and added ‘in imo LD DCCCXL’.¹¹⁸

The manuscript’s text begins on folio 2r and shows on the lower part the stamp of the Bibliotheca Regia. This folio was originally the first of the codex. The first letter of the text is accentuated by a well ornamented and embellished letter I, ten lines long, with the upper part stylized like a crown. Halfway its shaft it is ornamented by a drawing of a dog or wolf mask. It represents the first letter of the text which begins with: ‘In temporibus illis. Anno ab incarnatione DCLXX’. Above it someone with a very similar hand wrote in smaller letters, perhaps after finishing the narrative and to provide it with a colophon, ‘Incipit genealogia ortus vel actus sive vita Karoli gloriosi atque piissimi imperatoris’.¹¹⁹ This sentence had to

¹¹⁶ Johannes Matthias Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum vitae*. Vol. 1 (Leipzig 1862) 452.

¹¹⁷ DeVic and Vaissette, HGL Vol. 2, Preuves, 2.

¹¹⁸ ‘in imo’ was probably meant as an abbreviation for ‘in anno’.

¹¹⁹ Kettemann based his title of the *Historia Karoli gloriosi* – the ninth or tenth century ancestor of AA – on this incipit. Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 490-503.

circumvent the ornamented and upwards stretched A of Anno and because of its length the last four words are written in the margin.

In the course of the narrative the interpolations, mostly from Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, gradually become larger until finally they dominate the text. The last lines on folio 23v, 'hec sunt bella que Karolus rex potentissimus per annos XLVIII' are written in red ink.¹²⁰ The sentence finishes on the next page in dark ink with the words 'summa prudentia atque felicitate gessit', in the same script layout as used so far. Here the story temporarily departs from the text of P, except for a small entry for the year 813, on folios 30v and 31r. On folio 31v under the year DCCCXIII the text describes Charlemagne's death. On folio 34v, line 19, is simply written 'Explicit', accentuated by an unexpected small computation: 'Ab inicio mundi usque ad exordium Ludovici piissimi imperatoris. Secundum Hebraicam veritatem computantur anni III milia DCCCX. Secundum LXX interpretes VI. XII.' This is the first time that AA presents such a computation and it looks out of place. Its dual Hebrew and LXX count, exclusive to P and the other manuscripts of the Waitz-group, connects the manuscript strongly to those. It is another piece of evidence that, as we will see, the scribe must have known an ancestor of P. On folios 36r, 36v and 37r AA follows once more the text of P, written and laid out in an identical way as the previous (and following) parts of AA.

The parchment is of medium quality and apart from some small holes it shows no damage. The text is well legible throughout the manuscript. The folios measure 265mm by 205mm (200mm x 150mm) and count 23 lines each. The manuscript is organised in three quaternions (f. 2-9, f. 10-17, f. 18-25), one quinion (f. 26-34), one quaternion (f. 35-42) and one ternion (f. 43-49).¹²¹ As mentioned, a half-folio (f. 28), only written on the verso side, was inserted between folios 27 and 29. At the end of the first four quires – on folios 9v, 17v, 25v and 34v – signatures were placed with Roman numerals, flanked by two dots. Although the fifth quire still belongs to the same corpus, it has no signature.

Marginalia are rather rare and are used to add information or correct the text. They seem to have been written by two or even three persons, just as the corrections in the text. Of a much later date are notes which somebody added in the margins as a mnemonic aid: 'Metdina coeli' (f. 11v); Benedictus Abbas Anianensis (f. 12r); Gocia (f. 15v); 'Ardo, qui et Smaragdus' (f. 16v); 'Ardo, qui et Smaragdus' (f. 33v). There are also some references to

¹²⁰ From the *Vita Karoli*, where one finds 'Haec sunt bella quae Karolus rex potentissimus per annos XLVII tot enim annos regnaverat in diversi' etc., Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, chapter 15.

¹²¹ Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*, 145.

printed works, such as on folio 17v: ‘Vidi Libellum Sacrosyllabum Paulini Aquileiensis pag. 322. To. IV. Biblioth. Patrum’, and on folio 25v a reference to ‘To. 2. Duchesnii pag. 100’.

The decorations are rare and simple. Apart from the capital at the beginning of the narrative they are limited to modest ornaments and capital letters accentuated with red ink that are only a little larger than normal and were meant to mark the beginning of new sections. They are placed in the margins or within the text. The year entries start with ANNO and are usually put at the beginning of a new line as display script. Occasionally an ink stroke or blank space accentuates the step to the next year. Sometimes the numerals are accentuated with red ink. On a few places small diagonal crosses with two dots mark a special event (the pontificate of a new pope, a catastrophically cold winter, etc.). The punctuation serves to indicate reading pauses and to clarify numerals.

1.3 – The codices of the ‘Waitz group’

Five codices can be attributed to this group: Leiden Scaliger 28; Munich, BSB Clm 246; Brussels KBR 17349-60, Paris BN nouv. acq. lat. 1615; and Besançon BM 186. Georg Waitz edited most of their contents, albeit not their entire texts. He based his edition of the *Chronicon Universale 741* on the first three manuscripts. Each of them had before been classified as a version of or at least seen in relation with Bede’s *De Temporum Ratione*, and each provides many similar interpolations drawn from other sources. Apart from the Brussels manuscript, they all end in 741 and are, until there, almost identical to the version in P. The Brussels manuscript begins with 710, but it is assumed that it originally included the earlier parts as well. All of them share, *mutatis mutandis*, some essential common characteristics. The graphic presentation in figure 1 below allows for an easier comparison of the text’s chronology, their relation to Bede’s *De Temporum Ratione* (DTR), and their relationship with the two previous manuscripts. Chapter two will delve deeper into this topic. Since these texts have been described by others to a greater or lesser extent, they are discussed mainly with regard to those features helpful in finding the structure of the stemma, their similarities and their composition alongside the structure of DTR.

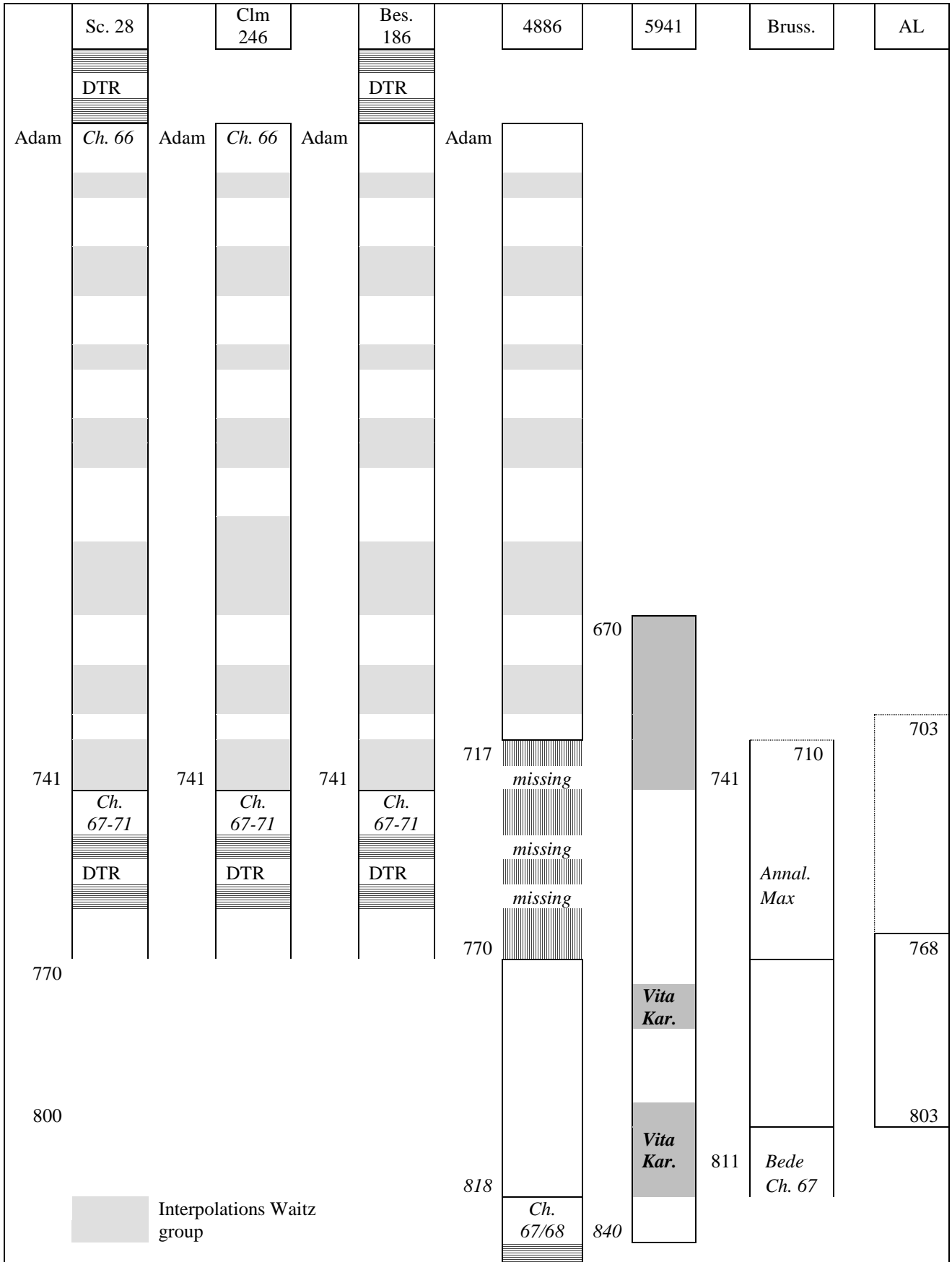


Figure 1: The structure of the manuscripts, with their internal composition and their relation to Bede's *Chronica Maiora*.

1.3.1 – Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Scaliger 28

In 1861 Philip Jaffé published the first detailed description of Leiden Scaliger 28. He demonstrated how similar it was to Bede's DTR and showed how it had altered and expanded that text, in particular with regards to chapter 66. He suspected that Scaliger 28 was similar to the codices BN lat. 4886 and BN lat. 5941, but he only compared their early sections and thus focused much on chapters 49, 52, 54 and 58 of DTR. There the scribe of Scaliger 28 had carefully altered the chronology in order to replace the year 725 (the last year of Bede's CM) with the year 800. These adaptations made Jaffé conclude that the work must have been completed after 800.¹²² However no definite agreement has been reached on the date of production. Jaffé and Bisschoff date the whole codex to 816; Waitz pointed more broadly to 804 or 816. Both Waitz and Bisschoff considered Flavigny to be the place of origin, though Waitz argued that the text was not an original but a copy.¹²³

The entire codex includes a total of 145 folios.¹²⁴ On folio 91v, line 9, the text of DTR chapter 65 continues midline and without any further preamble with: 'LXVI DE SEX HUIUS SECULI ETATIBUS'. This part of the text ends on folio 134v, line 19, where the next chapter is announced: 'DE RELIQUIS SEXTE ETATIS' and DTR continues until its end on Folio 138r.¹²⁵ Here the text reads: 'Explicit domino iuvante Beda presbiteri de temporibus liber Amen'. Folio 138 to 141 present some more chronological treatises.¹²⁶

The parchment is of medium quality. Quite a few folios contain holes to which the scribe had to adapt, but the more disturbing damage is of a later date. At some point humidity must have affected the book close to the bindings. Because of this, large pieces of text have become illegible. On the lower two thirds of every folio the damage spreads from the inner margin over a width of several centimetres into the text to the left and right, all the way down to the last line of each folio.

¹²² Jaffé, 'Über die Handschrift Leid. Scal. 28', 677-681.

¹²³ Georg Waitz, 'Zur Geschichtsschreibung der Karolingischen Zeit', NA 5 (1880) 473-502, there 483-487; Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen) Tl. II: Laon-Paderborn* (Wiesbaden 2004) 48; Jaffé, 'Über die Handschrift Leid. Scal. 28', 677-683.

¹²⁴ Bischoff, *Katalog II*, 48. Bischoff mentions only 141 folios. For a detailed description of the contents of the manuscript, see Jaffé, 'Über die Handschrift Leid. Scal. 28', 677-691.

¹²⁵ Waitz, 'Zur Geschichtsschreibung der Karolingischen Zeit', 475-476. Waitz mentions folio 93.

¹²⁶ In the margins of folios 3-21, the text also contains some Paschal annals. On these, see: R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian world* (Cambridge 2004) 98-99.

As Jaffé and Waitz concluded, the chronicle was written by one hand in an early Caroline miniscule script.¹²⁷ The folios measure 275mm by 150mm (235mm by 120mm) and count 43 long lines each.¹²⁸ The quires are mostly quaternions, except quire 1, 4, 5, 8, 17 (each a ternion with two single folios) and 3 (two binions and one single folio).¹²⁹ Signatures were placed underneath the script on the verso side of the last folio of each quire, beginning on the end of quire 2 with B, and continue subsequently on quire 3: ICI; 4: D; 5: E; 6: F; 7: G; 8: H; 9: I; 10: K; 11: L; 12: M; 14: N; 15: Omega; 16: P; 17: Q. They are absent on the quires 1, 13 and 18. The most visible decorations consist of capitals accentuating new sections, which very often start with the Hebrew and LXX dates. These decorations vary from rather simple large uncial capitals to elaborate filigree-like drawings typical for that period. Marginalia are very rare (only on folios 122v and 123r). For typical abbreviations and other peculiarities of the script I refer to Bisschoff's description.¹³⁰

1.3.2 – Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, ms. 17349-60¹³¹

The manuscript is available to us through an excerpt made by the Jesuit Alexander Wiltheim (1604-1684) who copied it in 1678 from an old codex from the monastery St Maximin in Trier.¹³² Wiltheim noted his transcription: 'Ex antiquissimo codice monasterii S. Maximini, scripto, ut apparet ex litteris, tempore Caroli magni'.¹³³ Francois de Nélis, bishop of Antwerp, found this text and had it copied in 1783, after which it was entered into the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (KBR) under the symbol ms. 17349-60 in 1837. For the edition of CMM the transcription made in 1844 by Baron von Reiffenberg has been collated.¹³⁴

The transcription starts with: 'Pippinus princeps multa bella gessit contra gentes plurimas. Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCX Pippinus migravit in Alemaniam' and continues, apart from several important omissions, almost identical to the other manuscripts of the Waitz-group until 741. After this year follows a text which Waitz edited under the

¹²⁷ Bischoff, *Katalog* II, 48; Jaffé, 'Über die Handschrift Leid. Scal. 28'. For the manuscript as a whole, Jaffé identifies a total of nine different hands.

¹²⁸ Bischoff, *Katalog* II, 48. Bischoff gives different measurements and mentions 44 lines.

¹²⁹ Jaffé, 'Über die Handschrift Leid. Scal. 28', 678.

¹³⁰ Bischoff, *Katalog* II, 48.

¹³¹ The text was catalogued under 403-4 in the *Bibliothèque Royale*.

¹³² Georg Waitz, 'Ueber Fränkische Annalen aus dem Kloster St. Maximin', *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der G.A. Universität zu Göttingen* 11 (1871) 307-322.

¹³³ Waitz, 'Zur Geschichtsschreibung der Karolingischen Zeit', 491.

¹³⁴ Baron de Reiffenberg, 'Notices des Manuscrits', *Compte-rendu des séances de la commission royale d'histoire* 7 (Brussels 1844) 236- 246, and 8 (Brussels 1844) 167- 192.

name: *continuatio, Annales Maximiani*; as a continuation of the *Chronicon Universale 741*.¹³⁵ This second part has no relation with the texts of CMM. After its entry for 811 it concludes with ‘Interea Carolus filius Dominis Imperatoris major natu diem obiit II nonas decembris’ and ‘De reliquis sextae aetatis Haec de cursu praeteriti saeculi ex hebraica veritate’ (signed with NELIS). This last concluding sentence is similar to those found in the other manuscripts.

According to von Reiffenberg, Wiltheim had reason to believe that the manuscript had been written in Charlemagne’s time. Simson quoted notes which Wiltheim copied from the codex with a summary of an extensive computation starting with: ‘A Justiniano ad Pippinum seniore[m] fiunt anni II’, and finishing with ‘gubernat usque in praesentem diem feliciter, qui est annus regni ejus XLII, imperii autem VIII. Sunt autem totius summae ab origine mundi anni in praesentem an..... incarnationis Dei (additur alia manu) DCCCX’.¹³⁶ Pertz had mentioned that he had seen Wiltheim’s manuscript in the *Collectio rerum historicarum nondum editarum, seculi XVII exeuntis, tomo IV*, in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels.¹³⁷ He thought that the narrative was composed from the *Annales Laureshamenses*, the *Annales Petaviani*, the *Annales Laurissenses* and the *Liber Pontificalis*, but considered it to be of little value. Von Simson suggested that, similarly to how Duchesne had only used excerpts from the original manuscript of BN lat. 4886, the Brussels codex might also contain but a selection of a text which originally had begun much earlier. Waitz agreed and named this continuation, as said above, the *Annales Maximiniani*.

Recently, Florence Close has written a detailed study identifying the various sources of the text in KBR, ms. 17349-60, bringing into question whether, as Waitz held, the text should be seen as a continuation of CU-741. According to her, the Brussels text contains none of the Bede fragments related to Frankish history that structure and characterize the manuscripts related to CU-741.¹³⁸ A study of the stemma of CMM in chapter two below confirms this.

¹³⁵ *Annales Maximiani*, G. Waitz ed., MGH SS XIII (Hannover 1881) 19-25.

¹³⁶ See for the full computation: Simson, ‘Die überarbeitete und bis zum Jahre 741 fortgesetzte Chronik des Beda’, 107, note 8.

¹³⁷ *Annales S. Maximini Trevirensis anno 708-9*, G.H. Pertz ed., MGH SS II (Hannover 1829) 212-213.

¹³⁸ Florence Close, ‘Les annales Maximiniani. Un récit original de l’ascension des Carolingiens’, *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Chartes* 168 (2010) 303-325, there 311, 323.

1.3.3 – Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 246

Simsons analysed Clm 246 in 1879, paying careful attention to its relationship with the *Annales Maximiniani* of the Reiffenberg transcription. He concluded that they were very similar, even in orthographical respect. His comparison of Clm 246 with P proves to be less insightful as he only had the *Moissac* editions of Pertz and Duchesne to go by.

According to the library catalogue made by Halm, the codex dates to the ninth century.¹³⁹ McKitterick also attributes it to that century and considers it to have been written in Weltenburg, in the diocese of Regensburg.¹⁴⁰ Bischoff gives the same provenance and dates the codex to the middle of the ninth century.¹⁴¹ According to von Simson, Pertz dated the manuscript to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century.¹⁴² Indications of page to page copying lead to conclude that this was not an original but a copy from another exemplar.¹⁴³ The interpolations are more frequent and sometimes longer than those in BN lat. 4886. I collated the part of the manuscript not edited by Waitz for this edition.

The codex consists of 129 folios and is structured as follows.

Folio 1r line 1 – 2v line 3: This is the text taken from an early part of Bede's chapter 66, but not from its very start. It covers the text from line 72 until line 138, where it stops midsentence shortly before the end of the description of the first aetas.¹⁴⁴

Incipit: Adam annorum XCCC.

Explicit: potuit quidem accedere.

Folio 2v line 4 – 7r line 1: The preface of Eusebius to his *Kanones*.¹⁴⁵

Incipit: Incipit prefatio Eusebii Casariensis episcopi Moysen gentis.

Explicit: brevitae ponimus.

Folio 7r line 2 – 8r line 13: The preface of Bede.

Incipit: Incipit prefatio Sancti Bedani Presbiteri de natura rerum et ratione temporum duos quondam.

Explicit: iura custodiat.

¹³⁹ Karl Halm, Georg von Laubmann and Wilhelm Meyer ed., *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis I.1: Codices num.1-2329 / comp.* (Munich 1868) 44-45.

¹⁴⁰ McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, 23-26.

¹⁴¹ Bischoff, *Katalog II*, 221.

¹⁴² Simson, 'Die überarbeitete und bis zum Jahre 741 fortgesetzte Chronik des Beda', 99-100.

¹⁴³ McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, 26. According to McKitterick this other exemplar cannot have been Scaliger 28. This is correct, as is shown in the next chapter when discussing the stemma.

¹⁴⁴ Jones, *BOD*, lines 72-138.

¹⁴⁵ Eusebius-Jerome, 'Die Chronik des Hieronymus', in R. Helm ed., *Eusebius Werke*. Vol. 7 (Berlin 1984); Transl. of the edition of Helm, notes and commentaries: B. Jeanjean and B. Lançon ed., *Saint Jérôme, Chronique: Continuation de la Chronique d'Eusèbe, années 326-378, suivie de quatre études sur les chroniques et chronographies dans l'Antiquité tardive (IVe – VIe siècles)* (Rennes 2004) 63.

Folio 8r line 13 – 8v line 3: The preface of Isidore to his *Chronica Maiora*.¹⁴⁶

Incipit: It est prefatio ESIDORI EPISCOPI temporum expositionem per generationes et regna primus ex nostris Iulius Africanus sub imperatore Marco.

Explicit: saeculi cognoscatur.

Folio 8v line 3 – 104r line 22: Bede's *Chronica Maiora*. This is the text shared with the other manuscripts of the Waitz group.

Incipit: Incipit Liber chronicorum ex diversis opusculis auctorum collecta in unum.¹⁴⁷

Explicit: tanto patri honore recondidit.

Folio 104r line 22-24 – 104v line 24: After the words 'honore recondidit' (the last words of chapter 66) follows an exit formula: 'Hucusque Beda' (with red ink underlined) and the text continues with: 'Anno ab incarnatione Christi DCCXXI iactavit Eudo Sarracenos de terra sua'. The chronicle ends with the death of Charles Martel on the end of the next folio side.

Explicit: Pippinus Burgundiam Neustria atque Provintiam accepit.

Folio 105r line 1 – 113r line 9: The continuation of DTR with the last chapters.

Incipit: DE RELIQUIS SEXTAE AETATES

Explicit: Explicit domino iuvante Bada (sic.) presbiteri de temporibus liber, amen.

Folio 113r line 10 – 129: Written by another hand, Hraban's treatise *De Praedestinatione*.¹⁴⁸

The text is followed by a continuation in another hand. The end of folio 129 is so badly damaged that the last words of the codex are illegible except for a stamp of the Bibliotheca Regia.

Incipit: Firmissima sanctarum auctoritate scripturarum munitum est.

The folio after folio 69 has not been numbered. It should be further remarked that a later hand wrote in red ink on the recto page of folio 104: 'Finis temporum Bede presbiteri'. The same person wrote in the margin of the verso side of this folio, at the end of the continuation: 'Eo tempore scriptus ac finitus est liber iste', and after the last word of the folio: 'Finis de gestis imperatorum illius temporis'. The essential difference with the Scaliger manuscript, with regards to DTR, is that the Munich codex begins with chapter 66 whereas Scaliger 28 begins with chapter 65.

¹⁴⁶ *Chronica maiora*, Theodor Mommsen ed., MGH AA XI (Berlin 1894) 391-481, there 424-425.

¹⁴⁷ See also the plate of this folio in McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, 27. She erroneously refers to folio 4v.

¹⁴⁸ MPL 112, 531.

1.3.4 – Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, 186

The book is bound in a calf leather cover showing the arms of Pierre de Bauffremont, marquis de Listenois, who died in 1685. He descended from a dynasty founded in the eleventh century by Baron Liebaut de Bauffremont in Haute Saône.¹⁴⁹ Some years after the death of the marquis, the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Vincent de Bésançon, Jean Baptiste Boisot, bought the codex in Dijon in 1693. Upon his death in 1694 he left his entire collection to his monastery.

The script is a Caroline miniscule. The library catalogue made by Castan dates this codex to the ninth century, which was confirmed by Delisle.¹⁵⁰ Bischoff dated the manuscript to the third part of the ninth century and suggested a provenance in eastern France. The codex is still in fine condition and clearly legible. Some of the folios contain holes and some folios were not of the required size. The writing is of several hands.¹⁵¹ The part of the manuscript dealing with chapter 66 of Bede's CM has been written neatly by one, practised, hand. The book consists of 164 folios measuring 270 by 195 millimetres (205 x 125) each of which counts 33 long lines.¹⁵²

The contents form a well-structured text community. The first piece is Bede's *De miraculis Sancti Cudbercti episcopi*, a work on miracles of St Cuthbert, and covers the first 24 folios. On folio 25 begins Bede's *De Natura Rerum*, followed on folio 32 by a compilation on ecclesiastical computations with a note on the council of Nicaea and excerpts from several works of, among others, Eusebius. It is followed by the central work of the codex, *De Temporum Ratione*, beginning on folio 70v. On folio 113r, line 14 from below, after 'LXVI' begins the chapter 'DE SEX HUIUS SECULI AETATIBUS', which continues until folio 157v where on the 17th line from below is written: 'hucusque Beda', after which the last interpolation is inserted which ends with the entry for the year 741. On folio 158r the text continues DTR with 'DE RELIQUIS SEXTE AETATIS', until folio 161v where it concludes with 'EXPLICIT DOMINO IUVANTE BEDAE PRESBITERI DE TEMPORIBUS LIBER',

¹⁴⁹ 'Bauffremont', in: Marie Nicolas Bouillet ed., *Dictionnaire universel d'histoire et de géographie* (Paris 1869) 189.

¹⁵⁰ A. Castan, *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements. Tome XXXII, Besançon, Tome I* (Paris 1897) 128; Delisle, 'Note sur un manuscrit interpolé', 528.

¹⁵¹ Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen) Tl. I: Aachen-Lambach* (Wiesbaden 1998) 134. Bischoff remarks that there are several hands and calls the text a 'Komputistisch corpus'.

¹⁵² Bischoff gives different measurements and counted 35 or 36 lines. Bischoff, *Katalog I*, 134.

followed by ‘Amen’ (the ‘a’ is written as an omega).¹⁵³ The last pages are taken up by chronological notes on lunar cycles, with on folio 162r a primitive sketch of an animal with the head of a human and a simple star. Folio 162v, finally, presents a lunar calendar.

There are no signatures. Prickings show clearly on the outer margin and rulings are plainly visible. Decorations consist of ornamented and sepia coloured capitals at the beginning of paragraphs, sometimes extending outside the text and into the left margin. The drawing on folio 162r is the only one. The text is not laid out according to titled paragraphs or display script. The Hebrew and LXX year dates serve as such when they begin a new line. The punctuation is very limited and serves mainly to clarify figures. For example: ‘Anno .CCCLV. dicebatur’ etc. Marginalia are rare. Before folio 130v the text contains almost no marginalia, folios 136v to 139v contain relatively more, limited to specific parts of the text. They mostly consist of corrections and very brief summaries. Abbreviations are used with moderation throughout the text.

The interpolations are almost identical to those of BN lat. 4886 and Scaliger 28. Delisle already observed that the interpolations corresponding with the reigns of Mauricius and Anastasius are more or less the same.¹⁵⁴ Where he found additional ones in BN lat. 4886 (not to be found in the Besançon codex) they concern interpolations drawn from the lost southern source.¹⁵⁵ On folio 114v approximately one third of the original text after the words ‘saecula saeculorum Amen’ has been erased. The manuscript frequently lacks words or lines, clearly by oversight, and at the end it even omits entire fragments of text.

1.3.5 – Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 1615

The codex once belonged to the Benedictine Abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire (close to Flavigny and Autun) and seems to have been written in the ninth century. From there it was moved to the library of Orleans where it was registered under number 266. After this it belonged to Lord Ashburne (under library number 90) who lent it to Mommsen to use for his edition of Bede’s CM.¹⁵⁶ According to Mommsen it could have been written in the beginning of the ninth century, which he deduced from a *laterculum* on the folios 171 and 172 that ends with: ‘et inde domnus Carlus solus regnum sumpsit et – regni eius XLII, imperii autem VIII: sunt

¹⁵³ There is no chapter number present at this point, which may explain the consequent wrong chapter numbering in the next part of DTR: 67 instead of 68; 68 instead of 69; 69 instead of 70 and 70 instead of 71.

¹⁵⁴ Delisle, ‘Note sur un manuscrit interpolé’, 529-533.

¹⁵⁵ CMM II, 111-112: ‘His temporibus – Barchinona transmittit’. The other exclusive additions in P with regards to the ‘Waitz manuscripts’ are shared with BN lat. 5941.

¹⁵⁶ *Bedae Chronica Maiora, ADA. DCCXXV*, Mommsen ed., 237.

autem totius summae ab origine mundi anni usque ad presentem iiiiDCCLXI'. The cycles of Dionysius for the years 798 to 816 (on folio 10) point to a similar date.¹⁵⁷

On folio 19r we find the preface: 'De natura rerum et ratione temporum quosquondam', which ends on folio 19v with: 'explicit praefatio'. After this follows a table of contents: 'incipit capitula', followed by a list of chapters beginning with 'I de computo vel loquela digitorum' until (on folio 20r) 'LXXII (a scribe's mistake, this should read LXX instead) De septima et octava aetate saeculi future and Expliliunt capitula de computo vel loquela digitorum'. *De Temporum Ratione* begins on folio 20v. Then, on folio 81v we find the beginning of the chapter 'de sex huius seculi Aetatibus' (written in uncial letters) and a note in the margin: 'LXVI'. On folio 82r, after '.... expectant' and above the third line from below: 'LXVII DE CURSUS AETATUM', after which the following text begins: 'prima igitur aetate seculi nascentis – propagaret humanum', and on folio 82v, on the 6th line from below, a new part begins from the margin: 'Prima aetate Adam et succesores'. Above this sentence is written: 'LXVIII (sic.)'. On folio 120v chapter 66 ends with 'honore recondit', after which the manuscript continues midline with 'LXVII DE RELIQUIS SEX AETATIBUS' followed by the next chapters of Bede's CM. On folio 126v the chronicle ends with: 'EXPLICIT DOMINO IUVANTE BEDE PRESBYTERI DE TEMPORIBUS LIBER. AMEN' and continues with, what seem to be, several sections with comments on Bede's work. Finally, on folio 135: 'explicit de natura rerum incipit liber de temporibus', which takes up the following folios until folio 140v. A number of chronological treatises fill the rest of the codex until the end on folio 193.

The manuscript has some interpolations in common with the previous ones but their number and volume are much more limited.¹⁵⁸ In comparison with the other codices of the Waitz group, as well as with BN lat. 4886, Bede's text is much less manipulated and the added information is of such little substance that this manuscript offers hardly any support for this edition. The text is so much closer to Bede's original version that it is questionable why Mommsen placed it with the other manuscripts mentioned above. Differences continue across other characteristics as well. Rather than to give a dual chronology in both Hebrew and Septuagint dates, common in the other manuscripts of the Waitz-group, BN nouv. acq. lat. 1615 offers only the Hebrew dates in line with Bede's CM. The text on folio 82r, beginning under: 'LXVII de cursus aetatum', up to 'propagaret humanum' on 82v is copied from Bede,

¹⁵⁷ *Bedae Chronica Maiora, AD A. DCCXXV*, Mommsen ed., 237.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 334.

but it is a text left out in Scaliger 28, BN lat. 4886, Clm 246 and Besançon BM 186.¹⁵⁹ The next section, ‘prima aetate Adam’, is the first interpolation, as in the other manuscripts. But after this first interpolation Bede’s text remains untouched for a long time and the manuscript retains Bede’s text where the other manuscripts skip fragments. For instance, on folio 95v : ‘Artaxerxes qui et longimanus id est ana cr (...) annis XL huius anno’. The three words ‘id est makrocheir’ (in Greek) are found in Bede’s CM but are left out in the other manuscripts.¹⁶⁰

Though Waitz must have known this codex, he did not use it and it would have been of little value to him. Almost all the sections concerning Frankish history that are present in the other codices and make up most of the *Chronicon Universale* are missing in BN nouv. acq. lat. 1615. Mommsen probably grouped this codex together with the other four because of the interpolations in this manuscript, which, however limited, must have been copied from another text derived from the archetype. I only consulted this codex for the edition whenever it overlaps the interpolations of the other manuscripts. It has not been collated for this edition and is not included in the stemma.

1.4 – The codices of the Lorsch annals

These annals, or parts of them, survive in three manuscripts: the codex St Paulensis, the ‘Duchesne Fragment’ and the ‘Vienna Fragment’. The name *Annales Laureshamenses* is in use ever since this group of annals was first edited in full by Aemilianus Ussermann in 1790. As the annals contain many references and persons connected to the monastery of Lorsch, Ussermann believed them to have been written there.

1.4.1 – Sankt Paul in Lavanttal, Stiftsarchiv, cod. 8/1

This manuscript, possibly written in Reichenau, is extant in the form of a quire of 8 parchment folios bound as one quaternion together with some protecting parchment and paper of a much later date. The annals contained within cover the period from 703 to 803. The codex of which the quire once formed a part was believed to be the codex Augiensis 99.¹⁶¹ Originally, this codex indeed contained a short chronicle on some now lost folios.

¹⁵⁹ Jones, *BOD*, lines 464-465; CMM II, 23.

¹⁶⁰ Jones, *BOD*, line 486; CMM II, 23.

¹⁶¹ *Annalium Laureshamensium*, Katz ed., 11.

However, the size of the folios of the codex differs from those of the quaternion.¹⁶² The quire belonged to the monastery of St Blasian where its librarian, Ussermann, used it for his edition.¹⁶³ Early in the nineteenth century the monks and their library moved to the Benedictine abbey of St Paul in Carinthia where the manuscript resides today.

Pertz could not retrace the manuscript for his edition and it was Katz, the rector of the *untergymnasium* of the Benedictine foundation, who rediscovered it. He described the small extant work in great detail in the introduction to his edition.¹⁶⁴ Katz thought that it presented the only complete apograph from a group of annals written somewhat earlier in Lorsch and he dated the text to the first half of the ninth century. McKitterick confirms this and narrows the date down to ca. 835.¹⁶⁵ According to Katz the text originated from Reichenau; the library number on the back of the cover and a note, dated to the later part of the tenth century, specifically refers to Reichenau.¹⁶⁶

Katz divided the text of the codex into four parts.¹⁶⁷ The first part runs from folio 1r and starts with a brief computation taken from the opening words of the first book of Orosius' *Historiarum adversus paganos*. On the same folio begins the second part with the word ANNO, followed by the annals which run from 703 to 768 with very brief year entries. The third part begins on folio 1v, line 9. This part covers the years 768-803 and continues up to folio 4r, where the annals finish midline with the words 'necesse fuit'. The last part begins on folio 5r. After the words 'in nostris vero codicibus invenimus a nativitate domini usque in presentem annum', a calendar begins, presented in several columns and covering the period 'from Adam: 6285' (777 A.D.) until 'from Adam: 6305' (797 A.D.) to be continued on folio 6r, 'from Adam: 6306' (798 A.D.) until 'from Adam: 6324' (816 A.D.) to finish on folio 7r, with the last period, 'from Adam: 6325' (817 A.D.) until 'from Adam: 6342' (835 A.D.). Folio 8r was left blank and folio 8v contains some bible texts from St Paul.

The years in the chronicle are dated according to the incarnation of Christ (ab incarnatione Domini). Charlemagne's reign is noted in Roman numerals, larger than the the rest of the text. Katz defined the script as a Caroline miniscule written by one hand. Remarkable and typical for an Alemannian script are the 'i's in the *ri* ligatures, the long

¹⁶² Wilhelm Wattenbach, Wilhelm Levison and Heinz Löwe, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter, II: Die Karolinger vom Anfang des 8. Jahrhunderts bis zum Tode Karls des Grossen* (Weimar 1953) 187, note 66.

¹⁶³ Roger Collins, 'Charlemagne's Coronation and the Lorsch Annals', in: Joanna Story ed., *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester 2005) 52-70, there 55.

¹⁶⁴ *Annalium Laureshamensium*, Katz ed., 10-24.

¹⁶⁵ McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, 77.

¹⁶⁶ The note is written next to the calendar on folio 7r.

¹⁶⁷ *Annalium Laureshamensium*, Katz ed., 12-13.

upward pointing end strokes of the &-signs, the long downward pointing beginning strokes of the 'x's and the typical 'e's and 'z's (the latter, resembling those of a Laon-script). The text layout is simple and its only ornamented initial capital is the very first letter, P of Paulus, with a length of 9 lines. The quire has survived almost undamaged and is still clearly legible. I refer to Katz's introduction for a detailed palaeographic description.¹⁶⁸ The manuscript has been collated for this edition.

1.4.2 – The 'Duchesne Fragment' in Rome, BAV, MS Reg. Lat. 213, fols. 149-151

The origin of this codex is unclear. Ruinart, the first editor of the Fredegar Chronicles, thought that the codex had been a gift to the monastery of St Claude (formerly St Oyand de Joux) in the ninth century, which would point to Lyon as a place of origin. A long series of scholars maintained that error, even though Tafel had proven the attribution to be an error in 1925.¹⁶⁹ The earliest known library registration dates from the late middle ages and is from the library of St Remy in Rheims. When Duchesne published the fragment around 1640 it belonged to the antiquarian and manuscript collector Paul Pétau. His son Alexander sold it to the Swedish queen Christina who, in turn, sold her library to the Vatican in 1689. The fragment takes up only a minor part of the book which is generally much better known for its manuscript of the Fredegar Chronicles and its continuations; the manuscript is particularly famous for its 'Childebrand-Nibelung' protocol.¹⁷⁰ While Krusch thought it to have been written in the tenth century, Wallace-Hadrill and Collins date it to the ninth century.¹⁷¹

The codex consists of 159 folios of which the first 148 comprise Fredegar's work. The 'Duchesne Fragment' is written on folios 149r and 149v, and covers the years from 768 to 790. For the period from 791 to 806 it is followed by a part of the *Annales Regni Francorum* classified by Kurze as B3 which ends in 813, but the annals instead break off midsentence in 806.¹⁷² For palaeographical details of the codex I refer to the detailed description by Collins.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ *Annalium Laureshamensium*, Katz ed., 10-15.

¹⁶⁹ R. Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*. MGH Studien und Texte 44 (Hannover 2007) 98.

¹⁷⁰ Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, 5.

¹⁷¹ *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegari scholastici libri IV cum continuationibus*, B. Krusch ed., MGH SRM II (Hannover 1888) 11; J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with its continuations, Translated from the Latin with Introduction and Notes* (London 1960) II; Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, 97.

¹⁷² Kurze, 'Über die karolingischen Reichsannalen von 741-829 und ihre Überarbeitung. I', 302.

¹⁷³ Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, 97-99.

I did not consult the manuscript itself but I compared the text of the fragment as published by Duchesne.¹⁷⁴ The differences are mentioned in the apparatus. Without attempting to investigate its place in the complicated stemma of the several so-called minor annals, it is nonetheless possible to conclude that the fragment is more recent in the tradition of the *Annales Laurehamenses* than the St Paul manuscript. The fragment frequently leaves out parts of the St Paul text and does not include the years of Charlemagne's reign. In what could have been a forced effort to present a series of annals starting in 768, it provides an entry for 768 which in the St Paul's codex is recorded one year later. The closely related *Annales Mosellani* (AM) also places that record in 769, whereas the fragment offers no entry for 769.¹⁷⁵ Because of the many omissions in the fragment, all entries until 785 remain rather brief, whereas all subsequent years provide quite substantial accounts. The result is an unbalanced set of annals with short records for the first twenty years and elaborate ones for the second twenty or so years, which were possibly contemporary to the compiler.

1.4.3 – The ‘Vienna Fragment’ in Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 515

The codex now belongs to the Austrian national library, registered under the same number as earlier in the Wiener Hofbibliothek. At the time of Lambeck's edition in 1699 it was conserved in the *Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*. According to his own notes, which are still visible on the first folio, it was catalogued under nr. 266. Its precise origin has not yet been established. It is possible that it was indeed produced in Lorsch as was once assumed, though more recent assessments conclude otherwise.¹⁷⁶

According to Pertz the manuscript has been written by several scribes on a year by year basis, to which many experts over the years agreed. Franz Unterkircher wrote a detailed analysis of the different hands and distinguished four different persons.¹⁷⁷ McKitterick dates the manuscript to the earliest years of the ninth century and also considers it the work of four scribes who wrote from dictation and in an Alemannian script.¹⁷⁸ Collins agrees to a minimum of two different scribes and speculates that other differences might have been caused by different writing materials and the intervals between writing.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ *Fragmentum Annalium*, A. Duchesne ed., *Historiae Francorum scriptores*. Vol. 2 (Paris 1636) 21-23.

¹⁷⁵ *Annales Mosellani*, J. Lappenberg ed., MGH SS XVI (Hannover 1859) 494-499, there 496.

¹⁷⁶ Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, 60.

¹⁷⁷ F. Unterkircher, *Das Wiener Fragment der Lorscher Annalen, Christus und die Samariterin Katechese des Niceta von Remesiana* (Graz 1967) 11-12.

¹⁷⁸ McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, 76.

¹⁷⁹ Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, 60.

The codex consists of eight parchment folios which measure 165 x 230 mm. Most of them count 28 lines. For palaeographical details I refer to the description and facsimile of Unterkircher. The fragment covers the first four folios of a total of eight. It starts at the beginning of the recto side of the first folio, apparently in the middle of the entry for 794, with the words 'cum reliquo devoto populo'. It ends on line 8 of folio 5r, after some brief notes for 803, with the words 'ubi necesse fuit'. From there the text continues midsentence and without caesura with a text in Old German.

The document offers no clue as to with what year its narrative begins, but it ends rather conclusively in 803. In closing it mentions that Charlemagne fought no battles that year. The subsequent continuation for the year 803 in P, with an ample description of events in Spain, could have been another interpolation from the 'southern source'. For the edition of CMM I consulted the facsimile edition of Unterkircher and compared it with the St Paul manuscript. The results are noted in the apparatus.

Chapter Two: The stemma

In this chapter, the manuscripts and fragments surveyed in the previous chapter are analysed so as to establish their mutual relationship. The references below are abbreviated in the same manner as in the apparatus of the edition.

BN lat. 4886: P	Besançon, bibl. mun. 186: B
BN lat. 5941: AA	Sankt Paul, Stiftsarchiv, cod. 8/1: StP
Leiden, Scaliger 28: S	Duchesne Fragment: Duch
Brussels, KBR, 17349-60: Br	Vienna Fragment: FrV
Munich, BSB Clm 246: Mu	

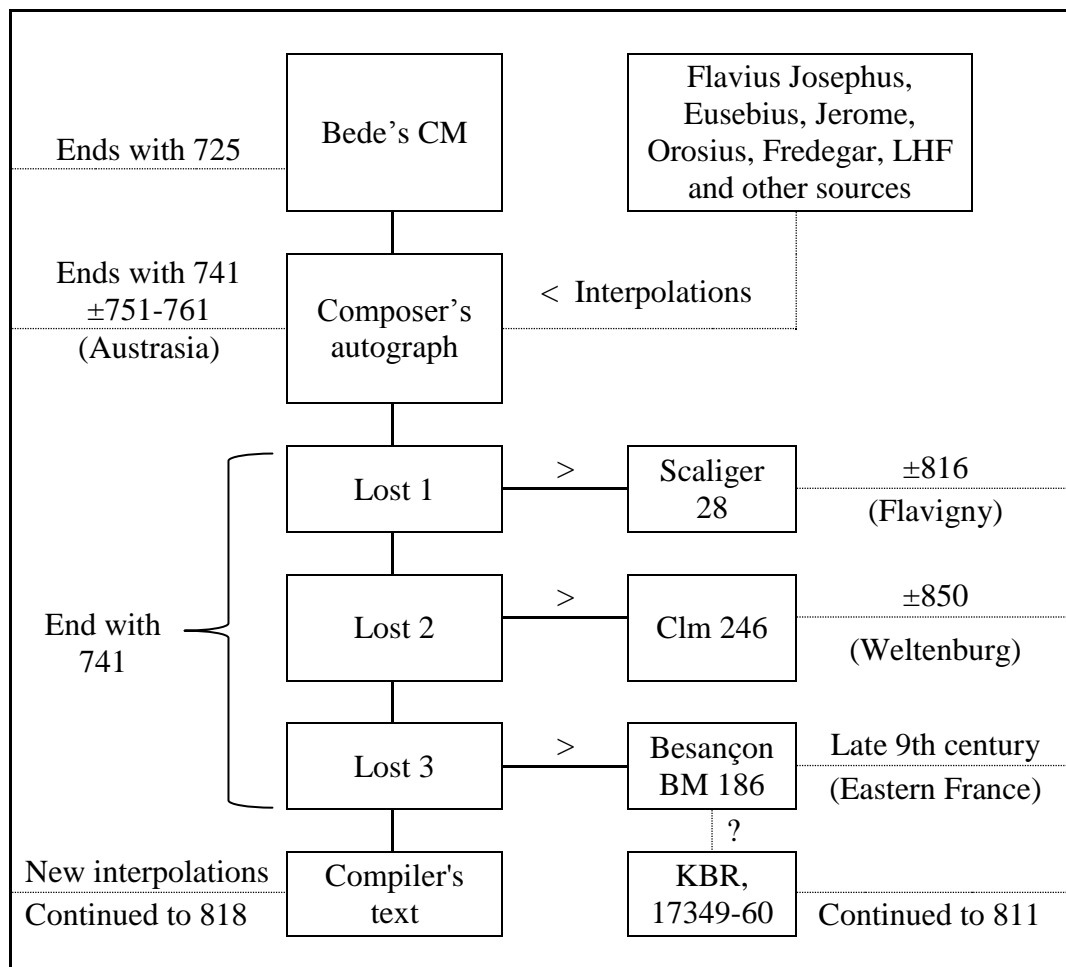


Figure 2: The transmission of the composer's text.

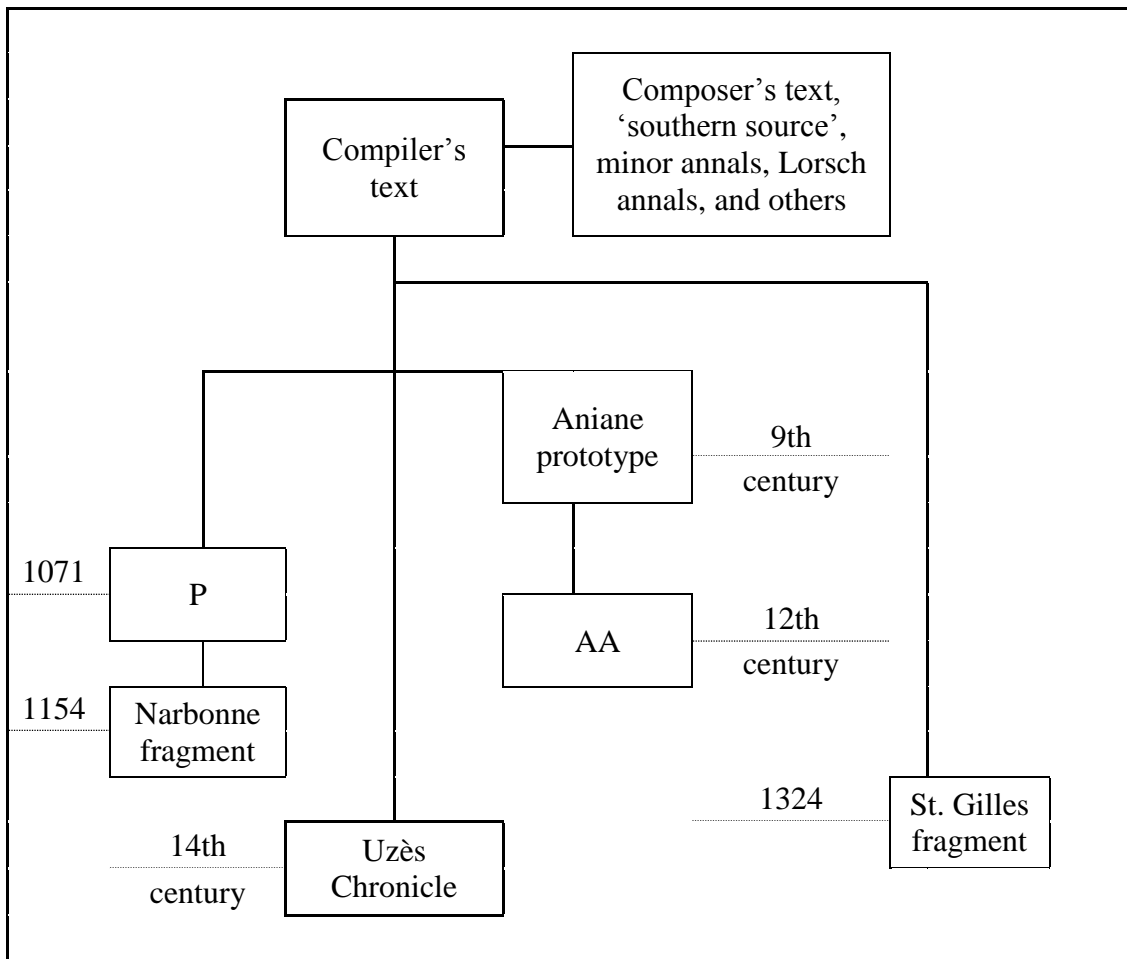


Figure 3: The transmission of the compiler's text.¹⁸⁰

2.1 – The composer and compiler of CMM

We know almost nothing of the composer. His work ends with the year 741 after a short extension of chapter 66 of Bede's CM. Mommsen argued that the archetype was written not long after 741 which he based on the end of the last interpolation.¹⁸¹ Here, S, Mu and B write *Constantinus an.* for the year 731 (S) or 732 (B, Mu), referring to the reign of Emperor Constantine V (r. 741-775), but none of the manuscripts add the usual number indicating years of reign. Mommsen, and later Kurze, inferred that Constantine's reign had probably not yet ended during the author's lifetime. Based on incomplete Hebrew and Septuagint dates,

¹⁸⁰ A comparable stemma can be found in Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 528. Differences are mainly limited to names. The compiler's text above is referred to by Kettemann as the *Annales Benedicti Anianensis*, in reference to Benedict of Aniane. Based on an additional manuscript (London Brit. Mus. Add. 12024) Kettemann postulates the existence of a *Historia Karoli Gloriosi*, termed above as the Aniane prototype. The St Gilles fragment takes up a more central position in Kettemann's work, who refers to its fourteenth century manuscript as the *Chronicon Sancti Aegidii*.

¹⁸¹ CMM II, 114.

Kurze further narrows this down to 761, reasoning that the author would have written IIIIDCC instead of IIIIDC in case Constantine had already reigned for more than twenty years.¹⁸² Mommsen also considered the last parts of the chronicle noticeably lacking in information. He suggested that if the composer had access to Paul the Deacon's works (the *Historia Romana*, compiled between 766 and 771, or the *Historia gentis Langobardorum*, finished at the end of the eighth century) he would have used these as well.¹⁸³

Recent study of the so-called Fredegar Continuations offers a possible *terminus post quem*. It should first be mentioned, however, that it is not entirely certain as to whether the composer used the Continuations either directly or through other witnesses. The Continuations are never quoted *ad verbatim* and it is more likely that the composer had an abbreviated or redacted version because it is improbable that he would have made such scant use of the Continuations had he had access to their entire contents.¹⁸⁴

Until recently scholars agreed that the Fredegar Continuations had been written in three stages, by at least as many authors, and that each was 'published' upon completion, the first in 735, the second in 751 and the last in 768. However, Roger Collins has posited the theory that these continuations were actually a Frankish redaction, to which he refers as the *Historia vel Gesta Francorum* and that they had been written in one go until at least 751. According to him the only possible continuation would be an addition that finishes in 768, probably written sometime around 780, but even this lacks evidence.¹⁸⁵ If Collins' hypothesis is correct, the composer could not have finished his work before 751. Together with Kurze's *terminus ante quem* this places the date of production to somewhere between 751-761.

There is very little evidence pointing to possible locations of production. Given the great variety of sources to which the composer had access, including apographs of very recent work, he must have worked in a scriptorium of importance. The early dissemination of some of the sources, such as Bede's DTR and the LHF, points broadly to Austrasia. The composer had access to the Austrasian or B-version of the LHF, which had been completed

¹⁸² Kurze, 'Die karolingischen Annalen des achten Jahrhunderts', 293.

¹⁸³ *Bedae Chronica Maiora*, Mommsen ed., 238-239. Mommsen counters Waitz' suggestion that the quote in Clm 246 'Numitor filius Proce-lupanaria dicuntur' would have been taken from the *Historia Romana*, which according to Mommsen originates from Jerome's *Chronicon*.

¹⁸⁴ For some examples of how the composer integrated the Fredegar Continuations, see: Waitz, 'Zur Geschichtsschreibung der Karolingischen Zeit', 476-481; CMM II, 108, 114-116.

¹⁸⁵ R. Collins, *Fredegar*. Authors of the Middle Ages. Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West Vol. 13 (Aldershot 1996) 32-37; idem, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, 1-7. The only scholar who previously argued in depth for one authorship was Heinrich Hahn, 'Einige Bemerkungen über Fredegar', *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 11 (1858) 805-840. When Monod was called upon to have argued in favour of one author, he protested against this. Monod, *Études critiques sur les sources de l'histoire carolingienne*, 18.

around 737.¹⁸⁶ According to McKitterick, all of the earliest LHF witnesses dating to the later eighth, ninth, or early tenth century, come from the westerly or Rhineland areas of the Carolingian empire.¹⁸⁷ The geographical dissemination of DTR is less precise. For his edition of Bede's DTR Jones categorized Scaliger 28 and Besançon BM 186 as belonging to a group that ranges from Fulda south to Verona.¹⁸⁸ Finally, as we have seen in chapter one, Scaliger 28 has been associated with Flavigny, Besançon BM 186 with eastern France, Clm 246 with Weltenburg.¹⁸⁹ Though none of them point directly to Austrasia, the first two are close enough to the Rhineland area not to invalidate an Austrasian provenance. Based on all the evidence, the most probable conclusion would be that the composer worked in a scriptorium in Austrasia.

This text was continued up to 818 by the compiler, of whom even less can be said. Obviously, he must have completed his work sometime after 818, but no evidence remains to offer a possible *terminus ante quem* or place of origin. The main difficulty lies in explaining how P and AA have come to combine fragments on both northern and southern history. There are two possibilities that have to be regarded. First, there could have been two redactions, one in the north, a continuation of a witness of the Waitz-group, and one in the south. A second option theorises that a corpus of texts moved to the south, where a compiler decided to combine them into one chronicle, together with one or more southern sources. This last theory has so far been the dominant one.

The many passages in P and AA that relate northern information – such as the building of the Lateran in Aachen or an extended account on the synod of 802 in Aachen – suggest that the continuation and redaction was completed in the same Austrasian area as the composer's work, though it cannot be excluded that northern sources found their way southwards and were subsequently compiled into the ancestor of P and AA.¹⁹⁰ Such movement of northern sources southwards could have plausibly occurred together with the movement of monks between Aniane and Austrasia resulting from Benedict of Aniane's reform movement. It is Kettemann's proposition that, after the death of Benedict of Aniane in 821, a common ancestor of P and AA might have been brought to the south by the monks

¹⁸⁶ CMM I, 112-113; CMM II, 79-80, 85, 87-88, 90-92, 94-95.

¹⁸⁷ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 14-15.

¹⁸⁸ Jones, *BOD*, pages 241-246; Jones, *BOT*, 142-152. Another group is centred on Neustria, but neither Scaliger 28 nor Besançon BM 186 shares the qualities of this group.

¹⁸⁹ See above, pages 10-31, and the stemma on page 34.

¹⁹⁰ On the Lateran: CMM II, 135, lines 16-17; BN lat. 4886, 49v; BN lat. 5941, 19r. On the synod of 802: CMM II, 140, lines 20-25; BN lat. 4886, 51r; BN lat. 5941, 21r. Other unique elements, northern or southern, are listed extensively in: Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 33-38.

returning there from Francia. Trough similar traffic other sources must have made their way to Aniane or Psalmodi where they were copied into what would later become the ancestor of P and AA. According to Kettemann, some if not all of this redaction process must have occurred in the south because notices on deaths such as that of Corbilla of Psalmodi in P were most likely entered contemporarily.¹⁹¹ Some preference in P for recording southern events also hints at a compiler whose origin ought to be sought in the south.¹⁹² The other option, assuming two rather than one redaction, suffers from an unnecessarily complex transmission process. However, because none of the northern sources used in P and AA remain in the south it is impossible to fully confirm a sole southern redaction.

2.2 – P and the Waitz-group

The age of a manuscript is evidently an important feature and is usually a strong indication for its relative place in the stemma. As we have seen above, S seems to be the oldest of the group. Several experts placed its origin in the early decennia of the ninth century. Mu can be placed in the middle of the ninth century with a reasonable degree of certainty. B also dates to that century but is most likely of a somewhat later date. As the original manuscript of Br is lost and Wiltheim's notes only place it broadly in the times of Charlemagne it will have to remain a wildcard for now. P meanwhile dates from the eleventh century.

Another venue for evidence relies on textual omissions, accidental or not, which make it impossible for a manuscript to have served other manuscripts as a mother-text. Such is manifestly the case with B. There are several sections in the other manuscripts which should have been reproduced identically but were left out in B. Some substantial omissions on folios 144v and 151v are cases in point. Another example concerns an omission on folios 128v and 129r, created by an accidental oversight of the scribe who copied the following words (given in normal print), but left out the words (in cursive print): 'templum ab idolorum imaginibus *emundans patrias leges post triennium suis vicibus redidit*', and: 'hic adversum Hyrcanos bellum *gerens Hyrcani nomen accepit et a Romanis ius amiciciae postulans decreto*'.¹⁹³

A third way to analyse relationships relies on the liberty with which some Carolingian scribes manipulated or corrected their texts which, in former times, they were supposed to merely copy.¹⁹⁴ The active or passive alteration of the mother-text may reveal much about the

¹⁹¹ Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 486-488, 521-527.

¹⁹²

¹⁹³ BN lat. 4886, 16r; CMM II, 39-40.

¹⁹⁴ Dain, *Les manuscrits*, 17.

place of a manuscript in transmission. Mu, with its great number of additions, is a clear example. It is simply inconceivable that these additions were once included in the archetype but had somehow all been omitted identically later in the tradition.¹⁹⁵

The same applies to what I would call passive alteration, by which I mean a retreat by omission back to a base-text. A closer look at how the four manuscripts handled Bede's text when they report on Abraham's time is telling. Mu follows Bede's text but expands and comments on it, S and B just follow the archetype, but P sidesteps their interpolations and returns to Bede's base-text.¹⁹⁶ These observations leave very little doubt that each of Mu, P, B and S, at least compared to each other, constitute an 'end of the line' manuscript, branched off from the main body of the stemma.

An analysis of common errors and variants would evidently help to confirm and flesh out the relations outlined above, were it not the case that, regardless of the considerable amount of text shared by the manuscripts, the number of useful errors is disappointingly small. Orthographical differences abound but do not provide sufficient evidence, and errors which are not shared in two groups are unsuitable leads. The great amount of numerals, especially in early periods, offers a better hunting ground and, most importantly, it allows one to easily scout through S, B, Mu and P without encumbering a search by having to traverse every sentence. Furthermore, to a numeral only one standard can be applied, there are no orthographical differences; it is different from another numeral or it is not. However, as is the case with deviations in general, it should be borne in mind that in a text with an abundance of numerals it cannot be excluded that the same error was committed in two different manuscripts independently from one another, though the danger of this occurring accidentally repeatedly is of course greatly diminished with each additional instance. At this point the text of Br cannot be compared to the other manuscripts as it only begins with the year 710. Only two of its pages overlap significantly with the other manuscripts and these will be treated in the next section when comparing CMM with AA.

Most of the numerals in the text are reproduced from Bede's CM which thus serves as a convenient reference point. Tables 1 and 2 on the next pages give the results. These tables are not intended to present an exhaustive inventory of all errors which, in the case of P, would make this list multiple pages long. From about folio 14, P frequently omits the Hebrew

¹⁹⁵ See Annexe 1.

¹⁹⁶ BN lat. 4886, 5v; CMM II, 12; Scaliger 28, 95r-95v; Besançon BM 186, 117v-118r; Clm 246, 15v-16v.

and Septuagint dates, often switching instead to ‘anno ab urbe condita’, a custom not followed by S, B or Mu.¹⁹⁷

None of the manuscripts is entirely identical to Bede’s text. All of them contain, to start with, four errors. In addition to these four common errors, each manuscript contains at least seven other mistakes. In light of this evidence it seems likely that at least one copy must have existed which contained just these four errors. From this document all others were to branch off. It is possible that the composer himself was responsible for these first four errors. Regardless of whether we are dealing with a hypothetical archetype, a copy of it, or a community of copies, this text has been denoted in the stemma as ‘Lost 1’. S, the oldest of the manuscripts, was the first to branch off. It contains three errors not copied by the other manuscripts; it does not share the four errors that P and B have in common; and finally it also did not copy the two errors that can be found in P, B and Mu. Theoretically, based on this analysis alone, these two errors could have originated from either B or Mu, but Mu’s additional interpolations disqualify it as a possible ancestor for any other manuscript and this is also the case with B’s omissions. Thus another manuscript has to be assumed, one that shared neither Mu’s interpolations nor B’s omissions, but did contain the two errors Mu and B have in common. This would be the ancestor of Mu and it is here termed as ‘Lost 2’. One or probably more stages further an intermediary had developed four more common errors, shared between B and P, and placed in the stemma as ‘Lost 3’. B separated from this part of the stemma with three more errors, and omitted substantial sections in the process. Together with the results of the next pages, these findings allow to propose a tentative stemma, as shown in figure 2 above.

¹⁹⁷ On a possible explanation for this change in chronology, see: CMM I, the end of section 6.2.

Number	Line in Jones, BOD	Correct reading	Correct group	Errors	Erroneous group	Variation	Group	P	S	B	Mu
1	79	DCCCVII	none	DCCCVIII	P, B, Mu	DCCCVIII	S	2v	92v	115r	9v
2	80	DCCCVII	none	DCCCVIII	P, S, B, Mu	-	-	2v	92v	115r	9v
3	85	CCCXXV	S, Mu	CCCXXII	P, B	-	-	3r	92v	115r	9v
4	87	DCCXV	S, B, Mu	XCXV	P	-	-	3r	92v	115r	9v
5	91	CCCCLX	S	CCCCLXX	P, B, Mu	-	-	3r	92v	115r	9v
6	105	DCLXXXVII	S, Mu	DCLXXXIII	P, B	-	-	3r	92v	115r	10r
7	115	DCCLXXII	none	DCCLXXXII	P, S, B, Mu	-	-	3r	93r	115v	10v
8	117	et duos	none	et LXII	P, S, B, Mu	-	-	3r	93r	115v	10v
9	156	MDCLVIII	Mu	MDCLVIII	P, S, B	-	-	4r	93v	116r	12r
10	177	CCCCIII	none	CCCCVI	P, S, B, Mu	-	-	4v	94r	116v	13r
11	180	MDCCLVII	S, Mu	MDCCLIII	P, B	-	-	4v	94r	116v	13r
12	182	CXXXIII	P, S, Mu	CXXXIII	B	-	-	4v	94r	116v	13r
13	207	MDCCLXXXVII	P, S, Mu	MDCCLXXVII	B	-	-	5r	94v	117r	14r
14	207	XXX	S, B, Mu	LXX	P	-	-	5r	94v	117r	14r
15	213	CCVII	S, B, Mu	CCCVII	P	-	-	5r	94v	117r	13r
16	217	MDCCCXLVIII	S, B, Mu	MDCCCLXXVIII	P	-	-	5r	94v	117r	13r
17	222	MDCCCLXXVIII	P, B, Mu	MDCCCLXXVIII	S	-	-	5r	94v	117r	13r
18	235	MMXXIII	none	MMXXIII	P, S, B	MMCCCCXLIII	Mu	5v	95r	117v	15r
17	249	MMCVIII	P	<i>no date given</i>	S, B, Mu	-	-	5v	95v	118r	16v
18	254	MMCCXXXVIII	P	<i>no date given</i>	S, B, Mu	-	-	5v	95v	118r	16v
19	481	MMMCXCII	S, B, Mu	MMMXCII	P	-	-	9v	98v	122r	25v
20	672	MMMCCCCLXVIII	S, B, Mu	MMMCCCCLVIII	P	-	-	12v	101r	125r	31r
21	713	MMMMDXXVIII	P, B, Mu	MMMMDXXXVIII	S	-	-	13r	101v	125v	32r
22	738	MMMMDXLVIII	Mu	MMMMDXLVIII	P, S, B	-	-	13r	102r	125v	33r
23	789	MMMMDCLXVIII	S, B, Mu	<i>no date given</i>	P	-	-	14v	103r	126v	35r
24	897	MMMDCCLXV	S, B, Mu	<i>no date given</i>	P	-	-	17r	106r	129v	40v
25	907	ah huius anno	S, B, Mu	abusus	P	-	-	17v	106v	130r	41r

26	941	MMMDCCCCLXVI	S, Mu	<i>no date given</i>	P	MMMDCCCCLXV	B	18r	107r	131r	42v
27	971	MMMDCCCCLII	S, B, Mu	MMMDCCCCLVII	P	-	-	19v	108v	132r	45v
28	1001	XVI	S, B, Mu	XV	P	-	-	20v	109r	133r	48r
29	1169	XIII	S, B, Mu	XXII	P	-	-	24v	113r	137r	57r
30	1229	XIII	S, Mu	XVII	P, B	-	-	25v	114r	138r	58v

Table 1: Manuscript deviations from Bede's CM.

Group ¹⁹⁸	Number	Frequency
P	4, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29	13
P, B	3, 6, 11, 30	4
P, B, Mu	1, 5	2
P, S, B, Mu	2, 7, 8, 10	4
B	12, 13, 26var	3
S	1var, 17, 21	3
Mu	18var	1

Table 2: Groups of errors.

¹⁹⁸ Var refers to instances in table 1 listed under Variation.

2.3 – P and AA

A comparison between the first section of P (before its gap from mid-716 to 770) with AA shows that P records several events which are absent in AA. These fragments mainly concern events which occurred far away from the Frankish kingdoms.¹⁹⁹ Some examples include:

Iustinianus – augmenta (43v – 44r)

Eo tempore – Narldobertus moritur (44r)

Iustinianus – signavimus (44r – 44v)

Tyberius – Philippicus (44v – 44v)

Philippicus – prolatum (45r)

Anastasius – docuit (45r)

Leutbrandus – subiciunt (45r – 45v)

Theodosius – Anglorum (45v)

This makes it extremely unlikely that the scribe of P relied on AA or a copy of it. The total amount of text that AA has not copied from P, and which therefore had been taken from other sources, is far greater than the amount of text P and AA share. Furthermore, on numerous occasions the text of P is in conformity with S, B and Mu but differs from AA. These deviations include: (the AA version between brackets): Vulfardo (not in AA); occurunt (cucurrerunt); vacuas capsas (capsas vacuas); per noctae (not in AA); several times Auster (Austria); Clippiaco (Chilpiaco); statuunt (constituunt); rex (not in AA); caedendum (succedente); remeavit (meavit); XVI (XVIII).²⁰⁰ All these variances place AA in a different position from P. But, considering the mark placed in P on folio 43v right where AA begins, it is likely that the scribe of P knew AA or an ancestor of P and AA which carried a similar mark.

The section ‘Sema rex – Barchinona transmittit’ which is not to be found in B, Mu or S, enables us to compare P alone against AA.²⁰¹ The differences are small and mainly grammatical, with the scribe of AA paying more attention to proper Latin. Examples are the correct use of the plural, the accusative, and declinations like ‘transmittit’ instead of ‘transmitit’. However, the available text is too brief to draw conclusions from. It is certainly not enough evidence to prove that AA was copied from P.

¹⁹⁹ Kettemann’s synoptic edition allows to easily identify any discrepancies between the two manuscripts. For the examples listed above, see: Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 2, 7-18.

²⁰⁰ These can all be found on: CMM II, 105-107; BN lat. 4886, 43v-44r; BN lat. 5941, 2r-2v.

²⁰¹ CMM II, 112; BN lat. 4886, 45v; BN lat. 5941, 3v.

The text after the gap, from the year 770 onwards, provides more material for comparison. The close relationship between P and AA is confirmed, but their many differences also become more marked. Moreover, they seem to follow a pattern. AA is clearly not interested in what can be called local news such as the demise of bishops or Austrasian abbots.²⁰² AA also makes no mention of the earthquake and its tragic aftermath near Treviso in Italy in 778, a flooding in 784, or the devastating animal disease in 809. It does not report the baptism of the Frisians in 780, nor the important campaign through Saxony in 804 against the Obodrites. It also omits most of the accounts on the attacks of the Danes in later years. The death of Queen Hildegard and queen-mother Bertrada (Berta regina), Charlemagne's subsequent engagement to Fastrada, as well as his touring of the sacred places in former Neustrian parts of his realm also go unmentioned in AA. AA likewise shows no interest in the accounts of P when they touch on events more akin to world history. Some examples include the arrival of the Byzantine legates to settle the dispute on Lombard possessions, the return (with elephant!) of the Frankish envoys delegated to the Shah of the Persians, and some reports on events in Spain.²⁰³

Apart from these obvious differences AA follows P closely, including where the latter differs from the AL. This is clearly visible in the entry for 779-780, where AA follows P seamlessly in form, but gives completely different and fictional information. For the sake of curiosity I present the two different versions in full, the AA version in bold, the words in parentheses replacing one or two previous words.

Et in alio anno perrexit iterum Karolus rex **cum exercitu** in Saxonia (**Ispania**) et venit usque ad fluvium Visara (**civitatem medinaceli**) et Saxones (**Sarraceni**), pacificati, de trans flumen obsides dederunt. In Francia (**Spania**) vero famis magna et mortalitas facta est. Et rex sedit Warmacia (**in Civitate Lione**). Et in sequenti anno, congregans exercitum magnum, ingressus est iterum in Saxonia (**Ispania super Navarros**) et pervenit usque ad flumen magnum Heilba (**Gaalz**) et Saxones (**ipsi Navarri**) tradiderunt se illi omnes.²⁰⁴

²⁰² For example, the following persons mentioned in P are left out in AA. Gondolandus (Gundeland, abbot of Lorsch from 765 to 778): CMM II, 121, lines 1-2, and 122, line 4; BN lat. 4886, 46r; BN lat. 5941, 10v. Olimricus (Helmerich, abbot of Lorsch 778-784): CMM II, 124, lines 13-14; BN lat. 4886, 46v; BN lat. 5941, 12v. Fulrad (abbot of Saint-Denis from 750): CMM II, 124, lines 13-14; BN lat. 4886, 46v; BN lat. 5941, 12v. Vulcadus (Willehad, Bishop of Bremen from 787): CMM II, 126-127; BN lat. 4886, 47r-47v; BN lat. 5941, 13v.

²⁰³ For an exhaustive list, see the notes in Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 2, 2-141.

²⁰⁴ CMM II, 122-123; BN lat. 4886, 46r; BN lat. 5941, 11v.

AA sometimes goes its own way when it provides additional information, such as on the ambush at Roncesvalles, the foundation of the Aniane monastery, the arrival and entering of the convent in 806 of a certain *comes* Wilielmus, or the recruitment of abbot Benedict of Aniane by Louis the Pious and his installation in the Ardennes in 814 for service nearer to the court. On some occasions it modifies events reported in P and sometimes expands on them, such as for the synod of Frankfurt in 794. Very marked in this respect are the years 799, 800 and 801, where AA omits much of the text of P and substitutes it with substantial information of its own. These discrepancies and departures from P continue to a greater and lesser extent until the last years of Charlemagne's life. For the year 812 AA inserts a text, six folios long, taken from the *Vita Karoli*, after which it joins P again. Later on in 812 it inserts once more a long part from Einhard's work to narrate the death of Charlemagne. It concludes with an explicit after which AA reproduces the Hebrew and Septuagint dates in the P manner. This is the first time AA resorts to this chronology which P used frequently in its first section.

From all this we can conclude that AA was not the source for P or for an ancestor of P. To prove, however, that AA was copied from P or, more likely, from an earlier version both texts derive from, is a more difficult matter. Errors in P that are not present in AA would allow to establish that AA used an earlier, less contaminated version of P; and indeed, such errors can be found. First, there are some grammatical errors in P that are written correctly in AA. Examples are 'id est' (AA and StP) versus 'id', and 'ex' (StP and AA) versus 'et'. Another anomaly is the nonsensical 'cum vivit homo' in P ('Widichundo' in StP) during the year 782, which is omitted in AA.²⁰⁵ The scribe was probably at a loss over what was meant and left it out. For the year 815 P omits to mention the kingdom of Aquitania and Wasconia which Louis bestowed on his son Pippin.²⁰⁶ AA relates this passage correctly. Though these errors hardly provide conclusive evidence, they make it more plausible that an earlier version of P was the source for the Aniane scribe. For confirmation I subjected P and AA to an analysis together with the other manuscripts of the Waitz-group, this time including Br as well. Because the amount of joint and comparable text was small and an original version was not available, I have focused on looking for common variants. The results are listed in table 3 below.

They lead to conclude that either the compiler's text itself or an intermediary contained the three variants AA and P are shown to have in common in contrast to the Waitz-

²⁰⁵ CMM II, 123-125; BN lat. 4886, 46v; BN lat. 5941, 12r; *Annalium Laureshamensium*, Katz ed., 33.

²⁰⁶ CMM II, 148; BN lat. 4886, 53v; BN lat. 5941, 35v. AA mentions the year 816 instead.

group. From this text came forth P with its exclusive ‘ad alamania’ instead of ‘in Alamannia’, ‘gentibus’ instead of ‘gentilis’ and a unique interpolation. AA also stemmed from this copy, but wrote ‘XII’ instead of ‘XVII’ and the three variations it shares with Br. This overlap between Br and AA is at first rather curious but need not necessarily point to a relationship between the two. It can also be explained if both the scribe of AA and Br intended to skip Bede at this point or the fragments from Bede were left out in the transcription of Br. After the year 732 Br is far more similar to the manuscripts of the Waitz-group than to AA. A quick survey of the collation in the edition shows about 45 variances where B corresponds to Br, of which 19 variances also correspond with S. Br and Mu share only 21 variances, of which 12 also include B. Br thus seems to be closest to B but the amount of corresponding text is so small that its place in the stemma is very much tentative. Regardless, its connection to B deserves more attention. Finally, the data in table 3 also confirms the close relationship between S, B and Mu. The combined result of the comparisons between P, AA, and the Waitz-group are outlined in figure 2, up to the compiler’s text. The rest of the stemma, from the ancestor of P and AA onwards, is shown in figure 3 at the beginning of this chapter.

Page	Reference	Reference group	Variance	Variant group	P	S	B	Mu	AA
109	in alamannia	S, B, Br, Mu, AA	ad alamania	P	44v	133r	156r	101r	3r
109	XVII	P, S, B, Br, Mu	XII	AA	45r	133r	156r	101v	3r
109/110	Philippicus - regis	P, S, B, Mu	<i>Omitted</i>	AA, Br	45r	133r	156r-156v	101v	3r
110	gentilis	S, B, Br, Mu, AA	gentibus	P	45r	133r	156v	101v	3r
110	Anastasius - docuit	P, S, B, Mu	<i>Omitted</i>	AA, Br	45r	133r	156v	102r	3r
111	VI	S, B, Br, Mu	V	P, AA	45r	133v	157r	102r	3v
111	Leutbrandus - convertit	P, S, B, Mu	<i>Omitted</i>	AA, Br	45r-45v	133v	157r	102r-102v	3v
111	not available	S, B, Br, Mu, AA	His temporibus - subiciunt	P	45v	133v	157r	102v	3v
112	not available	S, B, Br, Mu	Sema rex - transmitit	P, AA	45v	133v	157r	102v	3v-4r
112	Franci - abscessit	P, S, B, Mu, AA	<i>Omitted</i>	Br	45v	133v	157r	102v	4r
112	de sodalibus suis	S, B, Mu	de exercitu suo	P, AA	45v	133v	157r	102v	4r
112	Theodosius - Anglorum	P, S, B, Mu	<i>Omitted</i>	AA, Br	45v	133v	157r	102v-103r	4r

Table 3: Common variants.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁷ This table is not an exhaustive inventory of variances and most minor or orthographical differences have been left out. An additional variance of importance includes the usage of Hebrew and Septuagint dates in B, S and Mu whereas P, AA and Br leave these out. The first column, 'Page', refers to the page in this edition. The transcription of Reiffenberg has been used for Br : Reiffenberg, 'Notices des Manuscrits', *Compte-rendu des séances* 8, 168-169. The table ends with the year 716 because P is missing several folios starting from 'Anglorum', at the end of folio 45v, covering the years between 716 and 770. After 741 Br no longer follows any of the manuscripts, while S, B and Mu conclude and continue with the next chapter of Bede's CM with DE RELIQUIS SEXTE ETATIS (AETATIS in B). The four interpolations that are included in all manuscripts except AA and Br are all from Bede (see the lines 2003-2041 in Jones, *BOD*). The single interpolation that is not available in Br derives from the LHF.

2.4 – P, AA and the Lorsch group

Much effort has gone into establishing the relations between the so-called minor and major annals of Carolingian times. At the end of the nineteenth century Gabriel Monod summarised the work done by, among others, Wattenbach, Waitz, Ölsner, Arnold and Kurze.²⁰⁸ By then Kurze had probably come closest to solving the puzzle while preparing his edition of the ARF.²⁰⁹ Even now, more than a century later, a full consensus has not been reached. This section presents some of my findings related to a sub-group of the *Annales Laureshamenses* (AL), the *Annales Mosellani* (AM) and their connection with P.

Collins suggested a stemma based on a study of three extant witnesses of a set of annals originally compiled in Lorsch in 785, namely the St Paul, Stiftsarchiv, cod. 8/1, the Duchesne Fragment and the Vienna Fragment. According to Collins, the Duchesne Fragment and AL branched off from a witness of the Lorsch annals of 785 that contained a continuation for 786. The Vienna Fragment and the St Paul's text both derived from AL, the version in St Paul's most likely through an intermediary.²¹⁰

This is in accord with my own findings. A comparison between all manuscripts is not always possible, as StP covers the years 703-803, Duch. 768-790, FrV 794-803, while P continues after some missing folios with the year 770. The years which can be compared show that neither StP, nor Duch. could have been P's source, which must have used an older witness. StP is ruled out because of one large omission for the year 782.²¹¹ Another interesting omission in StP, shared partly by P, concerns the year 798 and refers to the Battle of Bornhöved between the Saxons and Obotrites. Whereas FrV still mentions the devastation of Obotrite lands by the Saxons and refers praisingly to the Obotrites, StP is satisfied with merely calling to mind that they were faithful Christians, while P skips both passages.²¹² Similarly, multiple passages in P and StP are left out in Duch., making it quite unlikely that it served as a source to P.²¹³

²⁰⁸ G. Monod, *Études critiques sur les sources de l'histoire carolingienne*. Vol. 1 (Paris 1898) 77-101.

²⁰⁹ Kurze, 'Über die karolingischen Reichsannalen von 741-829 und ihre Überarbeitung. I.'

²¹⁰ Collins, 'Charlemagne's Coronation and the Lorsch Annals', 54-64.

²¹¹ CMM II, 123-125, 136-137; BN lat. 4886, 46v, 50r; *Annalium Laureshamensium*, Katz ed., 33, 42; *Fragmentum Annalium*, Duchesne ed., 22; *Annales Mosellani*, Lappenberg ed., 497. The entry for the year 782 is fully present in the *Annales Mosellani*, partly present in Duch., but entirely absent in StP. AM, however, cannot have been the source of P; there are far too many differences and omissions from 786 onwards.

²¹² FrV: 'et vastaverunt terram illam et incenderunt', 'et quamvis illi Obotridi fanatici erant tamen fides christianorum'. StP only refers to them as 'fides christianorum'. CMM II, 136; BN lat. 4886, 50r; *Annalium Laureshamensium*, Katz ed., 42; Unterkircher, *Das Wiener Fragment der Lorscher Annalen*, 36.

²¹³ BN lat. 4886, 46r-46v; *Annalium Laureshamensium*, Katz ed., 32-33; *Fragmentum Annalium*, Duchesne ed., 22. Some passages present in P/StP but omitted in Duch. include: (800) 'Nec non et Winidorum seu et Fresonum paganorum magna multitudo (...)', (801) '(...) et reversus est rex in Francia et conloquium habuit

Although FrV only starts with the year 794, it makes a more plausible ancestor to P than either Duch. or StP. Table 4 below presents the significant differences between StP, FrV and P. The many variances of P with both manuscripts have been left out as they offer no indications as to which of the two had been used. For almost all the variances between the two Lorsch versions, P follows FrV.²¹⁴ Given the fact that what currently remains of FrV only starts mid-794, the scribe of P's ancestor must have had available to him a full copy of a highly similar text which is currently lost. Collins suspects that a copy of the Lorsch annals must have found its way to the south not too long after their completion, but an equally plausible explanation would be to argue for a northern continuation of P's ancestor, followed by a subsequent southern redaction after the manuscript was moved there.²¹⁵

According to all evidence analysed, no direct relation exists between AA and the Lorsch group. AA never reproduces a section from the Lorsch annals that is not already present in P. Examples of the opposite, however, are available in abundance. It follows that the place of AA in the transmission is that of a witness, derived from the ancestor of P. AA, if not associated with P, would find no a place in a Lorsch stemma.

cum Tassilonem, et magnum Francorum conventum, id magiscampum apud Wormacia habuit civitatem.', (803) '(...) et pugnaverunt Franci cum Saxones. Et ceciderunt de parte Saxonum etiam multa milia, plurima quam antea, et victor reversus est Karolus in Francia (...)'.²¹⁴

²¹⁴ Of note, also, are two small corrections in FrV. The 'ad eum' in the fragment 'Ceteri autem ad eum omnes pacifice (...)' was added above the sentence, whereas 'pacifice' originally read 'pacifici'. P omits 'ad eum' and reads 'pacifici'. If we assume that the (later corrected) mistakes in FrV originate from its source, it is possible P used the same source or a copy of it, rather than FrV, but omitted to correct these errors. BN lat. 4886, 49r; Unterkircher, *Das Wiener Fragment der Lorscher Annalen*, 40.

²¹⁵ Collins, 'Charlemagne's Coronation and the Lorsch Annals', 60.

year	StP	FrV	P
794	dignus consentit	dignatus consensit	dignatus consensit
795	Sed ut etiam tunc apud in solatio ipsum alia	Sed et etiam tunc apud in solatio suo ipsum alii	rex Karolus apud in solatio suo ipsum alii
796	missuis	missuis	mississuis
797	tun	tunc	tunc
798	qui in aquilones parte Albie erant <i>omitted</i> quos voluit et quos noluit	qui in aquilones parte Albie erant et vastaverunt terram illam et incenderunt. Et illi Saxones congregaverunt se in unum et commisum est forte prelium inter eos et quamvis illi Abotridi fanatici erant quos voluit et quos voluit	<i>omitted</i> congregaverunt se in unum et comiserunt proelium quos voluit
800	<i>omitted</i>	voluerunt et cum cognovisset rex quia non propter aliam iustitiam sed per invidiam eum condemnare	voluerunt et cum cognovisset rex quia non propter aliam iusticiam sed per invidiam eum condemnare
802	vasos ei diaconos	vassos et diacones	vassos et diacones

Table 4: Differences, other than orthographical, between StP, FrV and P.

2.5 – Earlier versions of AA and P

It is not unlikely that during the many years that passed between the compiler's work and the years of production of P and AA more than one common ancestor had been produced. Some evidence of now lost copies of both texts can be found in old historical works such as the *Marca Hispanica* of Pierre de Marca and the *Mémoires de l'histoire du Languedoc* of Catel. In paragraph seven of the third chapter, dealing with the subsequent phases of the Franco-Moorish conflict, Marca describes the Battle of the River Berre in 737. Discussing the date of that event, he observed that the author of the Fulda annals provided the wrong year whereas

the ‘Aniane annals’ give the correct date: DCCXXXVII.²¹⁶ The text in BN lat. 5941 does not mention a date at all, not even in the form of *eo anno* or *anno sequente*.²¹⁷ It is possible that Marca knew another set of annals or perhaps meant an as of yet undamaged version of BN lat. 4886.

Dealing with the capitulation of Narbonne in 759 Marca quotes, once more, two sentences from the ‘Aniane annals’ and declares them identical with some sentences Catel reproduced from an ancient chronicle for his *Mémoires de l’histoire du Languedoc*. The text of the ‘annals’ does not correspond with the text in BN lat. 5941, but it is closer to it than the sentences of Catel’s quote.

Marca:

Anno DCCLIX. Franci Narbonam obsident; datoque sacramento Gothis qui ibi erant ut si civitatem partibus traderent Pippini Regis Francorum permetterent eos legem suam habere. Quo facto, ipsi Gothi Sarracenos qui in praesidio illius erant occidunt, ipsamque civitatem partibus Francorum tradunt.²¹⁸

Catel:

Anno septingentesimo quinquagesimo nono Franci Narbonam obsident, datoque sacramento Gothis ut si civitatem traderent partibus Pepini, permetterent eos legem suam habere, quo facto Gothi Sarracenos occiderunt & civitatem partibus Francorum reddiderunt.²¹⁹

BN lat. 5941:

Anno DCCLVIII. Franci Narbonam obsident, datoque sacramento gotis ibi erant. Ut si civitatem partibus traderent Pipini Regis Franchorum; permetterent eos legem suam habere; quo facto ipsi Goti sarracenos qui in presidio illius erant occidunt. Ipsamque civitatem partibus Francorum tradunt.²²⁰

²¹⁶ ‘Meminit huius victoriae auctor annalium Fuldensium, sed perturbata annorum ratione, quae recta est in Anianensibus, ubi ea ad annum DCCXXXVII revocatur’. Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive Limes*, 236.

²¹⁷ Paris BN lat. 5941, 5r-5v; Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 2, 25-28.

²¹⁸ Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive Limes*, 239.

²¹⁹ Guillaume de Catel, *Mémoires de l’histoire du Languedoc* (Toulouse 1633) 538.

²²⁰ BN lat. 5941, 8v; Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 2, 36.

Moreover, Marca knew well enough that the year 759 was missing in Duchesne's chronicle. Though certainly no adamant proof, it shows that some texts were in circulation which these early historians identified with AA. Possibly these could have been early copies of either AA or P, or, not to be excluded, other chronicles which related similar events.

That there must have been at least one copy of an earlier version of P was hinted at by the St Gilles fragment.²²¹ It presents a version closely resembling the text of P from 813 until 818, although it gives an additional record for 816 concerning the imperial coronation of Louis in Reims. In addition, it provides a correct version in places where P is in error and AA either corrected this or copied from a correct ancestor. First, it gives a correct date of death for Charlemagne. Whereas P mentions the fifteenth of the *kalendas* of February, the St Gilles fragment has the same date as the ARF, namely the fifth of the *kalendas* of February.²²² Furthermore, against P and with AA it correctly mentions Aquitaine and Wasconia as heritage for Pippin.²²³ In another instance, AA places a council of 813 in the month of February, a highly unsuitable time of the year, whereas the fragment and P mention the more plausible month of September.²²⁴ As is confirmed by a contemporary source, September should be the correct month.²²⁵ In addition, the fragment and AA read 'Regulam S. Benedicti' in full when relating the decision of a synod occurring in 815 to live according to the Rule of Benedict, whereas P only mentions 'Regulam'.²²⁶

The manuscript of the St Gilles fragment was dated to the thirteenth century and can therefore hardly be considered as the ancestor we were looking for, but it constitutes proof that such an ancestral text once existed. In my opinion little doubt remains that P and AA each sprouted from the same prototype.²²⁷ In figure 3 I offer an outline of the route they most likely followed, making use of all the elements explored above.

²²¹ See above, section 1.1.

²²² CMM II, 146, lines 17-19; BN lat. 4886, 53r; BN lat. 5941, 31v; Ménard, *Histoire civile*, 2.

²²³ CMM II, 148; BN lat. 4886, 53v; BN lat. 5941, 35v; Ménard, *Histoire civile*, 2.

²²⁴ CMM II, 145, lines 14-18; BN lat. 4886, 52v; BN lat. 5941, 31r; Ménard, *Histoire civile*, 2.

²²⁵ *Concilia aevi Karolini 742-842*, A. Werminghoff ed., MGH Concilia II pars I (Hannover 1906) 294.

²²⁶ CMM II, 148, line 4; BN lat. 4886, 53v; BN lat. 5941, 35v; Ménard, *Histoire civile*, 2. Other small differences include: three words which were copied differently by P and AA: for 'militibus' in the fragment we find 'missis' in P and AA, for 'reducti' we find 'redacti' and for 'reciperent', 'acciperent'.

²²⁷ Walter Kettemann reached the same conclusion based on his synoptic edition of P and AA. Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 40, 485, 528 & Vol. 2, III-VII.

Chapter Three: Previous editions of CMM and related manuscripts

Several editions have already been mentioned which are directly or indirectly relevant to the text of CMM. They are presented here, as far as possible, in chronological order. The first two sections only cover editions that published (parts of) P and AA without depending on the other text; editions that relied on combinations of P and AA are discussed in the third section; editions of texts that are only cursorily relevant are discussed last.

3.1 – The *Moissac Chronicle*

The first printed edition was a co-production of François Bosquet (1605 – 1676) and André Duchesne (1616-1693). Bosquet, born in Narbonne out of an established lawyer family, studied law in Toulouse and attended classes with Pierre de Marca, the great historian of the Languedoc whom he would later befriend.²²⁸ Bosquet started his career in the provincial administration and in 1641 he became Intendant Général of the province of Guyenne, under which Moissac resorted. Some years later he chose an ecclesiastical career and was eventually ordained bishop of Lodève and later of Montpellier. He also made a name as a historian, among others with his *l'Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*. Given his historical interest he must have noticed the codex BN lat. 4886 among the literary works of the Benedictine abbey of Moissac. Perhaps he transcribed parts of the text on his own initiative, but it is more likely that he was requested to do so by André Duchesne. Duchesne needed texts to construct his monumental *Historiae Francorum Scriptores* which he published in the forties of the seventeenth century. He was probably in contact with Marca and through him with Bosquet. The scope of Duchesne's work can explain why Bosquet made his selection and why he restricted his work to episodes of Frankish history.

Duchesne himself has left his readers with hardly any further explanation except for a few introductory lines that precede his text, titled in large capitals: 'EXCERPTA CHRONICI VETERIS'. Another name, 'Chronicon Vetus Moissiacensis Coenobii', is further repeated throughout the whole text, as well as 'Chronicon Vetus' and 'Moissiacensis Coenobii' alternating above the verso and the recto pages. The title and subtitle read:

AB INITIO REGNI FRANCORUM
usque ad annum CHRISTI DCCCXIX.

²²⁸ R. Cazals and D. Fabre, *Les Audois: dictionnaire biographique* (Carcassonne 1990) 73; J. Girou, *Vie des personnes célèbres de l'Aude* (Montpellier 1940) 67-68.

Ex membraneo Codice Moissiacensis Coenobii, quem Franc. Bosquetus
Praetor Narbonensis ex scripsit.²²⁹

They are followed by a few sentences meant as a preamble in which Duchesne explains that, although the work was titled a ‘Book of chronicles of the priest Bede’, Bede was not the author and that someone else had reproduced much from Bede’s book on the six *aetates*.²³⁰

The first paragraph of the actual text is titled ‘Honorius Augustus cum Theodosio minore fratris sui filio annis XV’ and corresponds with the text on folio 32r of BN lat. 4886. In the paragraph titles the reigns of emperors provide the text with chronological order and dates until 714. The text is laid out orderly with clear entries for every year for which information is available. The *Incarnatione Domini* years are stated starting with 658 and they are repeated in the inner page margins. Names of (mostly) Frankish rulers or Frankish geographical locations are often accentuated by spacious print. Duchesne did not print the marginalia as found in the manuscript; Bosquet had probably not reproduced them.

Duchesne leaves us very few clues as to the transcriptions he used. Annotations are rare, amounting to only 22, each noted with an asterisk. Some of them only seem to indicate Duchesne’s doubts about the accuracy of particular words. Others refer to another asterisk in the page margin where another reading is proposed, occasionally based on the version of a contemporary text. The one on page 134, line 19, where Duchesne printed ‘Dagobertus & Airibertus.....frater eius moritur, omnéque Regnum Dagobertus fuae ditioniredegit’ is especially noteworthy and leaves no doubt that Duchesne himself did not consult the codex.²³¹ The orthography he used is slightly different from what would be expected. For instance, he used the ‘&’ sign for ‘et’ and ‘é’ for ‘em’. On the place where he found the text interrupted because of some missing folios he noted that from 717 until 777 the old codex missed many folios which unfortunately had been taken out.²³²

Right after this chronicle Duchesne published another item, a small fragment with an entry for 759, derived from the *Mémoires de l’histoire du Languedoc* written by Guillaume

²²⁹ *Excerpta Chronici Veteris*, Duchesne ed., 130.

²³⁰ ‘Codici huius titulus est, LIBER CHRONICORUM BEDANI PRESBYTERI, non quod BEDANUS nomen sit proprium Auctoris, sed quia ipse Auctor multa ex Libro Bedae Presbyteri de Sex Mundi Aetibus desumpsit. Quae tamen hic consulto ommissa sunt, velut ad Francorum Historiam minime spectantia’. *Excerpta Chronici Veteris*, Duchesne ed., 130.

²³¹ CMM II, 98, lines 14-15; BN lat. 4886, 40r. The manuscript reads: ‘Dagoberti et Ariberti reliquit et Airibertus, frater eius, moritur omnemque regnum eius, Dagobertus sui dicionis redigit.’

²³² ‘Hoc loco in veteri codice multa desunt folia, quae infeliciter dilacerata fuerunt : ab anno nimirum DCCXVII usque ad finem anno DCCLXXVII.’ *Excerpta Chronici Veteris*, Duchesne ed., 137.

Catel (1560 – 1633) but published after his death in 1633.²³³ Duchesne presumed that Catel had reproduced these lines from one of the missing folios in the codex. The transcription predates Bosquet's work by at least 10 years. It might be the case that these folios were damaged and excised in the course of that very transcription.

3.2 – The *Aniane Annals*

The *Aniane Annals* from codex Paris BN lat. 5941 were first mentioned in an early regional historical work, the *Marca Hispanica sive Limes Hispanicus*, written between 1650 and 1660 by Pierre de Marca, and published in 1688 by Etienne Baluze.²³⁴ Baluze, later famous for his extensive library, was almost certainly in the possession of BN lat. 5941.²³⁵ Upon his death in 1718 the codex was transferred from his library to the Bibliothèque Royale. On his own initiative Baluze added some annexes to Marca's work, one of which was the second piece of BN lat. 5941, written in 1296, relating the *gesta* of the Counts of Barcelona and the Kings of Aragon. Marca himself must have known this codex as well because in his main work he reproduced a poem, the third item in the codex right after the *gesta*, which had been composed on the occasion of the death of Raimundus Borell.²³⁶

The first to publish the text of AA, however, were the Benedictines Edmond Martène (1654-1739) and Ursin Durand (1682-1771). They used what they called the *codex Rivipullensis* conserved in the Bibliothèque Royale, for their collection *Veterorum scriptorum monumentorum historicorum dogmaticorum et moralium amplissima collectio*, which they assembled from 1724 to 1733. They called the annals the *Annales veteres Francorum* and in a very brief introduction characterised the text as of 'simple style, in accordance with those times'.²³⁷ They mentioned that they had compared the text with that of the *Chronicon Moissiacense* edited by Duchesne and gave two reasons for supplying a new edition.²³⁸ The first reason was to cover the lost information contained in the missing folios of the Moissac manuscript, the second was to deal with the discrepancies between the two versions. They

²³³ Catel, *Mémoires de l'histoire du Languedoc*, 538.

²³⁴ Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive Limes Hispanicus*, 236-239.

²³⁵ It still bears the registration stamp 'Bal. 88'.

²³⁶ Beer, 'Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll', 7, 58.

²³⁷ *Annales Veteres Francorum*, Martène and Durand, 883-884.

²³⁸ That they had indeed used that edition, and not the manuscript itself, can be deduced from several passages. A telling example is provided by a note on page 885. Their text reads there: 'cum exercitu Herciaco (a) villa etc' and mention in a note: 'Moissac Chron. 'creiaco' pro quo ms. habet Herciaco'. One reads in Duchesne's text: 'creiaco*' and in the margin '*: erciaco', (Duchesne's correction). In BN lat. 4886 one finds erciaco and in BN lat. 5941 herciaco. *Excerpta Chronici Veteris*, in: Duchesne ed., 136; BN lat. 4886, 43v; BN lat. 5941, 2r.

considered ‘their’ manuscript to be clear and easy to understand, whereas they considered the Moissac version to be rather obscure.²³⁹

Their edition is done orderly but contains several inaccuracies. The layout is clear, consisting of four columns and arranged according to year entries. The annotation is very limited and refers mainly to discrepancies with Duchesne’s text. The foremost flaw is their implicit suggestion that they provide a clear comparison with the *Moissac Chronicle* whereas the opposite is the case. In some rare cases they indicate differences between the two texts in order to provide a correction, based on the text of Duchesne, but they left many other differences unmentioned. Only once do they point out a sentence in AA which was omitted in P, but they fail to mention all the other incidences when sentences were omitted in either of the two manuscripts. Neither did they mark the frequent interpolations in AA taken from the *Vita Karoli*, nor the sentences that were inserted by the compiler. While their text reproduces AA almost completely, including the interpolations, this is not done consistently. In the last parts, where the text gradually submerges in ever larger interpolations and where it becomes more and more difficult to distinguish between the actual text and interpolated parts, they leave out the entire last, very large interpolation.

Only one year later, in 1730, two other Benedictines, Claude de Vic (1670-1734) and Joseph Vaissète (1685-1756) published large parts of the *Aniane Annals* from BN lat. 5941 selected for their focus on Aquitanian and Septimanian events in an annex (*Preuves*) of their comprehensive *Histoire Générale du Languedoc*.²⁴⁰ They transcribed directly from the codex and collated it with Duchesne’s edition of the *Moissac Chronicle*. They hardly added any notes and in their introduction stated that the two texts were identical.²⁴¹

3.3 – The *Moissac Chronicle* and the *Aniane Annals*

In 1739 Dom Martin Bouquet (1685-1745) decided to publish a new edition of the *Moissac Chronicle* in his *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*.²⁴² Intending to make up for the large eighth century gap in BN lat. 4886, he used both the Moissac and the Aniane manuscripts, judging both texts to be very similar except for their point of departure and for the

²³⁹ ‘adeo ut quod in nostro clarum & apertum est, id sit in Moissiansi perobscurum.’ *Annales Veteres Francorum*, Martène and Durand, 883-884.

²⁴⁰ *Extrait des Annales d’Aniane*, DeVic and Vaissete ed., 1-12; *Extrait des Annales d’Aniane*, Claude DeVic, Joseph Vaissete and Alexandre du Mège ed., HGL Vol. 2 (Toulouse 1840) 587-590.

²⁴¹ ‘les annales et cette chronique étant la même chose’. DeVic, Vaissete and du Mège ed., HGL Vol. 2, 587.

²⁴² Bouquet was a Benedictine of St Maur. His *Recueil* is also called *Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum scriptores* and counts a massive eight volumes.

interpolations in the *Aniane Annals* drawn from the *Vita Karoli*. Although he mentions to have used the *codex regius* from the Bibliothèque Royale he almost certainly followed the Aniane edition of Martène and Durand instead. Like his predecessors, for the Moissac part he used the Duchesne edition. He called the resulting text the *Chronicon Moissiacense* after the codex with which he associated his edition most.

Bouquet annotated his edition abundantly, including both textual and historical notes, but he did not refer to the few notes Duchesne had added. He placed the years in the margin of the text and divided the text over three different tomes according to the period covered by the chronicle. In the first he presented the narrative from its beginning (that is from *Franci vero* etc.) until 752. According to his notes he consulted a few contemporary works such as the *Annales Mettenses Priores* (AMP) and the Fredegar Continuations.²⁴³ His second part runs from 753 to 813.²⁴⁴ For the years 799, 800 and 801 Bouquet considered the differences between the text of the *codex regius* and the *Moissac Chronicle* to be substantial enough to present the two versions in a synoptic edition. The last part of the narrative covers the years 814 until 818.²⁴⁵ For this section he mainly follows the text of P, sometimes ignoring AA. He does not reproduce the large interpolations found in the Aniane text and, although he indicates other differences between the two versions, he no longer provides both texts.

In 1826 Heinrich Pertz published a new edition in the first tome of the MGH *Scriptores* series.²⁴⁶ Like Bouquet he used the edition of Duchesne and AA as edited by Martène and Durand, to which he referred as either the *codex regius*, *Anianensis* or *Rivipulliensis*. Pertz justified that renewed combination by full endorsement of Bouquet's view, proclaiming the two texts to be very closely related. But whereas Bouquet mainly followed P, at the end superimposing its reading over AA, Pertz followed another approach. In order to establish the better authority – the main justification for his revised edition – he turned as much as possible to what he considered to be the sources, many of which were still extant.²⁴⁷ Doing that proved to be erroneous on several accounts. For example, though he opts for *in morte* instead of Duchesne's *in mo*, in codex BN lat. 4886 one instead finds *uno*. Although just a detail, it

²⁴³ *Chronique de Moissac*, M. Bouquet ed., *Recueil*. Vol. 2 (Paris 1738) xvij, 647-656.

²⁴⁴ *Chronique de Moissac*, M. Bouquet ed., *Recueil*. Vol. 5 (Paris 1744) xxxiv, 67-83.

²⁴⁵ *Chronique de Moissac*, M. Bouquet ed., *Recueil*. Vol. 6 (Paris 1748) 171-172.

²⁴⁶ *Chronicon Moissiacense*, Pertz ed., 280-312. See also his later additions and corrections: *Ex Chronico Moissiacense*, Pertz ed., 256-259.

²⁴⁷ *Chronicon Moissiacense*, Pertz ed., 282.

alters the meaning of the whole sentence. The manuscript reads: ‘accepto consilio in uno primates eorum (...)’, versus Pertz: ‘accepto consilio in morte eius primates eorum (...)’.²⁴⁸

In particular for the period covered by the AL, which Pertz edited in the same year as the *Chronicon Moissiacense*, he frequently gave preference to the version of the Vienna Fragment over AA. When Pertz found no other sources he presented both AA and P, but with preference for AA. Pertz mentioned in his preface to have used Duchesne’s edition of AA and the *codex regius* as edited by Martène and Durand. Pertz’ text and notes leaves one in doubt as to whether he used the codex at all. In several places it is evident that Pertz must have had recourse to the AA manuscript, but on other occasions it is clear that he used an edition and somehow preferred its reading over the original. The entry for the year 786 on page 292, line 7 offers a good example:

Pertz’ edition: ‘Eo anno mense Decembri apparuerunt (...)’²⁴⁹

A footnote on the same page: ‘ex hoc anno mense septembrio 2’²⁵⁰

Martène/Durand: ‘Ex hoc anno mense septembrio (...)’²⁵¹

Duchesne: ‘Eo anno mense decembri apparuerunt (...)’²⁵²

The essential flaw of the edition is that Pertz did not use BN lat. 4886 and that he used BN lat. 5941 sporadically, perhaps not at all. An explanation could be that, as indicated in his preface, he was in search of the greatest authority and preferred to rely on what he thought were the sources of the text. He knew several of them very well as he edited them in the same period. Be that as it may, the resulting text was largely the same as the one edited by Bouquet.

Pertz visited Paris in 1827 and had the opportunity to examine BN lat. 4886 and BN lat. 5941 in the Bibliothèque Royale. It will probably always remain a mystery why his direct acquaintance with their contents did not prompt him to a more elaborate amendment than the brief text he subsequently published for the years 803-813. In his revision he in particular corrected the spelling of names. In his preface he offered no comment as to why he left the selection made by Bosquet unchanged, although he nevertheless observed that ‘with certainty none of the two could be considered to be the autograph, but that BN lat. 4886 resulted much

²⁴⁸ *Chronicon Moissiacense*, Pertz ed., 283; *Excerpta Chronici Veteris*, Duchesne ed., 131; CMM II, 85, line 7; BN lat. 4886, 35r.

²⁴⁹ This is in accordance with BN lat. 4886, 47r: ‘eo anno mense decembri apparuerunt (...)’.

²⁵⁰ 2 stands for the *Codex Regius*. However, BN lat. 5941, 13r reads: ‘et hoc anno mense decembrio aparuerunt’.

²⁵¹ *Annales Veteres Francorum*, Martène and Durand ed., 898.

²⁵² *Excerpta Chronici Veteris*, Duchesne ed., 139.

closer to it than could have been hoped for on basis of Duchesne's edition'.²⁵³ Half a century later, Bernhard von Simson, not the lesser of Pertz' students wondered:

Nicht wenige der angeführten Fehler im Text des *Chronicon Moissiacense* sind übrigens so augenfälliger und großer Art, dass man nicht recht einsieht was Pertz abgehalten hat, sie mit Hilfe der von ihm selbst nachgewiesenen zu Grunde liegenden Quellen zu verbessern. Er nahm sich indessen des ersten Theils jener Chronik auch später nicht weiter an, als er den Codex Moissiacensis in Paris gesehen hatte.²⁵⁴

Whatever his considerations may have been, he left his edition mainly as it was; a text far from what the compiler had intended it to be. Pertz also maintained his point of view that the Aniane and Moissac texts were very close, calling both 'Moissac chronicle'.²⁵⁵ But his opinion was already no longer shared by contemporary scholars. In 1870 Mabille, one of the editors of the revision of the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc* (which also contained large parts of the *Aniane Annals*) had rejected Bouquet's combining of the two texts unequivocally as an error.²⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Pertz' edition was to remain the standard edition for a long time, along with his suggestion that the Aniane and the Moissac texts were essentially the same.

In 2000 Walter Kettemann completed a new diplomatic and synoptic edition of P and AA in the course of his dissertation on Benedict of Aniane and his monastic reformation.²⁵⁷ Kettemann's account adds valuable insights to the background of both P and AA which have been gratefully made use of here. But as his focus was on Benedict of Aniane and the text of the *Notitia de servitio monasteriorum*, the Aniane text was obviously of primary concern and he only included P where it overlap with AA from folios 43v to 54v, leaving out folios 1r to 43r. Furthermore, of the manuscripts surveyed in chapter one only Besançon BM 186 is mentioned.²⁵⁸ Kettemann's edition, however, is orderly done and especially valuable for offering a clear overview and comparison between P and AA, aided by numerous extensive notes analysing differences and content of both manuscripts. Still, a new edition of CMM is

²⁵³ 'Certe quum nec ipse nec alter codex Nro 5941 pro autographo habendus sit, ei tamen multo propior est quam Chesniana editio sperare sinebat'. *Ex Chronico Moissiacense*, Pertz ed., 256.

²⁵⁴ Simson, 'Die überarbeitete und bis zum Jahre 741 fortgesetzte Chronik des Beda', 112.

²⁵⁵ 'utrumque chronici Moissiacensis codicem'. *Ex Chronico Moissiacense*, Pertz ed., 256.

²⁵⁶ Claude de Vic and Joseph Vaissète ed., *Histoire générale de Languedoc, Edition accompagnée de dissertations et notes nouvelles*, Vol. II Preuves (Toulouse 1875) 3.

²⁵⁷ Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 2, 1-141.

²⁵⁸ Erroneously as Besançon BM 187. Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 39, 685.

certainly not superfluous because, as Bernd Schütte also remarks, as of yet no complete, critical and annotated version of the text is available.²⁵⁹

The aforementioned editions have obviously been of primary concern for this edition. However, the text of CMM is in parts also covered by other editions which should not go unmentioned. They are: Bede's CM, the CU-741 and the AL.

3.4 – The *Chronica Maiora* of the Venerable Bede

Bede's work has been edited many times since the beginning of the sixteenth century, either completely or with the aim of presenting selected parts of it. Jones transcribed chapters 66 until 71 of Mommsen's edition of *De Ratione Temporum* and published them in a modern version.²⁶⁰ His clear summary of the several editions, with particular attention to Mommsen's work, make a review of this version unnecessary. However, some remarks have to be made with respect to the manuscripts Mommsen and Jones consulted.

Mommsen provided a list of the manuscripts he reviewed, which included Paris BN n.a. lat. 1615, Munich Clm 246 and Leiden Scaliger 28.²⁶¹ He described them briefly together with the codex St Maximini Treverensis and BN lat. 4886, and pointed out that they all share a substantial amount of interpolations.²⁶² However, Mommsen gave no indication that he actually used P and apparently he did not know Besançon BM 186. He attached two addenda to his edition in order to list the interpolations of BN n.a. lat. 1615 and parts of those in Clm 246.²⁶³ Jones included the same manuscripts in his list and added Besançon BM 186 as well, but he left out BN lat. 4886 and Brussels, KBR, Ms. 17349-60.²⁶⁴ The larger part of CMM, concerning the text until 725, has by its very nature been covered by the editions of Mommsen and Jones. For that reason, the CMM text has been compared with the edition of Jones. Orthographical differences and other minor deviations are not mentioned as it would serve little purpose. The differences which might contribute to a better understanding of the CMM text are indicated in the apparatus and some of them are discussed in later sections of this edition.

²⁵⁹ Schütte, 'Quellenkritische Untersuchungen', 12-13.

²⁶⁰ *Bedae Chronica Maiora, AD A. DCCXXV*, T. Mommsen ed., MGH AA XIII (Berlin 1898) 223-356; Jones, *BOD*, pages 241-537.

²⁶¹ *Bedae Chronica Maiora*, Mommsen ed., 235-237.

²⁶² *Ibidem*, 238-239.

²⁶³ *Ibidem*, 334-340.

²⁶⁴ Jones, *BOD*, page 244.

3.5 – The *Chronicon Universale-741*

Waitz also studied some of the manuscripts reviewed by Mommsen and based on them constructed his *Chronicon Universale 741*.²⁶⁵ Waitz used three codices: Scaliger 28, Clm 246 and Bruxelles, KBR, Ms. 17351. In addition, he made ample use of BN lat. 4886 through preparatory work done for him by Johannes Heller. He chose the Scaliger manuscript as his base-text and considered its authority a little greater than that of the München codex. Although it was not his first priority, in his footnotes he corrected many of the errors of Pertz' *Chronicon Moissiacense*. So far, this is the only available edition of this group of manuscripts. The part of the text which Waitz selected comprises roughly 25 percent of the text of P and the last third part of the Scaliger 28 manuscript. Waitz chose that part for its focus on the history of the German tribes, in particular the Franks. It is somewhat ironic that a work selected for a particular focus was labelled as 'universal' by Waitz.

Heller's transcription of P was either frequently inaccurate or Waitz copied from it incorrectly. Even with the use of the footnotes the result is far from reliable. Waitz did not use and probably did not know the Besançon codex. It has been collated for this edition; on several occasions it was a vital instrument to reconstruct the original version. In effect this edition of CMM presents a renewed edition of Waitz's CU-741 and often allows for a better understanding of that text.

3.6 – The *Annales Laureshamenses*

The last text under consideration, very closely related to the last part of P, are the Lorsch Annals or the *Annales Laureshamenses*. The three extant manuscripts have already been surveyed in chapter one. The first and the only complete version is preserved in the codex St Paulensis, or the St Paul Stiftsarchiv codex 8/1; the second is the so-called 'Vienna fragment' (now Vienna ÖNB, lat. 515); and the third is called the 'Duchesne fragment' or 'Fragmentum Chesnii' (now Vatican, Reg. lat. 213). All three have been edited several times. In 1669, Peter Lambeck (hence the name 'Lambeckius fragment Vind.')

was the first to edit the Vienna Fragment, which covers the period from 794 until 803.²⁶⁶ The other fragment was first published in 1636 by André Duchesne, after whom it became known as *Fragmentum*

²⁶⁵ *Chronicon Universale 741*, Waitz ed., 1-19.

²⁶⁶ *Lambeckius fragment Vind.*, Peter Lambeck ed., *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*. Vol. 2 (Wien 1696) 377-381. According to Pertz, Bouquet revised this edition. He referred to Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens*. Vol. 2, 645 and Vol. 5, 163. Yet the texts found there are entirely different.

Chesnii.²⁶⁷ He titled the text *Fragmentum Annalium* and added the colophon ‘Ab anno DCCLXIX, usque ad annum DCCCVI. Quod in veteri M.S. Codice Alexandri Petavij Chronico Nibelungi Comitis subiicitur.’²⁶⁸ The short narrative is laid out clearly and structured according to the year counts. No notes are given except for one note in the margin along the entry for 791, where Duchesne observed a change in writing style. The fragment ends in the middle of that entry and Duchesne remarks that the rest of the entry of that year, as well as others reaching until 806, could be found in the next set of annals (the ARF).²⁶⁹ Bouquet included the fragment in his aforementioned *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*. He presented an almost identical text, including the title, colophon and closing remark.²⁷⁰ Although he only rarely deviated from the text, he wrote ‘Magi-campum’ instead of ‘Magiscampum’ and ‘Abitaurus’ instead of ‘Abitourus’. Apart from some rare historical notes his edition does not provide new information.

Aemilianus Ussermann was the first to publish the manuscript of the St Paul codex in his *Germaniae Sacrae Podromus* in 1790 under the name *Annales Laureshamenses breves*.²⁷¹ The manuscript starts with a very brief computation from Adam to Ninus and Abraham to the advent of Christ, which derives from the beginning of book I of the *Historiae adversus Paganos* of Orosius.²⁷² After this the text continues with the year entries from 703 to 803.

In an attempt to restore the original version of the text, Pertz published a revised edition in 1826 for the MGH series. It was intended to improve the previous edition by giving more authority to the Vienna fragment.²⁷³ Pertz’ main problem was that he did not succeed in retracing the St Paul codex and therefore had to rely to a great extent on Ussermann’s edition, at least for the first part until 768. For the second part, except for the years covered by the Vienna fragment, he consulted the Duchesne fragment and his own edition of the *Chronicon Moissiacense*.

²⁶⁷ *Fragmentum Annalium*, Duchesne ed., 21-23.

²⁶⁸ ‘Included in an old codex, belonging to Petau and placed after the chronicle of *comes* Nibelung’. The latter is now known as the last part of the Fredegar Continuations. Ibidem, 21.

²⁶⁹ ‘Reliqua huius anni et aliorum usque ad annum DCCCVI iisdem verbis referuntur in subsequentibus annalibus: unde et ea desumpta fuisse manifestum est. Desinit autem praesens Fragmentum in illis verbis anni DCCCVI, in loco qui dicitur Silli supra ripam...Quae interrupta periodus ab amanuensi integrum Librum non fuisse transcriptum ostendit.’ This continuation belongs partly to the ARF, the MS listed by Kurze as B3. Kurze, ‘Über die karolingischen Reichsannalen von 741-829 und ihre Überarbeitung. I.’, 302.

²⁷⁰ Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens*. Vol. 5 (Paris 1733) 26-28.

²⁷¹ *Annales Laureshamenses breves*, Aemilianus Ussermann ed., *Germaniae Sacrae Podromus seu Collectio Momumentorum Res Alemanicas Illustrantium* 1 (St Blasien, Carinthia 1790). Now the Codex Stiftsbibliothek St Paul 8/1. Stiftsarchiv, Sankt Paul in Lavanthal

²⁷² Orosius, *Histoires (Contre les Païens)*, Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet ed. (Paris 1991) I.1.5-6.

²⁷³ *Annales Laureshamenses*, G.H. Pertz ed., MGH SS I (Hannover 1926) 19-32.

In 1890 Eberhard Katz, rector of the gymnasium attached to the Stift of St Paul in Lavanttal, published a third edition of the complete text.²⁷⁴ Katz claimed to have discovered and identified without doubt the 'Ussermann codex', a quire of only 8 folios, in the library of the abbey of St Paul. After the collation of the Ussermann and Pertz' editions, he concluded that Ussermann had committed some errors in his transcription; errors which Pertz maintained and had misguided his judgment when he compared Ussermann's edition with the other readings. In addition to the St Paul codex Katz made use of the Vienna fragment which he had copied in Vienna.²⁷⁵ He also used a, not very satisfactory, collation of the Duchesne fragment, prepared for him by the Vatican library, and consulted the *Chronicon Moissiacense* as edited by Pertz. Because of the errors which the latter contains, in this edition the Katz version of the AL is compared with the text of BN lat. 4886.

²⁷⁴ *Annalium Laureshamensium*, Katz ed.

²⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, 25-26.

Chapter Four: A history of histories

Whereas the next chapter focusses solely on the sources of CMM, this chapter analyses its historical background. The composer remodelled Bede's *Chronica Maiora* into a more secular work by adding frequent and lengthy interpolations, leading it gradually up to a history of the Franks. The compiler built on where the composer left off, using his work and that of others to put CMM in its final form in P. The end product presents a modern scholar with a curious amalgamation: although the greater part of the chronicle was written in Austrasia a few years after the Merovingian dynasty, interpolations from Roman authors abound, and its last part was added only during the Carolingian period.

5.1 – The transmission of universal history

Before we trace a short history of universal chronicles up to CMM, first some words on definition. Universal history can be defined based on geography, time, or subject, in each case the aim being to achieve the greatest possible coverage. Historians have not always made a clear distinction between definitions based on either some or all of these criteria, though 'world history' often refers to a geographical scope, whereas 'universal history' at the very least envisions the full temporal spectrum from creation to contemporary times.²⁷⁶ The composer and compiler of CMM worked on the basis of all three criteria. A fitting definition is put into words succinctly by the eleventh century historian, Marianus Scotus, when he states that universal history attempts to cover 'all times as well as places and includes all persons of importance for salvation as well as for world history'.²⁷⁷

Universal chronicles were, altogether, not an unusual format ever since Eusebius of Caesarea wrote his *Chronicon*. Although Eusebius was not the first to write a universal history, his work became the foundation for generations to come.²⁷⁸ With almost

²⁷⁶ Beryl Smalley, for example, distinguishes world history from universal history only in passing, allowing ancient writers such as Orosius to have a claim to universality, but not to world history, a true example of which was only available in the fourteenth century written by a Persian scholar, Rashēd al Din. Micheal I. Allen focuses almost solely on the temporal and theological aspects of universal history. Beryl Smalley, *Historians of the Middle Ages* (London 1974) 42; Michael I. Allen, 'Universal History 300–1000: Origins and Western Developments', in: D.M. Deliyannis ed., *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden 2003) 17–42, there 17–20.

²⁷⁷ A.-D. von den Brincken, 'Marianus Scottus als Universalhistoriker 'iuxta veritatem Evangelii'', in: H. Löwe ed., *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*. Vol. I (Stuttgart 1982) 970–1009, there 970. For other definitions see also: A.-D. von den Brincken, *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik bis in das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising* (Düsseldorf 1957) 38–40; K.H. Krüger, *Die Universalchroniken*. Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 16 (Turnhout 1976) 13–15.

²⁷⁸ Von den Brincken argues that the *Chronographia* of Julius Africanus (lost but reconstructed) and the *Liber generationis* of Hippolytus may also be regarded as universal. For such earlier attempts at writing universal history see: Julius Sextus Africanus and Hippolytus: Von den Brincken, *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik*,

mathematical precision he linked the biblical and ecclesiastic history of all major civilisations. His preface is not an introduction of contemplative nature, but rather straight to the point, practical and analytical. Eusebius' aim was to compare and analyse all chronological data at his disposal and to converge them synoptically into one single historical composition. He points out the chronological inconsistencies of his sources, which for example was the case with the dating of Moses' lifetime.²⁷⁹ Eusebius proceeds with this approach throughout his preface, illuminating his methods and sources systematically in order to demonstrate his accuracy. Because he could not corroborate the dates in the course of the long biblical periods from Abraham to the Deluge, and from there to Adam, he deliberately began his account with Ninus and Cecrops, the first period for which he was able to connect events and persons with dates.²⁸⁰ The popularity of Eusebius' chronicle is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that his successors used his work not so much as a model but as a foundation. They often wrote from a different angle, in another style, or with other priorities, but apparently knew no better alternative from which to begin their own work.

Jerome and Orosius contributed each in their own way to the success of Eusebius' work. With his translation of Eusebius' *Kanones* (the second part of the *Chronicon*) Jerome introduced the concept of world chronicle to the western world. He made no attempt to rework the chronicle other than by adding some additional notes on Roman history.²⁸¹ Jerome's continuation of the *Chronicon* from 325 to 379 set the pattern for his continuators: an adaptation of the previous part followed by a continuation into their own time. Paulus Orosius' *Historiae Adversus Paganos* contains no biblical component, but through its vivid descriptions, elaborate details and its emphasis on Roman history, it proved to be a good complement to Jerome's *Chronicon*. Their works, separately or combined, served historians until far into the middle ages. The composer's chronicle bears witness to this.

This format, with Jerome's *Chronicon* as the most prominent, continued to flourish long after Rome's decline. It made its way west- and northward into the former provinces of the empire. In Spain two directions can be observed, the first of which was a continuation by

50-55; for Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, Castor of Rhodes, as well as John Malas : H. Inglebert, 'Les chrétiens et l'histoire universelle dans L'Antiquité tardive', in: Benoît Jeanjean and Bertrand Lançon ed., *Saint Jérôme, Chronique: Continuation de la Chronique d'Eusèbe, années 326-378, suivie de quatre études sur les chroniques et chronographies dans l'Antiquité tardive (IVe - VIe siècles)* (Rennes 2004) 123-136, there 123-129.

²⁷⁹ Jerome, *Saint-Jérôme, Chronique*, Jeanjean and Lançon ed., 63-64.

²⁸⁰ Ibidem, 65.

²⁸¹ Ibidem, 61.

Bishop Hydatius of Chaves up to 469.²⁸² The second line developed with Prosper of Aquitaine, was continued by Victor of Tunnuna, and ended with John of Biclaro and Isidore of Seville. John, of Lusitanian origin but writing in Girona, indicated this sequence in the opening sentences of his chronicle. Starting his chronicle with the words ‘so far Victor of Tunnuna, after which we took care of what followed’, he refers to Eusebius, Jerome, Prosper and Victor as his predecessors.²⁸³ He included himself in their company as a matter of course.²⁸⁴ Prosper had written his chronicle in Rome and Victor in Constantinople, and the nature of their work, their subjects, and the way they treated them differed considerably from Eusebius and Jerome. Nevertheless, for John it went without saying that he would continue Eusebius’ thread via them. He covered the period from where Victor had finished in 567 until 590 and added to the chronology the reigns of the Byzantine emperors and the nearby Visigoth kings. His chronicle, like Jerome’s, was universal in scope. He dealt with the affairs of the empire, of Spain, and of the church, devoting his last entry to the third council of Toledo. The computation with which he concluded his work reflects that of Eusebius and Jerome to the year. The *Chronica Maiora* of Isidore of Seville crowned this ‘Spanish series’ in 615. He too followed on many predecessors, amongst them Julius Africanus, Jerome’s version of Eusebius’s *Chronicon*, and Victor of Tunnuna, and focused much on Roman and Persian history.²⁸⁵

The Muslim occupation of Spain did not hinder the development of the genre. The Arabic-Byzantine *Chronicle of 741* was supposedly meant to continue John of Biclaro’s chronicle but it lacked its predecessor’s focus on the Visigoths. The *Chronicle of 754* took up the sequence seamlessly. In one of the oldest surviving manuscripts, the Codex Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, lat. 982, the index on folio 1r begins with listing the seven books of Orosius’ history, Isidore’s *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum*, after

²⁸² See the opening sentence of the Avant-Propos: ‘Hucusque a sancto Hieronymo, et ipso, sicut in capite istius vomuminiis praefatio prima declarat, cognomine Eusebio, historia in aliquantis Hispaniarum provinciis retinetur etcetera’. Hydatius, *Chronique / Hydace*. Vol. 1, Alain Tranoy ed. (Paris 1974) 98.

²⁸³ ‘Huc usque Victor Tunnensis ecclesiae episcopus Africanae provinciae ordinem praecedentium digessit annorum: nos quae consecuta sunt adicere curavimus’. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 211.

²⁸⁴ ‘Post Eusebium Caesariensis ecclesiae episcopum, Hieronymum toto orbe notum presbyterum nec non et Prosperum virum religiosum atque Victorem Tunnensis ecclesiae Africanae episcopum, qui historiam omnium paene gentium etcetera’. Ibidem, 211.

²⁸⁵ ‘Brevem temporum per generationes et regna primus ex nostris Iulius Africanus sub imperatore Marco Aurelio simplici historiae stilo elicuit. Dehinc Eusebius Caesariensis atque sanctae memoriae Hieronymus chronicorum canonum multiplicem historiam ediderunt historiam regnis simul ac temporibus ordinatam. Post hos alii atque alii, inter quos praecipue Victor Tonnensis ecclesiae etcetera’. Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*. CCSL 112, Jose Carlos Martin ed. (Turnhout 2003) 4-6.

which it mentions a ‘history of the Romans’, being the text of the *Chronicle of 754*.²⁸⁶ In another manuscript of the *Chronicle of 754*, possibly of the thirteenth century, the chronicle is listed after the chronicles of Eusebius, Jerome, Victor of Tunnuna, John of Biclár, a chronographic commentary of Hilarius, the *Chronica Gallica 511*, a Carthaginian chronicle, and finally Isidore’s chronicle and *Historia*.²⁸⁷ A lost southern source such as the work the compiler drew on for his interpolations would not have been out of place in this sequence, and the compiler’s work itself relies on a great number of these early works of history.

Less clear cut was the way the format penetrated the provinces of Gaul. One early universal chronicle that addressed a Gallic audience came from an anonymous author who wrote the *Chronica Gallica 511*. It is presumed to have been written somewhere in the province of Narbonne.²⁸⁸ Although it ends with 511 and all its sources are prior to that date, Mommsen thought it to have been written much later because of a note pointing to 771.²⁸⁹ Ultimately, the format as developed by Eusebius and Jerome found its way across the channel where Bede proved that the genre was very much alive. His two chronicles would soon revive the universal chronicle on the continent where his work would be widely reproduced.²⁹⁰

An important caesura in the history of universal chronicles concerns a shift towards ethnocentricity, arguably occurring somewhere after the fifth century.²⁹¹ Though Walter Goffart certainly has a point in stressing that it would stretch credibility to focus on Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Paul the Deacon and the Venerable Bede solely as authors of national histories, they undeniably did much to add to the history of their respective peoples, the Goths, the Franks, the Lombards, and the English.²⁹² One important feature common to both the *Historia gentis Langobardorum* by Paul the Deacon and the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* by Bede, not shared with the others, is their focus on the geographical origins of

²⁸⁶ ‘In isto volumine continentur libri qui sequuntur: Et primo Paulus Orosius continens septem libros. Isidorus minor: ibi *hystoria* Gothorum, Wandalorum, Suevorum, *Romanorum* omni repertoria’. *Chronique rimée des derniers rois de Tolède et de la conquête de l’Espagne par les arabes*, J. Tailhan ed. (Paris 1885) viii.

²⁸⁷ C.C. de Hartmann, ‘The textual transmission of the Mozarabic Chronicle of 754’, *Early Medieval Europe* 8.1 (1999) 13-29, there 19.

²⁸⁸ Mommsen argued for Marseille because of an entry for the year 657. Arles seems a more plausible place however. It is mentioned frequently, whereas Marseille is mentioned only once. *Chronica Gallica 511*, T. Mommsen ed., MGH AA IX (Hannover 1894) 615-666, there 665.

²⁸⁹ ‘Ab era usque in nostris temporibus in quo era DCCLXXI creverunt anni 224’. *Chronica Gallica 511*, Mommsen ed., 626. See also: Brincken, *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik*, 70.

²⁹⁰ Jones, *BOT*, 140-144.

²⁹¹ See, for example: Pizarro, ‘Ethnic and National History’, 43-87.

²⁹² W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History. (A.D. 550-800) Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton 1988) 3-19.

the respective peoples. Bede dedicated the entire first book to a solid geographical setting and Paul, similarly, devoted his entire first book to the origins of the Lombards and how they forced their way into their new homeland. Jordanes, on the other hand, most likely meant to precede the *Getica* by another work, the *Romana*, a short universal chronicle followed by an abridged history of Rome.²⁹³

The *Decem libri Historiarum* by Gregory of Tours qualify for a national label only in later parts and Gregory's text was certainly not intended solely as a history of the Franks. Lengthy pieces on the origins of the Franks were only added in works such as the Fredegar Chronicles and the LHF. The Franks are not mentioned in the title, or even in the prologue. However, this is not to say that Gregory wasn't familiar with the Franks. Tours was the centre of his world, the old Roman crossroad connecting the whole of Gaul. It was the town of St Martin and a symbol for the new catholic reality of the Merovingian kingdoms. Through his connection with Merovingian royals by the prestige of his ancestry and through his high position in the church he had direct access to every layer of society. His strong grasp of the subject and the wealth of his own experiences made that his books largely outgrew the sober form of a world chronicle in the course of their progress. The last six books in particular provide an astonishing contemporary account and constitute a fundamental change in respect to previous historical work. More than anything else, the computation at the end of the last book depicts how Gregory had separated himself from antiquity in the course of his work. His new frame of reference is summarised there: the 5th year of Pope Gregory, the 31st of Guntram, the 19th of Childebert, the 197th of St Martin's death and the 21st of his own episcopate.²⁹⁴ He had closed the doors of the empire and had entered the Merovingian world.

Nothing illustrates the novelty of Gregory's history better than the only other contemporary work written in the Merovingian realm: the *Chronicon* of Marius of Avenches, a contemporary of Gregory almost to the year (530-593) but born in Autun, a little more to the north. Like Gregory he was a descendant from an established Gallo-Roman family and, like him, he was an ordained bishop, albeit of a diocese of lesser importance. As he stated himself, Marius continued the chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine.²⁹⁵ Whereas Prosper had written a continuation of Jerome's chronicle, Marius dealt with the period from 455 until 481

²⁹³ Jordanes, *Histoire des Goths*, O. Devillers ed. (Paris 1995).

²⁹⁴ *Gregorii episcopi Turonensis. Libri Historiarum X*, Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison ed, MGH SRM I.I (Hannover 1951) 537.

²⁹⁵ Marius d'Avenches, *Chronique 455-581: suivi de continuation jusque' à l'année 615*, N. Desgrugillers ed. (Clermont-Ferrand 2006) 12.

and focused on affairs in Burgundy and further southward.²⁹⁶ The contrast between his history and that of Gregory could hardly have been sharper. Marius' narrative is a sober, matter of fact-like series of yearly records, the chronological support derived exclusively from the traditional Roman reigns of the, by then, quite remote emperors of the east. In hindsight it appears bizarre how some of the for Burgundy most dramatic events, like the treacherous brother-war in the year 500, was related to a pair of obscure Roman consuls, or how the paramount event of the period covered by the chronicle, the Frankish annexation of the kingdom in 534, took place 'under Paulinus the Younger, indiction 12'.²⁹⁷

5.2 – Merovingian and Carolingian history

The composer's work can be placed squarely on the demarcation line between Merovingian and Carolingian historiography. Gabriel Monod saw marked distinctions between these two, which he described in two comprehensive treatises more than a century ago.²⁹⁸ According to Monod, historical literature in Carolingian times presented itself with clearly defined and original characteristics, in an organic ensemble, with its own origins and its own individual development, and was unmistakably distinct from Merovingian historiography. The work of the composer would have been one of the few works written in a period of transit between these two traditions.

One other example of such a text is the Fredegar Chronicle. In spite of the many discussions concerning authorship, origin, style, and language, Krusch's analysis of the Fredegar Chronicle and his subsequent edition in 1888 had never been seriously contested. Krusch thought the text had been compiled and written in the sixties of the seventh century, afterwards continued numerous times until the year 768. He worked out several classes in the stemma in order to distinguish the differences in composition between the several components.²⁹⁹ Collins, however, suggests two distinctly different works, one Merovingian, the other a renovated version of the first, extended by the whole of the Continuations and written almost a century later. The very *raison d'être* of this second text had possibly been to

²⁹⁶ *Marii episcopi Aventicensis chronica*, T. Mommsen ed., MGH AA XI (Hannover 1894) 225-240.

²⁹⁷ *Marii episcopi Aventicensis chronica*, 235.

²⁹⁸ G. Monod, *Études critiques sur les sources de l'histoire Mérovingienne*. Vol. 1 & 2. Bibliothèque de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Sciences historiques et philologiques 8 & 63 (Paris 1872/1885); idem, *Études critiques sur les sources de l'histoire carolingienne*.

²⁹⁹ Fredegar, *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegari scholastici libri IV cum continuationibus*, B. Krusch ed., MGH SRM II (Hannover 1888) 1-193.

add to the standing of the Carolingians at the occasion of the ointment of Pippin III in 751. Collins proposed to name this text the *Historia vel Gesta Francorum* (HGF).³⁰⁰

A comparison between HGF and CMM offers some insight into the character of historical works during the last half of the eighth century. Both furnish a history that commences from Creation and continues until contemporary times. Both focus dominantly on secular history, and in their last section both relate the history of the Franks. However, the Frankish element in HGF is strong from early on, whereas in CMM the attention turns to the Franks only in a much later phase. HGF is universal only because of its first book, and its sense of chronology is not its strongest point. In CMM, meanwhile, the universal character is dominant from beginning to end and the dating is used as a framework for the narrative. Where HGF sings the praise of the Carolingian family, the composer of CMM is subdued and rather neutral on this topic.³⁰¹ Finally, while HGF is greatly influenced by the *Decem Libri Historiarum* of Gregory of Tours, the composer's text was shaped after its great model from Northumberland. This latter model was going to influence historical works for centuries to come, while it was Gregory who embodied the historiography of the then almost finished Merovingian period.

The first extensive history of the Franks, the *Liber Historiae Francorum*, was written slightly earlier than the HGF and CMM. It has long been accepted that the author of the LHF finished his work in 727, but so far no agreement exists on who he was or where precisely he had written the text. Of the three eminent students of the work, Krusch, Kurth and Gerberding, Krusch originally opted for Rouen, but later accepted St Denis, which Kurth had argued in favour of, whereas Gerberding made a case for Soissons.³⁰² Since Krusch's edition the narrative is known as the *Liber Historiae Francorum*, previously called *Gesta Regum Francorum*.³⁰³ Both titles are apt and both are found in the several manuscripts. Krusch selected the first title because it corresponded with the oldest witnesses of the tradition, which he had grouped in the A-version. The prototype of another family of texts, the B-version, was

³⁰⁰ Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, 82.

³⁰¹ It has long been assumed that, because of a unique colophon in one of the class 4 manuscripts, Childebrand was the author or *auctor intellectualis* of the continuations until at least 751, afterwards continued by his son Nibelung. Collins pointed out that Childebrand was probably a natural son of Pippin II, not a half-brother of Charles Martel through a previous marriage of Alpaigde. *Avunculus* could only mean 'uncle' on his father's side, which in this case obviously does not apply. Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, 5.

³⁰² Monod, *Études critiques sur les sources de l'histoire Carolingienne*, 16; R.A. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum* (Oxford 1987) 1-2, 146-159; Godefroid Kurth, 'Étude critique sur le Liber Historia Francorum', in: Godefroid Kurth, *Études Franques*, Vol. 1 (Paris 1919) 31-65.

³⁰³ *Liber Historiae Francorum*, B. Krusch ed., MGH SRM II (Hannover 1888) 215-328.

made some 10 years later.³⁰⁴ The contents of the two versions are slightly different, but both leave little doubt in their opening sentences that it is Gregory's story which they will convey and continue.³⁰⁵

The beginning of LHF, however, is distinctly new. Instead of the almost ritual departure from Creation it begins with the origins of the Franks and their earliest movements and battles. From chapter five, Gregory's books two until six are used thoroughly, though very selectively. The profound religious undertone which characterised the original work is no longer present and everything not directly relevant to the Franks and their rulers is left out. Much of what is used is abridged and altered, while information is added on geographical details, popular legends, and several persons of noble birth which are all absent in the *Decem libri*. According to Monod, the author possessed some now lost sources for the later parts, particularly for the period of 628 until 720.³⁰⁶ According to Kurth, much of the contents covering the period after 584 depended on personal recollections of the author.³⁰⁷

As witnessed by some verbatim reproductions, the composer worked with both Fredegar's abridgement of Gregory and the LHF.³⁰⁸ Whenever both texts dealt with the same subject, he chose Fredegar's version. He turned to the LHF for information unavailable in Fredegar, in particular for later parts.³⁰⁹ Though not certain, it is plausible that the composer used the HGF or an abbreviated version of it, in which case he used an almost contemporary work.³¹⁰ Another, though tentative, piece of evidence concerns the composition of the HGF. In the HGF the *Liber generationis* is substituted by the *De cursu temporum* of Hilarianus and in the latter, between chapters three and four of the *scarpsum* of Jerome's *Chronicon*, Dares Phrygius' *De excidio Trojae historia* is inserted. The composer did not reproduce anything of the *Liber Generationis*, but neither did he use any material from *De cursu Temporum* or Dares Phrygius.

The choice to begin CMM with Bede is difficult to explain, but against the backdrop of this chapter some cautious observations can be made. Whereas other contemporary chronicles, such as Fredegar and the LHF, began to progressively focus on Frankish history,

³⁰⁴ Probably by an Austrasian. As Gerberding noted, it is the only version in which all the years of reign of the Austrasian king Childerbert II are given. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians*, 157.

³⁰⁵ *Liber Historiae Francorum*, Krusch ed., 241. For example Ms A1c: 'Liber Gregorii Turonensis episcopi de regibus Francorum' and B1a: 'Incipit liber sancti Gregorii episcopi urbis Turonensium gesta Francorum'.

³⁰⁶ Monod, *Études critiques sur les sources de l'histoire Carolingienne*, 17. Gerberding also suggested this. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians*, 45.

³⁰⁷ Kurth, 'Étude critique sur le Liber Historia Francorum', 46.

³⁰⁸ He used the B-version of the LHF: CMM I, 112-113.

³⁰⁹ CMM I, 113-118.

³¹⁰ CMM I, 116; Waitz, 'Zur Geschichtschreibung der Karolingischen Zeit', 478-480.

the format of CMM at first appears to be almost antiquated, more akin to the works of Gregory of Tours and Eusebius. Instead of writing a history of the Franks, the composer wrote the Franks into history. Throughout the chronicle the composer and compiler of CMM seem to have attempted to combine as much sources as possible. This made Bede, rather than Gregory, a more obvious choice. Having been written just a few decades earlier, it was the newest universal chronicle available, but more importantly, it allowed the composer to freely interpolate from numerous, almost contemporary sources such as the HGF, the LHF, and various minor annals. Had the composer used Gregory's *Decem libri* instead, the overlap with Fredegar and the LHF would have left large parts of both works superfluous.

Chapter Five: The sources

A narrative based on compilation can only be fully understood through insight of the selections made. Why were certain sections chosen, how were they rearranged, and how do the resulting pieces relate to other contemporary sources? The more texts the compiler had at his disposal, the more significant his choices were. What he drew from his sources, what he omitted, and how he brought his material together offers an insight into his priorities and aims.

4.1 – The structure of the compilation

Although the first folio of the manuscript is missing, the first extant folio presents a continuation of Bede's preface to DTR, probably added by the compiler. The first twelve lines are hard to decipher, even under ultraviolet light, and only a few isolated words can be reproduced. However, apart from minor grammatical differences the text is the same as Bede's preface.³¹¹ After the preface follows the title of chapter 66 of DTR *De sex huius mundi aetatibus* and the first part of Bede's text, which presents a summary of the six *aetates*.³¹² Bede is soon interrupted, first by a long interpolation of the composer and then by a colophon extant only in the text of BN lat. 4886 and partly written by the compiler.

The first interpolation replaces Bede's summary of the seven days of Creation with a preview of the narrative to come, *aetas* by *aetas*. It must not have gone unnoticed to the composer that, in his summary of the ages in analogy to the life cycle of mankind, Bede was amalgamating themes from Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* and *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*.³¹³ Utilizing another theme from *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, the text that replaces Bede's summary concentrates in an allegoric fashion on the good and hopeful morning of each *aetas* inspired by God and the sombre way in which each age ended with a sunset in the east after evil had been done. Though the composer thus skips over the Creation story, he also leaves out Bede's somewhat computational emphasis and instead adds a moralistic tone to the text while extending Bede's use of Augustine. As this interpolation is included in three of the four extant manuscripts, it is likely that it was present in the archetype

³¹¹ Jones, *BOT*, 175; CMM II, 1.

³¹² Jones, *BOD*, lines 1-47, 463-464; CMM II, 1-2.

³¹³ Augustine, *DCD*, 16.43; Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, Dorothea Weber ed., CSEL 91 (Vienna 1998) 1.23.35-41.

and that the composer himself added the text.³¹⁴ For easier reference, I call this interpolation the composer's summary.

The next part, the colophon, was added by the compiler and is the clearest mark he left. Because it contains several elements worth analysing, its full text is presented below. Capitals correspond to passages that are underlined and written in uncials in the manuscript.

ETHIMOLOGIA CRONICAE. CRONICA GRECE DICITUR QUAE LATINAE TEMPORUM
SERIES APPELLATUR QUALEM APUD GRECOS EUSEBIUS CESARIENSIS EPISCOPUS
EDIDIT ET IHERONIMUS PRESBYTER IN LATINAM LINGUAM CONVERTIT. CRONOS
ENIM GRECAE. LATINAE TEMPUS INTERPRETATUR. CRONICA ANNO TERCIO
TEMPORIS ID EST GESTA TEMPORUM

In Christi nomine incipit LIBER CRONICORUM BEDANI PRESBYTERI FAMULA CHRISTI,
collectum breviter ab auctoribus ceterisque storiografis Iheronimo, Augustino, Ambrosio,
Ysidoro, Orosio nec non Iosepho, qui multa de temporum seriem scripsit Rufino vel Marcellino
comite de totis summatim incipiens ab Adam numerum annorum et aetates temporum. Secundum
Hebreos vel secundum LXX interpretes iuculente scripsit. Addens ad huc annos ab incarnatione
domini.³¹⁵

The first part corresponds with Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* and gives an elementary brief on what a chronicle is and from where the word originated.³¹⁶ Considering Bede's extensive use of Isidore's *Etymologiae* in DTR, Isidore's definition of the word 'chronicle' offers a particularly apt way to introduce the rest of the text.

The second part of the colophon shows that the compiler was aware that the first part of his text was not the same as chapter 66 of Bede's DTR but that it was an altered and extended version composed by someone else. The compiler must have known Bede's original text but chose to retain the work of the composer. Seeing as how he introduces his text with Isidore's *Etymologiae* and then goes on to list numerous authors who return in the interpolations, he probably knew both Bede's as well as the composer's sources. After this short exposition on sources, the compiler introduces the unusual chronology of the joint

³¹⁴ Between Scaliger 28, Clm 246, Besançon 186 and BN lat. 4886, all except Clm 246 carry this interpolation. One other manuscript contains this introduction as well (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M.p.th.f.46, 96r-97v) but apart from Bede's DTR it is entirely unrelated to the manuscripts of the Waitz group.

³¹⁵ CMM II, 5; BN lat. 4886, 2v. The only other manuscript that also introduces the chronicle with an incipit is Clm 246, 8v: 'Incipit liber chronicorum ex diversis opusculis auctorum collecta in unum'.

³¹⁶ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, W.M. Lindsay ed. (Oxford 1911) V, 28. The last part, 'Cronica anno tercio temporis id est gesta temporum', is not from Isidore and was most likely added by the compiler.

Hebrew and Septuagint dates, followed by Christian dating. Some of the sources go unmentioned in the colophon, such as Julius Africanus who is frequently referred to in the rest of the manuscript. The colophon also omits the authors who served as major sources for the later parts of P.

The words ‘*totis summam*’ suggest that the compiler did not want to be selective with regard to subjects, but that he wished to deal concisely with every possible topic. After these initial observations the compiler does not manifest himself so overtly anymore. In the first part of P he interferes with the text on only three or four occasions. He interrupts the text at the beginning of the third *aetas*, where he discards a rather large interpolation on Abraham and sticks to Bede’s text instead.³¹⁷ Two other departures from the archetype are the passages: ‘*Huius temporibus Memphis in Egypto ab Ape, Argivorum rege condita*’³¹⁸ and ‘*cum decies centena milia et curribus trescentis ipsum usque ad internicionem*’.³¹⁹ The first constitutes a return to Bede’s text and is absent in the other manuscripts. The second passage was an addition from the second book of Paralipomenon, 14:9, also absent in the other manuscripts.

For the period up to 741 the only clear and fundamental difference between the text of P and the other witnesses is the last part of the entry for the year 725. There we find the first of a series of interpolations on Spanish events, in particular focusing on the Franco-Moorish confrontations. The source of these interpolations is unknown and probably lost but it is generally regarded to be of Aquitanian or southern provenance. Because some folios in the text are missing shortly afterwards, evidence for subsequent interpolations (as can be found in AA) is lost as well. The remainder of the manuscript, after the year 770, includes similar interpolations which most likely derive from the same southern source. Finally, the last part running from 803 to 818 is only partly shared with AA. Described as a continuation of the AL it is possible, though unlikely, that the compiler himself produced it.³²⁰

In summary, the compiler made a new composition, wrapped it up and presented his package as a new, improved and extended version of Bede’s 66th chapter of DTR. He added Bede’s DTR preface to the text and began his compilation with the opening parts of chapter 66. Finally, after ending the chronicle with the year 818, he joined the text seamlessly with

³¹⁷ CMM II, 12.

³¹⁸ CMM II, 14 line 2; Jones, *BOD*, lines 256-257.

³¹⁹ CMM II, 21, lines 23-24.

³²⁰ Wattenbach, Levison and Löwe, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen* II, 188.

chapter 67 of DTR, *De Reliquis Sextae Aetatis*. As we will see later, he also adapted the chronology of the narrative.³²¹ In summary, the structure of P is as follows.

- Bede's preface to DTR, probably added by the compiler, mostly illegible.
- The title of chapter 66 of DTR, *De sex huius mundi aetatibus*.

- Bede's summary at the beginning of chapter 66.
- The composer's summary.
- A colophon, added by the compiler.

- The narrative, running from Adam until 741, made by the composer.
- The narrative based on Merovingian and Aquitanian sources until 818.
- Chapters 67 to 71 of Bede's DTR.

4.2 – The sources of CMM

The composer does not mention his sources explicitly but most are recognisable in the text. Often they are included verbatim but more often they are rephrased or otherwise reworked. The compiler identifies most of them in the colophon: Eusebius, Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Isidore of Seville, Orosius, Flavius Josephus, Rufinus and Marcellinus *comes*.³²² As has already been remarked, this list is not exhaustive. Other sources drawn upon include Julius Africanus, Eutropius and Cassiodorus. There are also numerous references to the Old and New Testament. For the lengthy interpolations in the last part of his work the composer used the *Liber Pontificalis*, the LHF, Fredegar's Chronicles, some of the so-called minor annals, and the Continuations of the Fredegar Chronicles. The composer must have been familiar with these sources, and on one occasion he specifically refers to the tenth book of Flavius Josephus.³²³ Even if these sources were the only ones at the composer's disposal, the library in question must have belonged to a scriptorium of importance. In the text-critical apparatus these sources are indicated precisely with reference to each respective book, chapter or paragraph in question.

³²¹ See chapter six: chronology.

³²² The text uses Jerome's *Chronicon* as well as his *Liber Hebraicarum Questionum*. From Flavius Josephus both his *Antiquities of the Jews* and his *The Jewish War* is used.

³²³ CMM II, 27, line 28, where the composer had added *in decimo* to a quote from Josephus.

The compiler used several sources for the later periods, among them the lost southern source, some minor annals, the AMP, and a version of the AL. It is possible that he reproduced the composer's part without consulting the underlying sources but in some cases this is unlikely. As mentioned above, on two occasions he returned to Bede's text and in his prologue he explicitly mentioned several of the composer's sources. The most plausible scenario is that he knew some, if not most of the various sources but was generally satisfied with the composer's version.

In order to review the sources, two parts will be distinguished here. The first part covers the period from Creation to the reign of Valentinian. Bede's chronicle dominates the narrative in this first part and our focus is mainly on the interpolations and their sources. The second part of the chronicle is dedicated to the history of the Franks while Bede's chronicle is gradually shut out to make way for other sources. These two parts are broken down into (rather arbitrary) sections following the general chronology of the text.

4.3 – From Creation to Valentinian

4.3.1 – The first and second *aetas*

For the period from Adam until the deluge, and from then on to Abraham, data was scarce and fragmentary. The main sources used by later historians stem from Hebrew transmissions such as the book of Genesis, the first book of Flavius Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews* and some scattered remains such as those of the Sumerian civilisations. Flavius Josephus claimed to have based his work on the Bible as well as on other Hebrew sources.³²⁴ Later historiographers such as Isidore and Orosius found little to add, whereas Eusebius did not cover this period at all. Bede used the book of Genesis, Isidore's *Chronica Maiora*, Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* and Jerome's *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*. For his interpolations the composer relied on Isidore's *Chronica Maiora* and Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*. The most remarkable additions of the composer are the Septuagint dates next to Bede's Hebrew years.

For the most part the composer left the text of Bede's chronicle intact. He interrupted the text of the first *aetas* five times, but only to supply some brief clarifications. The first long interruption is an elucidation from Jerome's *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos* on

³²⁴ Flavius Josephus is thought to have used a version of the Bible different from the Masoretic text, see: *Antigüedades Judias, Libros I-XX*, J. Vara Donado ed. (Torrejon de Ardoz 1997) xi; *Les Antiquités Juives*, CERF ed. (Paris 2004) 3.

Enos being the first to call on God's name, thus paving the way for idolatry.³²⁵ A more typical, shorter interruption some sentences down refers to Enoch, 'qui translatus est', but omits 'a deo'.³²⁶ The few words were most likely derived from Isidore's *Chronica Maiora* and they are inserted before Bede quotes from Augustine on the reliability of the Scriptures.³²⁷ The next interruption was most likely intended to underline the message already given twice before, namely that evil started to grow in Lamech's generation when 'sons of God' laid with 'daughters of men', which ultimately gave cause to the deluge. The additional 'Hac generationae concupierunt filii Dei filias hominum' is again derived from Isidore's *Chronica Maiora*.³²⁸ This is followed by a sentence instructing that one should 'Lege conlationae abbatis sereni II', which refers to the eighth conference of John Cassian's *Collationes patrum in scetica eremo*, titled 'The second conference of abbot Serenus. On Principalities'.³²⁹ Among other things that text discusses whether the children of Seth could be held accountable for their *profana commixtio* with the children of Cain.

The next two interpolations provide a first hint of the composer's intent to give a more secular character to Bede's chronicle. Both are from Josephus, the first touches on measures to preserve the scientific knowledge acquired so far, the second relates the geographic position of the remains of Noah's ark.³³⁰ Firmly embedded in biblical history, they nonetheless portray a wish to present more factual data.

During the period of the second *aetas* the composer intervenes four times. First, he adds a piece of text from Jerome's *Epistola ad Evangelium presbyterum* on the Hebrew tradition of identifying Sem with Melchisedek.³³¹ The second interpolation derives from Isidore's *Chronica* and recounts the height and ornamentation of the Tower of Babel.³³² Though the information the composer adds is only of limited scope, it again shows an attempt to augment biblical history with facts. In the third interpolation, the composer begins to knit together multiple sources. First he expands a brief quote of Isidore's *Chronica* in Bede's DTR on the Assyrian and Sicinian rulers by adding more from Isidore and, with Eadgillus and

³²⁵ CMM II, 6, lines 6-8; Jerome, *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos*, Paul de Lagarde, Germain Morin and Marc Adriaen ed., *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera / Hieronymus ; Pars I*. CCSL 72 (Turnhout 1959) 4, 26.1-7.

³²⁶ CMM II, 6, line 19.

³²⁷ Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*. Martin ed., 9.

³²⁸ CMM II, 7, lines 14-15; Isidore of Seville, *Chronica*, Martin ed., 11; Genesis 6: 2.

³²⁹ John Cassian, *Cassiani opera. Collationes XXIII*, M. Petschenig and G. Kreuz, CSEL 13 (2004) ch. 22-23.

³³⁰ CMM II, 7-8; Flavius Josephus, *Les Antiquités Juives*, CERF ed., I.2.3, I.3.6.

³³¹ CMM II, 9, lines 4-11; Jerome, *Epistola 73*, Isidor Hilberg and Margit Kamptner ed., *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*. CSEL 55 (Vienna 1996) 13-23, paragraphs 5-6; Isidore of Seville, *Chronica*, Martin ed., 19^a.

³³² CMM II, 10, lines 4-10; Isidore of Seville, *Chronica*, Martin ed., 22.

his son, he introduces Greece and Europe.³³³ The composer then gives the first *ante anno urbe* date and relates more on the Assyrian king Ninus based on Orosius' *Historiae Adversum Paganos*.³³⁴ Lastly, the composer switches to Eusebius' and Jerome's *Chronicon* and adds that in the 43th year of Ninus' reign Abraham was born and that Ninus founded the city of Ninum.³³⁵ After shortly returning to Bede for one paragraph, the last interpolation during the second *aetas* begins with Isidore on the discovery of magic by Zoroaster and relates further that Semiramis, queen of the Assyrians, build the walls of Babylon.³³⁶ The text continues, 'ut Orosius ait', with the wars waged by Semiramis as told in Orosius' first book and then skips to Orosius' second book to relate more information on the Babylonian walls.³³⁷ The limited use the composer made of additional information may indicate his reluctance to elaborate on biblical history, but already takes the first strides to make his chronicle both more entertaining as well as more secular in character than Bede's *Chronica*.

4.3.2 – The third *aetas*

This period spans the years from Abraham to David. Eusebius had access to the writings of a great number of Christian, Jewish and pagan historians whose work we only know through him. He frequently referred to and commented on them, and sometimes acknowledged that he did not always trust them.³³⁸ Even nowadays it is often difficult to distinguish fact from legend, a case in point being the oeuvres of Herodotus and Ctesias.

As in the previous period, Bede drew mainly on Genesis and other books from the Old Testament. Flavius Josephus is another major source of Bede, now through both *Contra Apionem* and the *Antiquities of the Jews*. In addition he used Jerome's *Chronicon* in order to introduce a broader spectrum of civilisations. Still, Bede restricted his account more than Eusebius had done and mainly reproduced biblical issues while providing but brief records on the succession of judges and kings. He only sporadically provides information on events outside the Jewish sphere.

Obviously, the composer had hardly any access to very early sources, many of which had disappeared by then. In contrast to Bede however, what he had at his disposal he used

³³³ CMM II, 11, lines 13-15; Isidore of Seville, *Chronica*, Martin ed., 30.

³³⁴ CMM II, 11, lines 15-17; Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., I.4.1.

³³⁵ CMM II, 11, lines 17-18; Eusebius-Jerome, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*. Eusebius' Werke VII. Rudolf Helm ed. (3rd edition; Berlin 1984) 20a, 1-12.

³³⁶ CMM II, 12, lines 1-2; Isidore of Seville, *Chronica*, Martin ed., 32-33.

³³⁷ CMM II, 12, lines 3-10; Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., I, 4, 3-5 and II, 6, 6-10.

³³⁸ For example, 'From this time on, Greek history is trustworthy'. Eusebius, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Helm ed., 86a.

eagerly. Next to the Old Testament, Josephus, Isidore, and Jerome, he also drew on Julius Africanus and Orosius. He utilizes much of the material that had been furnished by Eusebius but discarded by Bede. The resulting narrative explains his purpose well. No longer satisfied with a skeleton, he wants to put flesh on the bone. The composer did not change the chronological order of Bede's text, yet the interpolations still alter the text profoundly. He clearly set out to create a chronicle with great respect for biblical and ecclesiastical history but without giving these themes a predominant place. Another aim of his was to give the story colour and to enrich his narrative with what could be considered trivia, such as the invention of wine in Greece.³³⁹ Most likely these had been inserted to spice up the otherwise rather dry chronicle of the Venerable Bede. He also included mythological passages when he judged them to be of particular historical significance. Staying largely within Bede's framework, he restored much of Eusebius original chronicle and enlivened it.

As much as Flavius Josephus and the Bible offered on the history of the Jews, the composer aimed for more historical balance. Bede touched only in the briefest of ways on the Assyrian, Egyptian and Hellenic civilisations, that paramount point of departure for Eusebius' *Chronicon*. Our composer wanted these to be included and found a way to do so by placing Abraham, the Chaldean, in their context. In the previous *aetas* he already borrowed from Orosius and Isidore so as to include Ninus, Belus and Semiramis, as well as the wars they waged as far as the Indus; he now expands on this topic through Eusebius and Jerome. Making clever use of passages about the Chaldean religion he continues with Abraham who refused to join the Chaldeans in their worship of fire.³⁴⁰ Next, he added passages on the Egyptians and Ethiopians, carefully selecting a place for his interpolations so as not to disturb the chronology.³⁴¹ Against their background he mentions the birth of Moses, after which he sidesteps immediately to Athens, Thebe and Troy, returning to the story of Moses afterwards.³⁴²

Finally, the composer weaves his narrative around great historical figures, inventions and arts. Some examples include Cadmus, who invented 'Greek letters' (the Phoenician alphabet); the musicians Linus and Amphion; the discovery of iron by Dactyles; the

³³⁹ CMM II, 16, line 3; Isidore of Seville, *Chronica*, Martin ed., 58.

³⁴⁰ CMM II, 12, lines 11-19; Eusebius-Jerome, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Helm ed., 20a, 5; 20b, 8; Jerome, *Hebraicae quaestiones*, 11.1

³⁴¹ CMM II 15; Eusebius-Jerome, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Helm ed., 36a, 15; 35b, 6; 37b, 17; Isidore of Seville, *Chronica*, Martin ed., 47-48.

³⁴² CMM II, 15-16. Eusebius-Jerome, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Helm ed., 38b-43a; Isidore of Seville, *Chronica*, Martin ed., 49-51, 55; Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., I, 10.1-17.

discovery of the art of medicine by Apollo; and the foundation of Carthage by the Tyrians.³⁴³ He also includes mythological characters and events, such as the Amazons, the fiery death of Hercules, and the foundation of Troy.³⁴⁴ One interpolation deserves more attention. The composer expands Bede's short note on Troy's capture with the Frankish origin myth as related in Fredegar's Chronicle.³⁴⁵ Splitting up after Troy one group of Trojans was led by Aeneas to Italy whereas Friga, the successor to the first king of the Franks, Priam, led his followers to Macedonia where they elected Francio as king. As McKitterick states, such a joint Roman-Frankish origin derived from the Trojans 'of course makes the Franks brothers of the Romans'.³⁴⁶ Finally, the Franks settled in the area between the Rhine and the Danube. Rather than a king they now elected *duces*.

The sections taken from Fredegar are mostly kept intact but the composer slightly changed their order which actually improves the text's comprehensibility.³⁴⁷ The LHF also includes a Trojan origin myth, but makes no mention of Friga and relates a somewhat different tale. The composer had access to both Fredegar's Chronicle as well as the LHF but he obviously preferred Fredegar for this early period. The reason for this preference is most likely a practical one. The LHF treats the Trojan origins only briefly and quickly continues with a Roman episode under Valentinian, a chronological jump rather unsuitable for a universal chronicle. Yet the composer had no qualm with the LHF version, as becomes apparent in later sections where he weaves together Fredegar's account with that of the LHF.³⁴⁸

³⁴³ CMM II, 17-18; Isidore of Seville, *Chronica*, Martin ed., 62-64, 74; Eusebius-Jerome, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Helm ed., 58b, 24.

³⁴⁴ CMM II, 17-19; Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., I, 15.1-5; Eusebius-Jerome, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Helm ed., 60b.

³⁴⁵ The origin of the Franks had, according to the composer, been recorded by Jerome's Chronicle, which is not the case. Fredegar's Chronicle presents the episode in Book II, the *Scarpsum* of Jerome. The issue was a subject of dispute in the nineteenth century. For details see: Simson, 'Die überarbeitete und bis zum Jahre 741 fortgesetzte Chronik des Beda', 113, 115-116.

³⁴⁶ McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, 28. This connection between the Franks and the Romans possibly also extends to the matter of chronology. See CMM I, the end of section 6.2.

³⁴⁷ CMM II, 19; *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegari*, Krusch ed., 45-47, paragraphs 4-9. On the Frankish Trojan origin myths, 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; Ian Wood, 'Defining the Franks: Frankish Origins in Early Medieval Historiography', in: Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Alan V. Murray ed., *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leeds 1995) 47-57; František Graus, 'Troja und trojanische Herkunftssage im Mittelalter', in: Willi Erzgräber ed., *Kontinuität und Transformation der Antike im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen 1989) 25-43.

³⁴⁸ CMM II, 80-81.

4.3.3 – The fourth *aetas*

This is the period from David until the Babylonian captivity. The written sources available for this period are roughly the same as before, but the information they contain is meagre. Jerome's *Chronicon* looks bare and sometimes provides, page after page, nothing more than the years of successive reigns of rulers. Only the event of the first Olympiad is featured prominently. The past was no longer distant enough to lend a credible ring to legendary and mythological episodes, yet more factual evidence was scarce. This scarcity is not surprising. Egypt had entered a long period of decline, becoming more and more prone to foreign domination. The Hattic civilisation was losing ground in Anatolia and disappeared almost completely in the eighth century B.C., eventually making place for the Phrygians, Lydians and Bithynians. The Assyrian–Babylonian rulers passed through an era of ever shifting regional sovereignty. Meanwhile, the Greeks and Latins had barely begun their march into history.

Bede remained interested mostly in Jewish matters. He drew on the Old Testament to write on the subsequent kings of Judea and Israel, and expanded his use of Jerome's *Chronicon*, now broadening his scope to encompass the history of Italy.

Although the interpolations of the composer are not very numerous, thanks to their volume they enlarge Bede's chronicle considerably. Of about roughly twenty interpolations, seventeen are taken from Eusebius, three from Isidore, one from Josephus, and one from the Old Testament.³⁴⁹ These interpolations follow approximately three purposes: to complement the story of the Jews, to broaden the scope by including the Asian region, and to bring on stage some European developments. Concerning Jewish history, aside from the de facto rulers, the composer also introduced other persons of religious or political significance, relying on writings from Eusebius, Josephus and Isidore. For example, he provides short entries on the prophets Nathan, Asaph, Gad, Achias, Amos, Eleu, Ihoel, Azarias, Ozias and the son of Aesaias, as well as on the priests Abiathar and Sadoch.³⁵⁰

In order to give attention to other nations the composer inserted multiple fragments from Eusebius, touching on the Median kings Cyaxares and Astyages, and the reigns of Vaphres, king of Egypt, and Sedechias in Babylonia.³⁵¹ The composer seems to have had

³⁴⁹ CMM II, 20-26.

³⁵⁰ CMM II, 20-24.

³⁵¹ CMM II, 25-26.

some interest in the changing balance of power in the Eastern regions and in the growing role of the Medes, which he measured against the achievements of the Chaldeans.³⁵²

Finally, the composer included some sentences on European civilisations, such as a passage on the establishment of the Olympic Games and the works of the Greek poet Sappho.³⁵³ Though Eusebius and others had to offer a lot more on the subject of Rome, the composer selected only the addition of two months to the calendar and a passage on the establishment of the Roman senate.³⁵⁴ Still, he wanted to adequately integrate Roman history, and would do so to even greater degree in later sections.

4.3.4 – The beginning of the fifth *aetas*, from 600 B.C. until the birth of Christ

Greek and Roman history is recorded richly and by many in this period, while Hebrew history is covered mainly by Flavius Josephus using a great number of sources. The greater availability of sources and the generous use the composer made of them makes it increasingly difficult to associate the composer's narrative with Bede's chronicle. He continuously weaves new information into Bede's text and departs from the original text with long uninterrupted intermissions.

Bede's chronicle itself also shows a shift. Though still largely focused on Jewish matters, he now includes Asia in his account and mentions the Persian kings, the achievements of Alexander the Great, as well as the latter's heritage. Bede's relative disregard for Greek and Roman history is all the more surprising. Not a word is dedicated to the Pyrrhic War and he touches on the Punic wars only in the briefest possible way. Instead he writes on Roman victories against the *Germani* and on battles against the *Britti*. Bede's sources remain roughly the same: for the most part Jerome's Chronicle and some books of the Old Testament. He draws twice and only briefly on Flavius Josephus.

Our composer deals with most of what his sources offer. For matters concerning Italy, and for some general records on the near East, he draws in the first instance on Orosius. The composer makes use of Flavius Josephus and some books of the Old Testament to write on Jewish events, but it is less for the sake of Hebrew history than out of religious interest in Jesus' times that the text concentrates on Jewish affairs in the decennia before the close of the *aetas*. As for Greek affairs, the composer falls back on Eusebius and occasionally finds new elements in Isidore's writings.

³⁵² CMM II, 25-26.

³⁵³ CMM II, 26, lines 15-16.

³⁵⁴ CMM II, 24-25.

Apart from providing lengthy interpolations, the composer leaves Bede's text largely intact for this period and only occasionally rephrases sentences, omits some of them, or changes their order. The interpolations vary in length depending on the sources they were taken from. Because the compiler decided to leave out the typical chronological support of the Hebrew and Septuagint dates for much of this part, the basic relationship between P and Bede's blueprint now relies solely on the narrative. The *ab urbe condita* dates now support the structure of the chronicle.

The composer's objective, once again, seem to have been to add body to the chronicle of Bede and he does his best to find the correct moments to insert accounts on the general history of regions Bede did not cover. For example, the first interpolation at the beginning of the fifth *aetas* – just after the fourth *aetas* had ended with the fall of Judeae to Babylon – is a short piece from Eusebius on the duration of the Babylonian Captivity.³⁵⁵ Where Bede introduces the reign of Cyrus, the composer adds a piece from Orosius on Cyrus' victory over Astyages and the end of the Median and Babylonian kingdoms.³⁵⁶ Skipping Orosius' description of Babylon, the composer continues with Cyrus' victories against Croesus and the Lydians.³⁵⁷ Finally, after shortly returning to Bede, the composer adds another interpolation taken from Orosius on Cyrus' wars against the Scyths.³⁵⁸ In line with his effort to offer a 'universal' history, he not only elaborates on Alexander the Great, but also on the regional power shifts set in motion by him.³⁵⁹ However, passages on developments in Greece itself remain scarce.

Whereas Eusebius, Isidore, and Bede focused relatively little on Roman history – in fact, the history of the entire Mediterranean area – the composer gives due attention to it. He found what he needed in Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos* which he used with gusto. He selected the very themes characteristic for Orosius' work: politics, wars, plagues, prodigious signs, and anecdotes of more legendary than historical quality.³⁶⁰ With eye for detail, the composer omits the single sentence Bede spends on the Punic wars and instead provides a

³⁵⁵ CMM II, 26; Eusebius-Jerome, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Helm ed., 103a.

³⁵⁶ CMM II, 28; Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., I, 19.10; II, 6.4-6.

³⁵⁷ CMM II, 29; Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., II, 6.12.

³⁵⁸ CMM II, 29; Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., II, 7.1, 4-5.

³⁵⁹ CMM II, 31-35.

³⁶⁰ CMM II, 31-44.

much fuller account abbreviated from Orosius.³⁶¹ Slowly but surely he inserts ever greater passages into Bede's text. In the process the accent of the narrative shifts to the West.

As this period nears its end and approaches the advent of Christ, the composer focuses on Jewish affairs and Roman actions in Palestine. Josephus' *Antiquities* and *The Jewish War* are now called upon to relate large sections on the history at the time of Jesus' birth.³⁶² Compared to Bede, however, the secular character of this chronicle has become even more pronounced than previously. In brief, the result is a universal chronicle with a well-balanced focus on developments of historical significance, taking into account the whole of the known Indo-European world.

4.3.5 – From Christ to Diocletian

Written historical sources in Greek and Latin abound in this period and consist of annals, chronicles, secular and ecclesiastical histories, as well as patristic texts and the New Testament. Bede probably had little access to Greek historians other than through Eusebius. As for Roman sources, Bede frequently quotes from Orosius, Rufinus, Hegesippus and Eutropius. His narrative follows two main tracks: Rome on the one hand, Palestine on the other. He only gives an outline of Roman history however, based on the succession of rulers. Only on a few occasions – such as when he mentions the building of the Coliseum, the destruction of the Pantheon, and the war against the Parths – does he expand his narrative somewhat. Not surprising, Bede spends more ink on Britain. That the scope of his narrative contracted is perhaps best explained by his main source, Eusebius. After Egypt had become a Roman province Eusebius narrowed his chronicle down and only briefly notes the Jewish and Roman rulers. After the destruction of the Temple his chronicle focused mainly on the latter.

The composer enlarged Bede's chronicle considerably; to such a degree that the interpolations now compete for dominance with Bede's text. The composer's interpolations are at first relatively large, and they become shorter, more numerous, and more frequent in subsequent passages, interrupting Bede's text extensively. The composer adds brief comments on persons and sometimes he continues sentences which Bede had already ended. Occasionally, he changes the order of Bede's records or leaves out sentences entirely.³⁶³

³⁶¹ CMM II, 32-33; Jones, *BOD*, line 750; Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., III, 3.1; 4-5; 7.1-5; 12.1; 14.10.

³⁶² CMM II, 45-46.

³⁶³ CMM II, 56-58, for example.

As with Bede's chronicle, Roman and Palestinian affairs are given priority but the composer presents them with even more detail. He is concerned with proper chronology for which he finds support in Jerome's *Chronicon*.³⁶⁴ For the history of Rome he draws on Orosius and possibly on the *breviarium* of Eutropius. Whereas it is likely that the composer had access to both authors, it is difficult to prove his use of the *breviarium*.³⁶⁵ Some of the verbatim quotes could just as likely have been taken from Orosius or even from Eusebius. However, he does show a clear preference for Orosius over Eusebius.³⁶⁶ The composer frequently deals with the same themes and resorts to the same structure as Orosius and Eutropius, guided by the succession of emperors. He usually provides the years of their reign and includes a concise description of some of their more relevant deeds, sometimes accompanied by an anecdote. Some of the shorter reigning emperors are omitted by both Bede and the composer, while others are added by the composer using Orosius as a source.³⁶⁷

For the period from the birth of Christ to his death and resurrection, the composer adds lengthy interpolations covering multiple folios, derived from Orosius, Eusebius and Flavius Josephus.³⁶⁸ Christian matters were obviously important to the composer, but he mentions the persecution of Christians under Nero only as tersely as did Bede, and only later on adds small passages on martyrs and heretics.³⁶⁹ For ecclesiastical matters Isidore was the composer's main source. Though he had access to the ecclesiastic history of Eusebius as translated by Rufinus, it is not certain whether he consulted this work directly or found his interpolations in other works that quoted Rufinus.³⁷⁰

4.3.6 – From Diocletian until the advent of the barbarians

Historiography is now essentially in the hands of Greek and Roman authors. Bede used several of them, relying for ecclesiastical history on Rufinus' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the *Historia Tripartita* of Cassiodorus, the *Liber Pontificalis* and even the records of the synod of Nicaea. For history of a more secular character he used the works of Eutropius and Orosius.

³⁶⁴ See below, chapter six, on chronology.

³⁶⁵ For example, CMM II, 52, lines 17-20 ; 66, lines 14-26.

³⁶⁶ CMM II, 56-61; 63-65.

³⁶⁷ For example, he omits Didus Julianus (reigned for a few months in 193) and Pupienus and Balbinus (both reigned for a few months in 238). However, Aemilianus, who reigned for three months in 253, is added in an interpolation (CMM II, 63, lines 27-28; from Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., VII, 21.5), and the same is true for Quintillus, who reigned for less than a year in 270. (CMM II, 65, lines 10-11; Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., VII, 23.1-3).

³⁶⁸ CMM II, 46-50.

³⁶⁹ CMM II, 55, lines 1-2 (Nero); 59, lines 5-6, 15-19 (heretics and Encratites); 64, lines 1-3 (persecutions under Valerian). Political affairs receive markedly more attention.

³⁷⁰ CMM II, 63, lines 4-8; 67, lines 2-6, 20-22; 68, lines 5-6, 10-15.

As in the previous period, he structured his narrative along the succession of emperors both in the East and in the West. Within that framework he treated the complicated history of Palestine only cursorily. For the Roman Empire as a whole, his history amounts to little more than a list of emperors. In the few cases that he goes into detail it is mostly to describe deeds or events related to the Christian church. Constantine's achievements, for example, seem to have consisted mainly of building basilicas in Rome and elsewhere. Indeed, Bede's foremost attention goes out to events concerning the Church: persecutions, martyrs, the synods of Nicaea and Antioch, heresies, holy relics, and bishops of particular renown. He rarely sidesteps to other parts of the world, and if so then with but few words. Matters in Britain are treated somewhat more extensively.

For ecclesiastical matters the composer enthusiastically tapped some of the same sources Bede had used, including Rufinus' *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the *Historia Tripartita*. As in previous parts, for the subject of heresies he turned to Isidore's *Chronica Maiora*. The composer interferes less with Bede's text than in the previous section. The interpolations are less frequent, but become longer instead. When he prefers to elaborate on a specific passage he sometimes leaves out some of Bede's sentences so as not to duplicate information.³⁷¹ Two rather important sentences of Bede's that are omitted to make place for other interpolations include: 'Julian, having converted to the worship of idols, persecuted the Christians', and 'Having been baptized by Eudoxius, a bishop of the Arians, Valens persecuted our people.'³⁷² In the first case the composer omitted the sentence in favour of a more extensive critique of Julian; in the second case he omitted the sentence to prevent overlap with an interpolation from Orosius. Following the piece on Julian the composer dedicated an unusually long interpolation to the anti-Christian and pro-Jewish stand of Julian, the apostate, who insisted on rebuilding the Temple in Jerusalem. In order to stress the impotence of the Jewish against the Christian religion the composer alternately quoted from Rufinus and Cassiodorus.³⁷³

The composer cared for quality and he was clearly not satisfied with the restricted way Bede and Eusebius had treated the complicated sequence of government from Diocletian (including the subsequent power struggles after his death) until Constantine the Great. He found additional material in Orosius' *Historiae* and Jerome's Chronicle.³⁷⁴ It is interesting to note how the different sources treated Constantine's murder of his son and nephew. Bede

³⁷¹ CMM II, 66-67 for example.

³⁷² CMM II, 71, 74; Jones, *BOD*, lines 1444-1445, 1475-1476.

³⁷³ CMM II, 72-73.

³⁷⁴ CMM II, 66-70.

omitted their deaths altogether, Eusebius mentioned that they were very cruelly killed, whereas Orosius and the composer state that Constantine had them put to death.³⁷⁵

4.3.7 – From the first barbarian movements until the advent of the Franks

Some authors, such as Orosius, continue their account of events from the perspective of the Roman Empire whereas others, such as Eusebius and Jerome, end their chronicles. New narrators explicitly continue Jerome's work, but now write more and more from the periphery of the empire. The new generation of chroniclers, such as Gregory of Tours, are studied in greater detail in the next chapter. Bede had access to most of them. In addition, and as an alternative to Jerome's Chronicle, he made use of the *Annales* of Marcellinus Comes, the *De Excidio* of Gildas, the *De viris illustribus* of Gennadius and, for ecclesiastical affairs, Rufinus, Paulinus, the *Liber Pontificalis* and some hagiographical works. The character of his chronicle remains as before. While paying some attention to affairs of the empire, in particular where it concerned the barbarian invaders, he still mostly focused on ecclesiastical themes.

The composer on the other hand has clearly reached a turning point in his narrative. So far he has dealt with world history in a broad sense, with due and genuine respect for the religious aspects he considered relevant. With the arrival of the new inhabitants of Western Europe and chroniclers writing in close contact with them, his sources enable him to return to the history of the people he shortly introduced earlier by way of Fredegar, the Franks. Still using Jerome's Chronicle, Orosius' *Historiae*, and Rufinus *Historia ecclesiastica*, he now also makes use of Frankish and Spanish historians by means of Fredegar's Chronicle and the LHF.

The composer only alters or omits parts of Bede's text on a few occasions. One example concerns an entry on Alaric's sack of Rome, stating that 'On the sixth day after entering it, he left the pillaged city.' After a longer interpolation, the composer amends this to 'the sixth day, the third according to Orosius'.³⁷⁶ These small changes can be found throughout the text and the composer evidently did his best to offer an improved version rather than to just copy his sources. On another occasion he removes the, here cursive, part of Bede's entry '*The ferocious race of the Vandals, the Alans, and the Goths, crossing from*

³⁷⁵ CMM II, 69, lines 18-20; Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., VII, 28.26; Eusebius-Jerome, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Helm ed., 231, 7-9.

³⁷⁶ CMM II, 78, lines 19-20, 29-30; Jones, *BOD*, lines 1543-1545.

Spain into Africa, ravaged everything with fire, sword, rapine, and the Arian heresy.³⁷⁷ Instead he precedes the sentence with a more extensive passage taken from Fredegar.³⁷⁸

The most important difference, however, concerns the character of the interpolations. They not only become more substantial, but start to form tales in their own right. At times they still provide additions to Bede's account – especially on ecclesiastical matters – but more often they now replace Bede's short items with larger additions on the new peoples. Some consist of legendary material and the composer tried his best to link the various bits to each other in order to construct a coherent story. Many events and persons are related in vivid detail, amongst them: the settlement of the Burgundians; the slaying of 300.000 Alemanni near Argentium; the *foedus* concluded between Theodosius and Athanaric; Martin, the first bishop of Tours; Theodosius' public repentance in Thessaloniki; the death of Valentian near Vienna; the threat of the Visigoths under Radagausus; Alaric's invasion of Italy after Stilicho's treachery; the subsequent invasion of Gaul under Crocus; the sack of Rome; and finally, the settlement of the Franks on the Rhine.³⁷⁹ When the composer begins to relate the story of the Franks he erroneously references to Jerome.³⁸⁰ Rather, it can be found in the second book of Fredegar, the *Scarpsum Cronece Gyronimi*, and the composer draws on parts of the third and fourth book of Fredegar, and the abridgements of Hydatius. Whether he also had access to their original works is to be doubted and cannot be proven by the wording of the reproduced passages.

4.4 - The history of the Franks

P now clearly follows a path different from Bede's chronicle. While Bede focuses on events in Britain and turns to other areas merely in order to record ecclesiastical matters, P continues its aim to present a universal history. The narrative shift from east to west is now complete and the text becomes more and more a history of the Franks. From now on the text can no longer be qualified as an interpolated and manipulated *Chronica Maiora* of Bede; Bede's text, rather, is but one of the many sources the composer draws upon.

³⁷⁷ CMM II, 82, lines 17-18; Jones, *BOD*, lines 1580-1582.

³⁷⁸ *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegari*, Krusch ed., 72, lines 2, 10-16.

³⁷⁹ CMM II, 75, lines 12-19; 76, lines 15-19; 77, lines 1-4, 17-27; 78; 79, lines 23-30.

³⁸⁰ CMM II, 79, lines 23-30. 'Franci vero, quorum originem beatus Iheronimus meminit (...).'

4.4.1 – The Franks until Dagobert

Historical works now largely concern Italy, Gaul, Spain and Britain. Eutropius ends his history in 375; both Jerome and Ammianus Marcellinus end theirs in 378, Rufinus in 395, and Orosius' *Historiae* end with the year 420. Henceforth, the main contemporary sources consist of the successors of Jerome: Prosper of Aquitaine (until 445), Hydatius (until 469), Victor of Tunnuna (until 567) and John of Biclar (until 590). Marcellinus Comes's chronicle spans the period from 379 until 534, the *Liber Pontificalis* provides the history of the Popes and the Church, whereas the anonymous *Chronicle of 452* and the *Chronica Gallica 511* focus on southern parts of Gaul. Marius of Avenches, Isidore of Seville and Gregory of Tours recorded most of the same episodes and ended their histories before the turn of the seventh century. They relate the history of the Goths, both in Italy and Spain, the Vandals, the Sueves, the Alans, the Burgundians, and the Franks, while also following the reduced but formally still dominant role of the Byzantine Empire, as well as the adolescent years of the Catholic Church.

Although Bede might have known some of these works, he made scant use of them. As before, his main objective was to provide a history of the early Christians, their martyrs, heresies, Popes, and the internal and external struggles. During this period he was primarily concerned with developments in his own country for which he relied on Gildas, the *Vita Germani*, and his own *Historiae ecclesiasticae*. For Byzantine and Roman affairs he turned to Marcellinus comes and the *Liber Pontificalis*.

The composer charts his own course. He still used the framework provided by the emperors' reigns, but it became a more and more difficult task to merge the numerous new accounts with Bede's chronicle. Still using almost all of Bede's entries he takes care to retain a correct chronological order. The result is a well-balanced chronicle with a curious blend of history and legends in which historical facts legitimise, as it were, the legendary elements.

The majority of text is in the form of a series of lengthy interpolations. They are mostly taken from Fredegar's book II (The *scarpsum* of Hydatius), book III (consisting of 93 chapters, abridged from Gregory's *Decem libri*) and book IV, constituting Fredegar's own and original account.³⁸¹ The composer occasionally uses the *Liber Historiae Francorum* in its

³⁸¹ CMM II, 78-98.

B-version for additional details on Frankish history.³⁸² As before, he referred to Isidore for information concerning the Church.³⁸³

The composer made good use of the limited number of sources he had available. Out of them he forged a new, coherent and entertaining narrative. On several occasions he combined elements taken from two or more sources in the same sentence and it is likely that he inserted small additions of his own. In particular some of the Christian dates seem to have been computed by him.

Though the composer preferred to rely on Fredegar for the early origin myth of the Franks, now that the LHF offered additional information not supplied by other sources the composer included these as well. Thus while he reproduced parts of Fredegar's text he also augmented them with fragments from the LHF to relate, amongst others, the founding of Sicambria, the Frankish leaders Marchomir and Sunno, and the election of the legendary first king of the Franks, Faramund, the father of Chlodio.³⁸⁴ Fredegar and Gregory on the other hand write of the Frankish king Theudemeres, son of Richomeres and also father of Chlodio.³⁸⁵ The composer does not include Theudemeres and he also omits the subsequent story in Fredegar's Chronicle on the conception of Merovech, son of Chlodio, the result of an unfortunate meeting between Merovech's mother and a sea monster, or Quinotaur.³⁸⁶

From the death of Chilperic until Dagobert's demise, the composer took virtually all his material from Fredegar's book IV, one of the few works available for the history of that period.³⁸⁷ It is interesting to note how the composer abridged the entire book into a few concise entries. Especially striking is the way in which he strips it of its dominant Burgundian colouring. Whereas Fredegar had related most of the ninety chapters to the kings of Burgundy, the composer revised these chapters into a general Merovingian history simply by discarding most of the Burgundian details. Meanwhile he retained most of the episodes that took place abroad. Notably, he related in full the war waged by Heraclius against the Saracens.³⁸⁸ The long 36th chapter on Columbian is omitted altogether however. The

³⁸² CMM II, 79-80, 85, 87-88, 90-92, 94-95.

³⁸³ CMM II, 78, 82, 86, 88, 98.

³⁸⁴ CMM II, 79-80, 85; *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegari*, Krusch ed., 93-94; *Liber Historiae Francorum*, B. Krusch ed., MGH SRM II (Hannover 1888) 215-328, there 242-244.

³⁸⁵ Another source that provides the name of an early Frankish king is Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote of a certain Mallobaudes during the reign of Gratian. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*. 2 Vols., Wolfgang Seyfarth ed. (Leipzig 1978) book XXXI.10.6-7. On early Frankish kings, see: Wood, 'Defining the Franks', 47-49.

³⁸⁶ *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegari*, Krusch ed., 95, paragraph 9.

³⁸⁷ CMM II, 95-100.

³⁸⁸ CMM II, 99.

composer seems to have avoided venting any personal preferences or dislikes. For example, instead of choosing either the version in Fredegar or the LHF, he chose to merely state that ‘Chilpericus rex Francorum, anno XXIII regni sui, interficitur’.³⁸⁹ According to Fredegar, Childeric I was murdered by a certain Falko, hired by Brunhilda; Fredegar concluded that the murder brought a cruel end to a cruel life.³⁹⁰ The LHF on the other hand tells a tale where Chilperic was murdered during a hunt by two inebriated knives on the order of Fredegund.³⁹¹

Other contemporary sources offer few similar opportunities for comparison. John of Biclar recorded very little about the Franks. He mentioned some of the wars they fought in regions bordering the Visigoths and, on one occasion, the defeat of the Franks.³⁹² Fredegar is silent on this topic. The chronicle of Marius of Avenches sometimes offers helpful dates and details to clarify the other sources, such as on Clovis’ war against the Burgundians in 500 or the death of Chlotar in 561.³⁹³

4.4.2 – From Dagobert’s to Charles Martel’s death

These years are very meagre from a historiographical point of view. The great historians of Merovingian times – Gregory of Tours, Fredegar, and Isidore of Seville – had long since finished their work. Bede’s own chronicle, written around 725, bears witness to the scarcity of sources. He based the final part of his chronicle almost exclusively on the *Liber Pontificalis*. From the middle of the seventh until the beginning of the eighth century only two sources remain: the *Liber Historiae Francorum* and the Spanish *Cronica Mozarabe* or *Chronicle of 754*. The first was written in 727 in Neustria, the second in Spain not long after 754 and possibly with the purpose of continuing the chronicle of John of Biclar.³⁹⁴ The Mozarabic Chronicle forms its entries according to the reigns of the Byzantine Empire, starting with the 57th emperor Heraclius in 611. The chronicle seems well informed about the

³⁸⁹ CMM II, 95, line 1.

³⁹⁰ ‘crudelissimam vitam digna morte finivit’. *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegari*, Krusch ed., paragraph 93, 118.

³⁹¹ ‘emissae homicidae inebriati a vino a Fredegunde’. *Liber Historiae Francorum*, Krusch ed., paragraph 35, 303.

³⁹² John of Biclar, *Iohannis abbatis Bicularum chronica a. DLXVII-DXC*, T. Mommsen ed., MGH AA XI (Hannover 1894) 207-221.

³⁹³ Marius of Avenches, *Marii episcopi Auenticensis chronica a. CCCCLV- DLXXXI*, T. Mommsen ed., MGH AA XI (Hannover 1894) 225-240; Marius of Avenches, *Chronique 455-581: suivi de continuation jusque à l’année 615*, N. Desgrugillers ed. (Clermont-Ferrand 2006).

³⁹⁴ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 9; *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, José Eduardo Lopez Pereira ed. (Zaragoza 1980) 17; Hartmann, ‘The textual transmission of the Mozarabic Chronicle of 754’, 13-29. The *Chronicle of 754* is also known as the ‘Continuatio Hispana’ or, referring to possible authors, ‘The Anonymous of Cordoba’ or ‘Isidorus Pacensis’.

Arab power centres in Syria and North Africa, and reports in detail on Spanish events and on the Franks.

At the turn of the century the so-called Minor Annals begin to provide brief additional information.³⁹⁵ Kurze distinguished three geographical families of annals, an Austrasian, Neustrian and Alemannian version.³⁹⁶ According to him, the first group encapsulates the ‘Belgian’ *Annales Tiliani*, the *Annales Laubacenses* and the *Annales St Amandi*. From the second group originated the AM and the AL in the sixties of the eighth century in Gorze. The third had perhaps been brought from the Reichenau area to Murbach between 756 and 760, where they served as a basis for the family of annals of that name. These consist of the *Annales Guelferbytani*, the *Annales Alamannici* and the *Annales Nazariani*. The *Annales Petaviani* is a compilation of an early set of the Austrasian annals and annals of Gorze until 771. From there on until 799 they offer a possibly contemporary continuation.³⁹⁷

The *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium* and the *Vita Eucherii* provide some additional information on a few specific episodes. The former was probably composed in stages at the beginning of the ninth century, whereas the second, written not long after the death of Eucherius in 738, is contemporary to the battle of Poitiers.³⁹⁸ The last source which should be mentioned for this period is the AMP. It was written in the monastery of Chelles around 806, possibly overseen or indeed written by Gisela, the sister of Charlemagne.³⁹⁹ Its main objective seems to have been the justification of the Carolingian rights to rule in general and the *Divisio Regnorum* proclaimed in the same year in particular.

Bede finished his CM before these sources were available. As we have seen earlier he instead drew on the *Liber Pontificalis* and his own earlier *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, and he continued to do so for the last part of his chronicle. Not surprisingly his accounts mainly

³⁹⁵ These are considered to have been written as notes in Easter tables by: Joaquín Martínez Pizarro, ‘Ethnic and National History, ca. 500-1000’, in: Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis ed., *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden 2003) 43-88, there 73. This assumption has been questioned by McKitterick. R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751-987* (Michigan 1983) 5; idem, *History and Memory*, 97-99; idem, *Perceptions of the Past in the early Middle Age* (Michigan 2006) 67.

³⁹⁶ See the articles written by Kurze, ‘Über die karolingischen Reichsannalen von 741-829’ in NA 19, 20, and 21, and Kurze, ‘Die karolingischen Annalen des achten Jahrhunderts’. After a careful analysis Monod reached the same conclusion. G. Monod, *Études critiques sur les sources de l’histoire mérovingienne, 2e partie. Compilation dite de Frédégaire* (Paris 1885) 95-98.

³⁹⁷ Wattenbach, Levison and Löwe ed., *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, 186.

³⁹⁸ On the *Gesta abbatum*: Ian Wood and Eleanor Wood ed., *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to John Taylor* (London etc. 2003) 4-6; *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium*, S. Loewenfeld ed., MGH SRG XXVIII (Hannover 1886). On the *Vita Eucherii*: *Vita Eucherii*, W. Levison ed., MGH SRM VII (Hannover 1913) 41-53; Paul Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel* (Harlow etc. 2000) 90-91.

³⁹⁹ Janet L. Nelson, *The Frankish World, 750-900* (London 2003) 236; Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge 2008) 61.

concern the Church except for some brief records on the Saracens in conflict with Byzantium, an eclipse of the sun, and an inundation of Rome. As usual, the subjects he dealt with include Popes, general synods, other efforts to unite Christians, the condemnation of heresies and their champions and, of course, the conversion of Britain.

For the composer, Bede's chronicle was now just another source among many. As before, he used most of what it offered. The only record of substance which he discarded is an entry on the English Saint Edilthryda.⁴⁰⁰ Other than adding interpolations he intervened little with Bede's text. Initially the interpolations come from the remaining part of Fredegar's Chronicle, from the LHF, and from the the *Liber Pontificalis*.⁴⁰¹ After the end of Fredegar's Chronicle, the composer turns almost exclusively to the LHF for a few folios.⁴⁰²

It is implausible that the composer had access to a full version of the Fredegar Continuations. Whereas in the previous part he had shown a very clear preference for Fredegar's Chronicle over the *Liber*, he now draws invariably on the LHF, even when the Continuations offer a different version of the same event. Moreover, the composer does not mention several of the episodes unique to the Continuations even though they would have fitted very well in his compilation. However, multiple fragments share a resemblance to the Fredegar Continuations, or HGF in either phrasing or content, which means the composer had access to, or remembered a very similar and possibly related text.⁴⁰³

It is noteworthy that the composer avoids taking sides with either the Austrasian or the Neustrian camp, just as he previously abstained from following Fredegar in his strong Burgundian orientation. However, the relatively long entries dedicated to condemning the wrongdoings of Ebroin may have been included with the intent to introduce the Pippinids as the natural and moral arbiters in the ill-chosen confrontations initiated under the Neustrian rule.⁴⁰⁴

For the years 710, 711 and 713 the composer made use of a set of the so-called minor annals. The entries for 710 refer to Pippin's campaign against the Alemanni, those of 711 relate some catastrophic inundations, and the entries under 713 cover the death of Alfide and Aledulf.⁴⁰⁵ The first is reported in the *Annales Alamannici*, the AL and the *Annales Nazariani*; the second in the *Annales Petaviani*, the AL, the *Annales Alamannici* and the

⁴⁰⁰ Jones, *BOD*, lines 1920-1928.

⁴⁰¹ CMM II, 101-104.

⁴⁰² CMM II, 104-108.

⁴⁰³ Waitz, 'Zur Geschichtsschreibung der Karolingischen Zeit', 476-481; CMM II, 108, 114-116.

⁴⁰⁴ CMM II, 104-106.

⁴⁰⁵ CMM II, 109-110.

Annales Nazariani.⁴⁰⁶ The third is available only in the AL and the AM.⁴⁰⁷ The *Annales Petaviani* and the *Annales Alamannici* only mention the death of Aledulf, not Alfide.⁴⁰⁸ It is plausible that the composer had at least access to the AL, but it may not be excluded that he had access to a different text that preceded any of the known sets. The AMP, which I discuss further on, mentions some of the events but it clearly reproduced them and it is not the mother text of these minor annals.

Bede provides a Christian date for the first time in his chronicle for the year 716, at the end of the entry on Philippicus. Here the compiler, rather than the composer, adds significant information. Just before the year 716 he inserts a significant interpolation relating the invasion of Spain by the Saracens, the first Saracen moves against Aquitaine, and the defeat of the Saracens in 721 by Eudo, duke of Aquitaine.⁴⁰⁹ For a long time it has been the subject of great scholarly interest to know where this passage, and others like it, originated from.⁴¹⁰ To date nothing conclusive has been discovered; variably, the origin of these fragments is placed in Spain, Septimania, or Aquitaine.⁴¹¹ From here on out and in the edition it will be referred to as the southern source.

It is possible that the aforementioned *Chronicle of 754* was related to that source and thus P, but this connection is unlikely for multiple reasons. To Pierre de Marca, one of the first scholars who studied the *Moissac Chronicle* and the *Chronicle of 754* side by side, they were distinctly different.⁴¹² Another consideration concerns the very first entry on king Witiza. P holds the king in low esteem whereas the Spanish chronicler describes him kindly.⁴¹³ Furthermore, only few passages from the *Chronicle of 754* bear any resemblance with passages from the southern source in P. The account of the campaign of 732 is the only for which P and the *Chronicle of 754* share a similar point of view regarding how events

⁴⁰⁶ *Annales Alamannici*, G.H. Pertz ed., MGH SS I (Hannover 1826) 22-60, there 22, 24; *Annales Laureshamenses*, Pertz ed., 22, 24; *Annales Nazariani*, G.H. Pertz ed., MGH SS I (Hannover 1826) 23-44, there 23, 25; *Annales Petaviani*, G.H. Pertz ed., MGH SS I (Hannover 1826) 7-18, there 7.

⁴⁰⁷ *Annales Laureshamenses*, Pertz ed., 24; *Annales Mosellani*, Lappenberg ed., 494.

⁴⁰⁸ *Annales Petaviani*, Pertz ed., 7; *Annales Alamannici*, Pertz ed., 24.

⁴⁰⁹ CMM II, 111-112.

⁴¹⁰ CMM played a rather substantial role in the whole debate on the 'Verlorene Werke', see page 6 of the introduction above, and also: Pückert, 'Über die kleine Lorscher Frankenchronik'.

⁴¹¹ Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia*. Vol. 1, 35-36.

⁴¹² Marca, *Marca Hispanica*, 226-229. Marca refers to the *Chronicle of 754* as the chronicle of Isidoro Pacense.

⁴¹³ *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, Pereira ed., chapters 44 and 53; CMM II, 111. The description in CMM reads like the Saracen invasion of Witiza's kingdom was a punishment from God for the king's sinful behaviour ('deditus in faeminis'). On this topic, see also: Madeleine Pardo, *L'historien et ses personnages: Études sur l'historiographie espagnole médiévale* (Lyon 2007) 36-37.

played out, suggesting at least a comparable background.⁴¹⁴ Whereas the main Frankish sources for that campaign, such as the AMP and the *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium*, state that Eudo invited the Muslims to France to help him fight Charles Martel, P as well as the *Chronicle of 754* recount two battles, the first one against Eudo, followed by the decisive battle against Charles.⁴¹⁵ Perhaps both P and the *Chronicle of 754* used the same southern source. Finally, the author of the southern source appears to have had a rather poor chronological sense whereas the *Chronicle of 754* shows extraordinary attention to chronological details. Lacking proper chronology, the compiler thus had some trouble inserting passages from the southern source into his chronicle. A case in point is the campaign against Toulouse where the Moors were routed by duke Eudo in 721 or 720. The compiler placed the interpolation quite off the mark before the entry of 716 or 717 on Theodosius.⁴¹⁶

4.4.3 – The missing folios

For reconstructing the missing text, the crucial idea is that P and AA had a common ancestor. Other conjectures regarding content should be based on an analysis of the relationship between AA and P, and on the sources which were used by the compiler in the parts preceding the lacuna and those succeeding it. The year 741 is of pivotal significance here: it is the year of Charles' death, the manuscripts of the Waitz-group end with this year, and the *Annales regni Francorum* begin with it. Collins has suggested that the chronicles ending in 741 might very well have been written with the intention to provide the ARF with a suitable introduction, though no evidence of this exists.⁴¹⁷ We have seen that the composer had access to the LHF, at least one set of minor annals (possibly the AL), the southern source, and the *Liber Pontificalis*. He likely only had limited access to the Fredegar Continuations or simply made but scant use of them. With the end of the LHF the text loses an important source of information.

⁴¹⁴ This passage is about the campaign across the Garonne into the region of Bordeaux, Poitiers and Tours, which ended with the famous battle against Charles Martel in 732. CMM II, 114; *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, Pereira ed., chapter 80. The battle occurred in 733 or 734 according to Wood. Ian Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751* (London 1994) 283.

⁴¹⁵ *Annales Mettenses Priores*, B. Simson ed., MGH SRG X (Hannover 1905) 27; *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium*, Loewenfeld ed., 29; CMM II, 114; *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, Pereira ed., chapter 80. The *Vita Eucherii*, written not long after the battle, does not in the slightest way hint at an Aquitanian double play. *Vita Eucherii*, Levison ed., 49-50.

⁴¹⁶ CMM II, 112.

⁴¹⁷ Collins, 'The Frankish Past and the Carolingian Present', 317. See also: Waitz, 'Zur Geschichtsschreibung der Karolingischen Zeit', 488.

The compiler, on the other hand, made no use of the Continuations, which can be established from a close comparison of the very last parts of the composer's text with the text of AA on the one hand, and with the AMP and the Fredegar Continuations on the other. The text of AA is derived from the Metz annals and not from the Continuations.⁴¹⁸ It reproduces much from the former verbatim and, although it seems to reproduce some sections from the latter, the words which are identical with the Continuations can all be found, without exception, in what was reproduced from the AMP. The composer's text, however, is closer to the Continuations. This suggests that the compiler used some version of the Continuations whereas the compiler used the Metz annals, which had only become available after their completion in 806. The compiler, having the choice between the composer's text and the text of the Annals, selected the latter.

Based on the fact that AA was copied from an older member of the P tradition, AA can roughly be used as a substitute for the missing pages after 741. However, it must be assumed that it falls short occasionally. Whenever P would have offered records focused on world or universal history, it is almost certain that AA ignored them, and AA frequently interpolates sections from the *Vita Karoli* instead. Regardless, these passages have not been expunged from the edition because this would only cause undue confusion. The collation with the manuscripts of the Waitz-group is only useful for the first few missing pages; after 741 the edition relies solely on AA.⁴¹⁹

4.4.4 – From 775 until the imperial coronation

The major narrative sources for these years are again the so-called Minor Annals and the *Annales Regni Francorum*. Other important Carolingian works include the AMP and the *Annales Lauressens Minores*. The *Historia Langobardorum*, supposedly written between 787 and 796, ends with the death of Liutprand, king of the Lombards between 712 and 744.⁴²⁰ The only surviving Christian chronicle written in Spain, the Chronicle of Alphonse III, has no record whatsoever related to the Frankish realm. Apart from the *Liber Pontificales*, no other 'foreign' narrative sources inform us on the subjects covered in P.

The connection between the Minor Annals themselves remains roughly the same as before. In particular, the three sets of Murbach annals continue to bear a remarkable

⁴¹⁸ CMM II, 116-117.

⁴¹⁹ CMM II, 114-116 for the text of AA including the Waitz-manuscripts, 117-120 for the text of AA.

⁴²⁰ W. Pohl, 'Paulus Diaconus und die 'Historia Langobardorum'', in: A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter ed., *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna etc. 1994) 375-405.

resemblance to each other, and their entries as well as their chronological order do not differ much. Only the lengthy entries for 786 and 788 in the *Annales Nazariani*, on the conspiracy of Thüringen and the judging and sentencing of Tassilo, do not correspond with the other Minor Annals.⁴²¹ By the end of the eighth century, all three Murbach annals have come to a close. The *Annales Laubacenses*, brief and incomplete, seem to have lost its former link to the *Annales St Amandi* and now show chronological discrepancies.⁴²² The *Annales Tiliani* lost their relationship with the *Annales St Amandi* and follow the ARF instead.⁴²³ After 785 the AM provide an independent narrative unrelated to the other annals.⁴²⁴ The *Annales Maximiniani* could have been derived from a lost compilation, based on a version of the *Annales Petaviani*, and of a set of Moselle and Lorsch annals.⁴²⁵

The ARF may be regarded, at least partly, as a close contemporary of P. It has generally been accepted that its first part was written in one go between 787 and 793, the second part around 795, the third part (covering the years 795 until 807) around 807 and the last part in 829.⁴²⁶ Some entries of P correspond with those in the original and revised version of the ARF, but it is by no means certain that the compiler had access to either of them.⁴²⁷ The brief and chronologically inconsistent *Annales Laurissenses Minores*, most probably written in Lorsch sometime between 806 and 814, contain some records that are comparable to P.⁴²⁸ Although it cannot be ruled out that the compiler had access to them, it is uncertain at best whether they served him as a direct source.

The compiler follows the text of the AL closely and consistently. His objective was not merely to copy these annals, as he occasionally added interpolations, omitted parts, and added clarifications or other sentences of his own.⁴²⁹ From a historical point of view the most important interpolation is the one for 793, which concerns the cruel regime of Ibin-Mavia, the Muslim raid on Narbonne and Carcassonne, and Exam's subsequent defeat by Count William.⁴³⁰ None of the other sources record these events and they possibly derive from the southern source. Another interpolation that might also derive from the southern source is the

⁴²¹ *Annales Nazariani*, Pertz ed., 41-44.

⁴²² *Annales Laubacenses*, G.H. Pertz ed., MGH SS I (Hannover 1826) 7-55, there 12, 15.

⁴²³ *Annales Tiliani*, G.H. Pertz ed., MGH SS I (Hannover 1826) 6-8, 219-224, there 219-224.

⁴²⁴ *Annales Mosellani*, Lappenberg ed., 497-499.

⁴²⁵ Wattenbach, Levison and Löwe, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, 188.

⁴²⁶ R. McKitterick, 'Constructing the Past in the Early Middle Ages: The Case of the Royal Frankish Annals', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 7 (1997) 101-129, there 116-121.

⁴²⁷ CMM II, 142-150.

⁴²⁸ CMM II, 142, 144-149.

⁴²⁹ CMM II, 109-142.

⁴³⁰ CMM II, 130-131.

entry for 785 on the conquest of Girona, joined by a miraculous sign in the sky. The entry is only found in P and in the very short annals of St Victor of Marseilles.⁴³¹

The compiler himself might also have had a southern background, as is evinced by a few clues in the text. For the year 793 P mentions a serious famine, which ravaged not only through Italy and Burgundy, as is mentioned by the AL, but also in the Provence and Gothia according to the compiler.⁴³² Under the entry on the synod of Frankfurt in 794, where archbishop Elipando of Toledo and his fellow bishop Felix were condemned for heresy, the compiler added the latter's diocese, Urgell, which lay at the foot of the Pyrenees.⁴³³ Other sources do not provide that specification. Another small difference that might be of significance is a clarification on Tassilo, who was 'already since a long time *dux* of Bavaria'.⁴³⁴ Such additional information, superfluous in Austrasia, might have been added for the benefit of an audience less familiar with the duke. Furthermore, the compiler paid considerable attention to Willehad, bishop of Bremen (c. 735 – c. 789), in the interpolations for 787.⁴³⁵ While most annalists occasionally mention some abbots in passing, the compiler dedicated an unusual amount of text to the bishop's work as well as his demise in 789. The records are unique for P and are not found in the AL. The compiler might have had a personal relationship with the prelate, which perhaps forms the only key in the whole of the chronicle as to the compiler's identity.

A number of unique interpolations deserve to be mentioned specifically. These concern the visiting patricians from Constantinople and the question of idolatry for the year 789, the construction of the Lateran in Aachen in 796 under Charlemagne, and an assembly held after Charlemagne's roundtrip along the holy places in France.⁴³⁶ Only the AL reports the last event while other sources are silent.⁴³⁷ Other, minor differences between the AL and P originate either from a wilful omission by the compiler, or because the compiler had a different version of the AL. Among them are the demise of abbot Sturm of Fulda, which was possibly of too local an interest, and a note stating that Charlemagne mourned the death of

⁴³¹ CMM II, 125; *Annales Sancti Victoris Massilienses*, Pertz ed., 2.

⁴³² CMM II, 130; *Annales Laureshamenses*, Pertz ed., 35.

⁴³³ CMM II, 131.

⁴³⁴ CMM II, 133: 'qui dudum Baioariae dux fuerat'.

⁴³⁵ CMM II, 126-127.

⁴³⁶ CMM II, 127, 135, 138.

⁴³⁷ *Annales Laureshamenses*, Pertz ed., 38.

Pope Adrian.⁴³⁸ Except for the passages exclusive to P and apart from some chronological differences, a comparison with the other sources shows no major inconsistencies.

4.4.5 – From 801 until the end

Inching closer to a time that must have been contemporary to the compiler, less and less material remained for the compiler to work from. The information of several of the Minor Annals had already dried up in the previous period, and now various other sources come to a close as well. The *Annales St Amandi* end with 810, the *Annales Laubacenses* with 813, and they report rather little information. The *Annales Tiliani* end with 807, the *Annales Alamannici* with 810 (and mention, erroneously, for that year the death of Pope Leo III, who died in 816) and the *Annales Maximiniani* end with 811. The *Annales Tiliani* and the *Annales Maximiniani* are closely related to the ARF for this period and do not offer much in addition to it.

The compiler tells a tale independent of the ARF and it is difficult to discern whether he had access to a full version of the ARF, but he likely did not. The fact that some entries contain similar information, such as those for the years 804-808, should not lead to hasty conclusions.⁴³⁹ Both texts deal with the same, recent history and a slight overlap in content, though not in phrasing, is to be expected. However, P omits such a substantial amount of text of the ARF that it would make little sense to assume that the compiler owned a full copy. Amongst the pieces he omits are passages on diplomatic contacts with the rulers of Constantinople, naval confrontations in the Mediterranean with the Saracens, detailed accounts on the actions of the Danes, and even such an unmistakably important event such as the *Divisio Regnorum*, the division of the realm in 806, which features prominently in all other sources. Other events that are recorded in both the ARF as well as P sometimes differ in both content and phrasing. For example, P mentions that four synods were organised at an assembly in Aachen in 813, namely in Mainz, Reims, Tours and Arles.⁴⁴⁰ ARF mentions a fifth one, in Chalon.⁴⁴¹ A possible explanation could be that a recent version of the royal

⁴³⁸ CMM II, 122, 134; *Annales Laureshamenses*, Pertz ed., 31, 36. The following sections are from AL, the first for the year 779, the second for 795. The first is omitted altogether in P; from the second only the cursive part is omitted: ‘Sturm abba obiit.’, ‘Et in ipse hieme, id est 8. Kal. Ianuar., sanctae memoriae domnus Adrianus summus pontifex Romanus obiit, pro quo domnus rex, *postquam a planctu eius cessavit* (...)’.

⁴³⁹ CMM II, 142-143; *Annales regni Francorum (741–829) qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, Friedrich Kurze ed., MGH SRG VI (Hannover 189) 118-127.

⁴⁴⁰ CMM II, 145.

⁴⁴¹ *Annales regni Francorum*, Kurze ed., 138.

annals was simply not available in the south when the compiler finished his work. At most he might have had access to a heavily abbreviated version.

The most important question is whether the compiler reproduced an existing text, possibly a continuation of the AL, or whether he wrote such a continuation himself. Levison and Löwe were in little doubt that P contained a continuation of the AL, continuing from its endpoint in 803.⁴⁴² The hypothesis deserves merit. For this period no other source resembles P enough to be linked directly to it and it is more in line with what we know of the compiler's work so far. The type of records, with specific attention to Charlemagne and his family, Charlemagne's travels, councils and assemblies, ecclesiastical affairs and decisions, military campaigns, defeats and victories, Spanish events and natural disasters, alternate along the same pattern as in the AL. In the preceding text, the compiler's task revolved around the reproduction from other texts and only from time to time did he rephrase or insert brief sentences of his own. A sudden initiative to write rather than compile would be out of character.

⁴⁴² Wattenbach, Levison and Löwe, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, 188, 265-266. The Vienna Fragment ends abruptly and midsentence in 803 to continue without apparent interruption with a much later text. See also: McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the early Middle Ages*, 78: 'The end point of 803 is the real conclusion of the text and suggests that the author departed or died thereafter'.

Chapter Six: Chronology

One of the complications of a compilation of historical work is the synchronisation of the various components. When, in addition, a compilation contains interpolations drawn from works with other systems of chronology, the difficulty surges. A chronicle such as CMM, covering a rich variety of sources and spanning a long period of time, had to deal with a wide spectrum of chronological systems. Apart from synchronizing the chronology of the chronicle, which both the composer as well as the compiler did, the compiler also edited the chronology for other reasons.

6.1 – Chronological systems in CMM

For the chronology of his compilation the compiler used both Bede's text as well as the interpolations. These were, from recent to ancient: Isidore, Orosius, Eusebius, and to a certain extent, Flavius Josephus. In order to better grasp the compound chronology of CMM, below I present a summary of the most important systems used.

Bede's own concept of time is found clearest at the very beginning of his *Chronica Maiora*.⁴⁴³ Until the moment of Christ's birth, he counts 3952 years according to the Hebrew *veritas* and 4530 according to the Septuagint. It should be noted that after this initial Septuagint date, Bede constructed the rest of his chronicle on the Hebrew dates and mentioned those of the Septuagint only occasionally.

Eusebius based his calculations throughout his *Kanones* on the Septuagint.⁴⁴⁴ One way to establish his count of the years until Christ is to take the number of years from Abraham to the time of Christ's birth, which in this case is 2015 years. The text of his chronicle mentions that 2242 years had passed from the time of Adam to the deluge and 942 years from the deluge until Abraham. Combining these numbers his total amounts to 5199 years. Isidore's computation differs slightly from that of Eusebius and reaches 5196 years. Flavius Josephus' calculations are more complicated. They produce totals which, at the end of Book I for example, do not correspond with the partial calculations. Nonetheless, Josephus

⁴⁴³ Jones, *BOD*, Ch. 66, lines 8-40, 463-464, where Bede explains the calculation of the number of years of the 5 *aetates*: from Adam until Noah: 1656 years according to the Hebrew calendar and 2242 according to the Septuagint; from Noah until Abraham: 292 years according to the Hebrew calendar and 272 according to the Septuagint; from Abraham until David: 942 years according to both the Hebrew calendar and the Septuagint; from David until the Babylonian captivity: 473 years according to the Hebrew calendar and 485 according of the Septuagint and from the Babylonian captivity until the advent of Christ 589 years according to both the Hebrew calendar and the Septuagint.

⁴⁴⁴ Eusebius-Jerome, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Helm ed., 169, 174.

A.D.	Aetates	Hebrews	Bede's CM	LXX	Eus.	F.J.AJ	Isidore	Orosius	Events
	First aetas 1656 yrs.		1948 years		3184 years	2262 yrs.			Creation
	Second aetas 292 yrs.	1656		2242		993 yrs.			Deluge
		1948		3184			3184		Abraham
	Third aetas 942 yrs.		2004 years		2015 years				David
	Fourth aetas 473 yrs.							776	1st Olympiad
								752	Rome
	Fifth aetas 589 yrs								Babyl. capt.
0		3952>		5199>			5196		Christ
100									
200									
300	Sixth aetas								
400									
500									
600									
700									
800									Charlemagne

Figure 4: A comparative overview of chronological systems.

writes 2656 years for the period from Adam to the deluge, and 292 years for the period from the deluge until Abraham's birth.⁴⁴⁵ Orosius used the chronology of the Septuagint for early dates, but he switched to *ab urbe condita* dates once his history neared the foundation of Rome. In the first half of the sixth century Dionysius Exiguus developed the *anno domini* dates. Working on the basis of Varro's *ab urbe condita* computations, he placed the birth of Christ on the 25th of December of the 753rd year *ab urbe condita* and calculated that the first year of the Christian era coincided with the Roman *ab urbe condita* year of 754.⁴⁴⁶ Finally, the concept of *aetates* as used by Bede was first developed by St Augustine, but Bede added a seventh and eighth *aetas* in DTR. He introduced those briefly at the beginning of chapter 56, but they played no role in the chronicle itself.⁴⁴⁷

One of the characteristic features of P and the manuscripts of Waitz-group is their exclusive dual chronology. They all combine the Hebrew dates with those of the Septuagint, which forms the chronological spine of the chronicle. This specific way of dating was not used in any other major chronicle of this time. Occasionally the Septuagint dates do not fully coincide with those calculated by Isidore. In the text these occasions can be recognised when another date is given as alternative with the word *alibi*. The apparatus generally facilitates the verification of eventual mistakes. Mistakes by the various scribes notwithstanding, the composer tried to improve on the computations of Bede by making use of all of his other sources, sometimes correcting Bede, sometimes providing additional computations.

6.2 – From Creation to Alexander the Great

During the first part of this period, roughly from Creation to the birth of Abraham, the text of P shows only few complications. Because Jerome's *Chronicon* only began with Ninus, the composer most likely relied on Isidore for the Septuagint dates. Although the composer interpolated some sections from Flavius Josephus, he made no use of his chronology. The only discrepancies between the various sources in this section concerns how long a few of the patriarchs continued to live after they had fathered their eldest son. In these cases P follows Bede.

The difficulties begin when Abraham enters the narrative. Right away the composer faced his first and most complicated chronological junction. He had to synchronise the dating

⁴⁴⁵ Flavius Josephus, *Les Antiquités Juives*, CERF ed., 2, note 8.

⁴⁴⁶ G. Teres, 'Time Computations and Dionysius Exiguus', *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 15 (1984) 177-188, there 184.

⁴⁴⁷ Jones, *BOD*, Ch. 67-71.

of Bede's chronicle with those of Eusebius and Orosius. Slightly further, beginning with Ninus, the composer also began to insert records taken from Orosius who relied on the *ab urbe condita* date of Rome. In order to facilitate a comparison between the different dating systems, table 5 below lists the pairs of Hebrew and Septuagint dates in P from Abraham's birth, related to the Incarnation. At the time of the first pair 1948 years had passed since Creation according to the Hebrew *VERITAS* of Bede and 3184 according to the LXX date given by Eusebius. Looking forward from this point, 2004 years remained for the Hebrews until the incarnation of Christ, and therefore about 1251 until the foundation of Rome ($2004 - 752/3 = 1251/2$). For Eusebius 2015 years remained until the birth of Christ and 1262 years until the foundation of Rome.

1. First pair of dates 2004 (1948 Hebr.) B.C. and 2015 (3184 LXX) B.C.
2. Next pair of dates 1929 (**2023** Hebr.) B.C. and 1915 (3284 LXX) B.C.
3. Next date 1918 (2034 Hebr.) B.C.
4. Next date 1904 (2048 Hebr.) B.C.
5. Next date 1844 (2108 Hebr.) B.C.
6. Next date 1714 (2238 Hebr.) B.C.
7. Next pair of dates 1459 (2493 Hebr.) B.C. and 1471 (3728 LXX) B.C.
8. Next pair of dates 1433 (**2519** Hebr.) B.C. and 1444 (3755 LXX) B.C.
9. Next pair of dates 1383 (**2569** Hebr.) B.C. and 1404 (3795 LXX) B.C.
10. Next pair of dates 1313 (2639 Hebr.) B.C. and 1324 (3875 LXX) B.C.
11. Next pair of dates 1273 (2679 Hebr.) B.C. and 1284 (**3915** LXX) B.C.
12. Next pair of dates 1233 (2719 Hebr.) B.C. and 1244 (**3955** LXX) B.C.
13. Next pair of dates 1230 (2722 Hebr.) B.C. and 1241 (**3958** LXX) B.C.
14. Next pair of dates 1207 (2745 Hebr.) B.C. and 1218 (3981 LXX) B.C.
15. Next pair of dates 1185 (**2767** Hebr.) B.C. and 1196 (4003 LXX) B.C.
16. Next pair of dates 1179 (2773 Hebr.) B.C. and 1190 (4009 LXX) B.C.
17. Next pair of dates 1172 (2780 Hebr.) B.C. and 1183 (**4016** LXX) B.C.
18. Next pair of dates 1162 (2790 Hebr.) B.C. and nothing for LXX.
19. Next pair of dates 1154 (2798 Hebr.) B.C. and 1175 (4024 LXX) B.C.
20. Next pair of dates 1134 (2818 Hebr.) B.C. and 1155 (4044 LXX) B.C.
21. Next pair of dates 1094 (2858 Hebr.) B.C. and 1115 (4084 LXX) B.C.
22. Next pair of dates 1082 (2870 Hebr.) B.C. and nothing for the LXX.
23. Next pair of dates 1062 (2890 Hebr.) B.C. and 1075 (4124 LXX) B.C.
24. Next pair of dates 1022 (2930 Hebr.) B.C. and 1035 (4164 LXX) B.C.
25. Next pair of dates 982 (2970 Hebr.) B.C. and 995 (4204 LXX) B.C.
26. Next pair of dates 965 (**2987** Hebr.) B.C. and 978 (4221 LXX) B.C.
27. Next pair of dates 962 (2990 Hebr.) B.C. and 975 (4224 LXX) B.C.

28. Next pair of dates 921 (3031 Hebr.) B.C. and 954 (**4245** LXX) B. C.
29. Next pair of dates 896 (3056 Hebr.) B.C. and 909 (4290 LXX) B. C.
30. Next pair of dates 888 (**3064** Hebr.) B.C. and 901 (4298 LXX) B. C.
31. Next pair of dates 887 (3065 Hebr.) B.C. and 900 (4299 LXX) B. C.
32. Next pair of dates 881 (3071 Hebr.) B.C. and 893 (4306 LXX) B. C.
33. Next pair of dates 841 (3111 Hebr.) B.C. and 854 (**4345** LXX) B. C.
34. Next pair of dates 812 (3140 Hebr.) B.C. and 824 (4375 LXX) B. C.
35. Next pair of dates 760 (**3192** Hebr.) B.C. and 772 (4427 LXX) B. C.
36. Next pair of dates 484 (**3468** Hebr.) B.C. and 486 (4713 LXX) B.C.
37. Next pair of dates 464 (3488 Hebr.) B.C. and 467 (4732 LXX) B.C.
38. Next pair of dates 423 (**3529** Hebr.) B.C. and 426 (**4773** LXX) B.C.
39. Next pair of dates 404 (**3548** Hebr.) B.C. and 407 (4792 LXX) B.C.
40. Next pair of dates 364 (3588 Hebr.) B.C. and 367 (4832 LXX) B.C.
41. Next pair of dates 338 (3614 Hebr.) B.C. and 341 (4858 LXX) B.C.
42. Next pair of dates 334 (3618 Hebr.) B.C. and 337 (4862 LXX) B.C.
43. Next pair of dates 328 (3624 Hebr.) B.C. and 331 (4868 LXX) B.C.

Table 5: Hebrew and Septuagint dates from Abraham until Alexander the Great in P, corrected against Bede and Isidore where possible. The dates in italics and bold are recorded erroneously in P, but shown here correctly.⁴⁴⁸

The composer wished to connect the different systems of chronology and he thus timed the juxtaposition of Hebrew, Septuagint and Roman dates with care. This first occurs in an interpolation on Ninus. The composer dated it to a Hebrew date of 1878 (2070 B.C.) according to Bede, to 1300 *ante urbe condita* according to Orosius (2053 B.C.), and to a Septuagint date of 3114 (2085 B.C.) according to Isidore.⁴⁴⁹ After this date Bede placed the beginning of the third *aetas* and he lamented that the great length of the second *aetas* used by Augustine made any computation difficult if not impossible.⁴⁵⁰ Bede dodged the problem and used two different Hebrew dates for entries recording the birth of Abraham. The first gives the usual formula: ‘MDCCCCXLVIII, Thare ann. LXX genuit Abraham’. These 1948 years represent the correct sum of years of the first and second *aetas* according to Bede’s own summary and implicitly mark the beginning of the third *aetas*. P used the same date for the birth of Abraham. With the next entry, ‘MMXXIII, Tertia mundi aetas a navitate coepit

⁴⁴⁸ Based on the dates in: Jones, *BOD*; Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*. Martin ed.; CMM II.

⁴⁴⁹ P contains an error here, giving the incorrect Septuagint date of 3113. Scaliger 28 correctly reads 3114. CMM II, 11, line 11; Jones, *BOD*, line 227; Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., I.4.1.

⁴⁵⁰ Jones, *BOD*, lines 227-234. According to Bede, Augustine calculated 1072 years from the deluge until Abraham.

Abraham', Bede had explicitly started the third *aetas* again, but now with the Hebrew date of 2023.⁴⁵¹

The composer inherited this half-solution and somehow had to combine it with his Septuagint dates. Similar to Bede, Isidore placed the birth of Abraham on LXX 3184, but began the third *aetas* with LXX 3284.⁴⁵² The composer was forced to make a choice and opted not to attack the beginning of the third *aetas*. The scribes of P, S and B (and thus most likely the composer's work as well) all wrote 3248, even though they probably realised that Abraham had already reached the age of 100 by then. The scribe of Mu was not content with this solution and wrote a lengthy explanation on various computations, and finally writes the LXX date of 3689 instead.⁴⁵³ Of course, none of this made the computation of future dates easier, and the scribes all wrestled with the question of how to present the subsequent ages of Abraham's life. Given the text of the Scaliger, Besançon- and Munich manuscripts, the composer must have departed far from Bede's chronology and avoided the usual pairs of dates entirely.⁴⁵⁴ The compiler chose to adhere to the text of Bede's CM and circumvented this problematic piece of chronology by simply leaving out the Septuagint dates (see the pairs 3, 4, 5 and 6 in table 5). In the next parts of P it becomes ever more evident that the compiler took more liberty in correcting the chronology than the scribes of the other manuscripts did. Often he omits the Hebrew and Septuagint dates and thus altered the chronological focus.

The interpolations added by the composer sometimes extend to chronology and attempt to explain chronological difficulties. On the topic of how long the Jews stayed in Egypt – a calculation which Bede himself questioned – the composer added that according to Eusebius their stay extended for 144 years after the death of Joseph.⁴⁵⁵ Other interpolations occasionally contradict the Hebrew and Septuagint chronology, as is the case with a chronological quote from Orosius at the end of Moses' 40 years of wandering through the desert. Orosius dated the event to 805 years before Rome, which would correspond to 1557/8

⁴⁵¹ Jones, *BOD*, line 235.

⁴⁵² Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*. Martin ed., 31-34.

⁴⁵³ Clm, 246, f. 15r: 'Haec Orosius nunc Beda dicit hactenus secunda saeculi aetas protenditur cuius totae seriae recensita beatus Agustinus in libro De Civitate Dei capitulo XVI hoc modo conclusit fiunt itaque anni a diluvio usque ad Abraham mille LXXII secundum vulgata aeditionem hoc est interpretum LXX in Hebris autem codicibus longe pauciores an. perhibent inveniri de quibus rationem aut nullam aut difficillimam reddunt Eusebius dicit iuxta eum numerum quem contractiorem aeditione vulgata sermo prebit Hebreus a diluvio usque ad nativitatem Abrahae invenies annos DCCCCXLII ab initio iiiCLXXXIII'.

⁴⁵⁴ CMM II, 11-14.

⁴⁵⁵ CMM II, 15, lines 5-6; Jones, *BOD*, Ch. 66, lines 260-280; Eusebius-Jerome, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Helm ed., 36a.

B.C., but the composer placed it under the Hebrew data of 2493 (1459 B.C.).⁴⁵⁶ The composer simply followed Bede's count: 1656 years of the 1st *aetas* + 292 years of 2nd *aetas* + 75 years of Abraham's age when God renewed his Promise + 430 years of the stay of the Jews in Egypt + 40 years of wandering in the desert, totals 2493 years.⁴⁵⁷ Another case where an interpolation contradicted Bede's chronology was an interpolation from Eusebius on the capture of Troy and the first Olympiad. Bede had placed the fall of Troy in the third year of Lapdon, as Isidore had done before him. That year corresponds with the Hebrew date of 2798 (1154 B.C.) and the LXX date of 4024 (1175 B.C.).⁴⁵⁸ Eusebius however had calculated the date of Troy's destruction to 406 years before the first Olympiad (1182 B.C.).⁴⁵⁹ The composer seems to not have noticed this discrepancy.⁴⁶⁰ Other errors also went unnoticed or were ignored, such as when P gives 222 years instead of 292 for the period from the deluge until Abraham; an error which must have originated early in the tradition because the other manuscripts show the same mistake.⁴⁶¹

The compiler attached markedly more significance to the date of Rome's foundation than the composer did. After pair 35 of table 5 the Hebrew and Septuagint dates are absent in P whereas they are present in the other manuscripts.⁴⁶² In subsequent parts of the narrative, S, B and Mu continue to mention the Hebrew and Septuagint dates in the same way as before. The absence of those dates in P is unique to this manuscript group. It is unlikely that the compiler omitted them by accident and he must have known and seen them just like his fellow scribes. He only shortly resumes the Hebrew and Septuagint dates with an entry on Cyrus, marking the supremacy of the Persian kingdom, and then relinquishes the dual chronology again after the Persians were defeated by Alexander the Great.⁴⁶³ Perhaps the compiler excluded these dates simply to avoid confusion with the Roman dates, but the timing is too uncanny for merely such a practical purpose. The compiler seems to have utilized chronology in order to accentuate the fact that the centre of gravity of world power was beginning to shift to Rome, interrupted for some centuries by the Persian empire in the east, to then to return to Rome and stay there after Alexander's conquests fell apart.

⁴⁵⁶ Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., I.10.1-10.

⁴⁵⁷ Jones, *BOD*, line 281.

⁴⁵⁸ Jones, *BOD*, lines 358-359.

⁴⁵⁹ Eusebius-Jerome, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Helm ed., 60a, 23.

⁴⁶⁰ CMM II, 19, lines 1-5.

⁴⁶¹ CMM II, 15, lines 25-29.

⁴⁶² CMM II, 23-24. In the other manuscripts the foundation of Rome is listed under the Hebrew date of 3224 (728 B.C.) and the Septuagint date of 4443 (756 B. C), stating that Rome was founded on the 11th of the *kalendas* of May (the year is not specified).

⁴⁶³ CMM II, 28-35.

The compiler thus changed the focus of the chronicle merely by leaving out some of its chronology. Content-wise, the composer had already set the percent for a Roman-Frankish connection by inserting large interpolations on a common Trojan heritage between the Romans and the Franks.⁴⁶⁴ Bede's CM, with its occasionally detailed information on Roman history, the lengthy insertions from Orosius, and the interpolations from the *Liber Pontificalis*: they all fit well with the intention to expand on Roman history and thus to intertwine Roman history with that of the Franks.⁴⁶⁵ Whereas the composer wrote in the middle of the eighth century, the compiler completed his redaction sometime after Charlemagne's imperial coronation. Not only could the Roman connection now be used to elevate the history of the Franks, with their own emperor crowned in Rome a succession, or rather renovation from Rome to the Franks became another budding theme. In light of this knowledge, it is perhaps no accident that the compiler chose to also incorporate a fragment on the construction of the Lateran at Aachen: a building reminiscent of Rome's own Lateran, constructed in a locality that contemporaries already referred to as a 'second Rome'.⁴⁶⁶

To introduce the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses both the compiler as well as the composer used only the Hebrew dates, namely the years 3424 and 3431. They added no corresponding Septuagint dates most likely because Isidore began with Darius rather than Cyrus or Cambyses.⁴⁶⁷ The beginning of the reign of Alexander the Great, dated in P to the 426th year since Rome (326/7 B.C.), is rather absurdly sandwiched between pairs 42 and 43 (334-328 B.C. from P's Hebrew dates, and 337-331 B.C. in its Septuagint dates) and connected to the fourth year of the reign of Xerxes.⁴⁶⁸

6.3 – After Alexander the Great

After Alexander the Great the compiler discarded the Hebrew and Septuagint dates almost definitively; they only return as an exception. New lines still begin where now abolished Hebrew and Septuagint dates would have been placed, but because these have been omitted

⁴⁶⁴ See sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.7 of CMM I.

⁴⁶⁵ On Bede, the *Liber Pontificalis*, and the importance of Rome for the Franks, see: McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, 35-37, 46-51.

⁴⁶⁶ For example, a poem dated to 799 writes: 'Stat pius arce procul Karolus loca singula signans, altaque disponens venturae moenia Romae', and later where the text mentions Aachen as the 'secunda Roma'. *Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa*, Ernestus Dümmler ed., MGH Poetae I (Berlin 1873) 366-379, there 368-369. Whether it was truly the Carolingian intention to fashion Aachen into a second Rome is a matter of debate. William Hammer, 'The concept of the new or second Rome in the middle ages', in: Bernhard Kytzler ed., *Rom als Idee* (Darmstadt 1993) 138-157, there 147-149; Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of the Papal Government in the Middle Ages* (London 1955) 95-97; Falkenstein, *Der »Lateran«*, 32-179.

⁴⁶⁷ CMM II, 28-29; Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*. Martin ed., 170.

⁴⁶⁸ CMM II, 33.

the chronology of the chronicle now hinges on the *ab urbe condita* dates instead. Once the compiler had freed himself of the burden of the awkward Hebrew and Septuagint dates the chronological part of his work became much simpler. The only new element to appear in this last part of the narrative, from Alexander the Great to Charlemagne, is the use of incarnation dates; and except for some occasional chronological oddities no methodical complexities are met. However, two chronological substructures can be discerned.

The first retains an orientation towards Rome and follows the Roman dating systems, both *ab urbe condita* dates as well as the reigns of emperors. Occasionally the text presents an alternative and longer reign for an emperor, starting with Nero.⁴⁶⁹ The second chronological system, of which the beginning coincides roughly with the Merovingian epoch, is of Christian nature. After the year 711 it is characterised by the typical pattern of the annalistic presentation of *anno domini* dates.⁴⁷⁰

From the viewpoint of chronology the birth of Christ is one of the most important chronological moments in P as well as in many other chronicles. P fixes this year according to several dates: the 752nd year after the foundation of Rome, the 27th after Egypt became a Roman province, the 41st year of reign of emperor Augustus, the third year of the 193rd Olympiad, the 3015th year after Abraham, the 5695th year since Creation (according to the Septuagint), and the 3957th according to the Hebrew calendar.⁴⁷¹ In addition it marks the beginning of the sixth *aetas*. Although this entry is almost identical to Bede's text, the composer rephrased and expanded it.⁴⁷² He might have considered this passage of too great significance to just add the usual Septuagint date to Bede's Hebrew date, and sought to conform to both Eusebius and Isidore, his two most important sources for the dates of the Septuagint. However, using a different base for his calculations, Isidore had concluded that 5196 or 5197 years had passed between Creation and Jesus' birth, against Eusebius' 5196 years.⁴⁷³

In P we find the number of 5195 years from Adam until Christ's birth. As we saw, either the calculation of 5199 as used by Eusebius or 5196 as calculated by Isidore should have been the correct one. Although P shows 5195, it is most likely that the composer had

⁴⁶⁹ CMM II, 53.

⁴⁷⁰ CMM II, 109.

⁴⁷¹ CMM II, 47.

⁴⁷² Bede gives the following dates: the Hebrew date of 3952, the 42nd year of Augustus' reign, 27 years after Egypt became a Roman province, the third year of the 193rd Olympiad, 752 years after Rome's foundation. Jones, *BOD*, line 495.

⁴⁷³ Eusebius related the dates throughout his chronicle to the years passed since Abraham, but accepted a period of 3184 years between Creation and Abraham.

followed Isidore. Somewhere in the course of the transcriptions a scribe must have overseen the last part of the figure, a Roman I, taking it for a dot often used to flank a numeral. The three other manuscripts confirm this.⁴⁷⁴ Something similar must have happened to the Hebrew count of 3957 in P compared to the date of 3952 in Bede's text. At the root of the error was probably a VII, at some point copied into a II. Again, this is confirmed by the three other manuscripts.⁴⁷⁵ Finally, from Abraham to Christ's birth we read 3015 in P, whereas Eusebius calculated 2015 years.⁴⁷⁶ Once more the other manuscripts confirm the mistake in P and once more a scribal error could explain the difference of a whole 1000 years.

The obviously important entry on Caligula, Pilate, Herod and the persecution of Christ is, by way of exception and emphasis, preceded by both Hebrew and Septuagint dates.⁴⁷⁷ Both dates are wrong however. They present respectively the years 4006 and 5234, whereas the correct numbers are 3993 and 5237. The latter of the two mistakes might have been a scribe's error (a IIII instead of a VII), but the first has no such obvious reason.

Other mistakes are also prevalent in this part of the chronicle; in particular where attempts were made to synchronise Roman dates with other chronological systems. For example, the computation inserted at the 18th year of Hadrian, calculated by the composer himself, is wrong in every way.⁴⁷⁸ It counts 616 years from the first year of Darius until the destruction of Jerusalem (instead of 460) and equals that number to 173 Olympiads (174 in the other manuscripts) and 94 Jewish 'hebdomads' plus 4 years. Further on we find another error, where P places Constantine's inauguration in the year 1061 after Rome (308/9), supposedly coinciding with the first year of the 271st Olympiad (305); none of this is in concordance with the Christian dates P soon resorts to.⁴⁷⁹

The composer probably wanted to avoid a similar confusion for two of the more important Christian events, the First Council of Nicaea (325) and the council of Constantinople (381), and took some care to offer additional dates. He dated the first to the 636th year after Alexander the Great as well as to the tenth of the *kalendas* of July in the consular year of Paulinus and Iulianus.⁴⁸⁰ He placed the second event under the entry for

⁴⁷⁴ CMM II, 47, line 21: vCXCv. The other manuscripts read: vCXCvI.

⁴⁷⁵ CMM II, 47, line 22: iiiDCCCCLVII. The other manuscripts read: iiiDCCCCLII.

⁴⁷⁶ CMM II, 47, line 21: Ab Abraham, secundum LXX anni iiiXV; Eusebius-Jerome, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Helm ed., 169, line 14-15: ab Abraham usque ad nativitatem Christi, anni IIIXV. The other manuscripts read iiXV.

⁴⁷⁷ CMM II, 51.

⁴⁷⁸ CMM II, 58, lines 19-22.

⁴⁷⁹ CMM II, 68, lines 7-9.

⁴⁸⁰ CMM II, 69, lines 15-18.

Gratian's rule, between the year he became emperor, (1132 after Rome, 379/80 AD) and the consular year of Sexies and Theodosius. The composer also gave the first Christian date, 380 years after the incarnation of Christ (according to the Eastern calculation of Theophilus).⁴⁸¹

The last time the compiler uses a year related to Rome's foundation is 1168 *ab urbe condita*, the year in which *comes* Constantius expelled the Visigoths from Narbonne.⁴⁸² It is also the last date of Orosius' book VII, which he closed with the year 417.⁴⁸³ Soon afterwards the chronicle embarks on a new system guided by Gallo-Roman sources and based on the reign of Merovingian kings. The composer provided Christian dates whenever his sources allowed it.⁴⁸⁴ Occasionally dates are accompanied by the corresponding indiction, permitting a double check.⁴⁸⁵

The last chronological stage in the narrative began once the compiler used the so-called minor annals, with their inherent orderly structure of entries according to Christian dates. The first entry, which mentions Pippin's campaign into Alemannia in 710, is found in several annals but is probably taken from a version of the AL.⁴⁸⁶ In the remainder of the chronicle no peculiarities can be signalled. However, it should be remembered that some of the recorded years might have begun with Easter. Charlemagne's death, recorded in an entry for 813 is a clear example of this. The compiler recorded Charlemagne's death on the 15th of the *kalendas* of February, clearly before Easter 814. The compiler marks this solemn and important moment by closing it with both Septuagint and Hebrew dates. The latter is correct, whereas the former is way off mark.⁴⁸⁷ It is noteworthy that the *Aniane Annals* reproduce this pair, including the mistake.

⁴⁸¹ CMM II, 75, lines 9-25.

⁴⁸² CMM II, 81, line 14.

⁴⁸³ Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., VII, 19.

⁴⁸⁴ See for example: CMM II, 93, lines 1-2, for the death of Theudebald in AD 559. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751*, 344, places his death in 555.

⁴⁸⁵ CMM II, 101, line 16, to 102, line 16. Clovis II is elected king in 641, which is correct according to the mentioned indiction, XIII (641 – 312 equalling 329 and 329 divided by 15 = 21 + 14). The same applies to his death and the inauguration of Chlotar II in 659, which would have occurred in the second year of the indiction, (659 – 312 equalling 347, and 347 divided by 15 = 23 + 2).

⁴⁸⁶ CMM II, 109, lines 17-20.

⁴⁸⁷ CMM II, 146, lines 21-22. 6012-5199 equals 813, and 4810- 3952 equals 858.

Chapter Seven: The Latinity of CMM

7.1 – The background of CMM

Following the long road of CMM backwards, it should be remembered that the final text of 1071 goes back, first of all, to the text of the compiler, written somewhere in the ninth century, which itself goes back to the text of the composer who finished his work somewhere between 751-761. The compiler of CMM might have been familiar with the Carolingian reforms, but he based his work on texts that had been written before or in the early days of those reforms. The version of the AL which he used was probably written in the first years of the ninth century whereas the first part of CMM, produced by the composer, was written several decennia earlier. The composer's text was mostly made up of older work, written well before the Latin revival, and while Bede's CM, the LHF and Fredegar's Chronicle were written in the first part of the eighth century, many of the other sources were much older, going back as far as early Christian times. The final text of CMM, as shown in P, thus went through practically all stages of the linguistic transition of Latin before it was set in its final form. Neither a coherence of language nor uniformity of graphy can be expected. The text of P contains almost all phenomena which characterise the transformation process of Classical Latin into Vulgar Latin, as well as Vulgar Latin into Romance. Wallace-Hadrill summarised the linguistic developments from Latin to Romance in his introduction to the last edition of the fourth book of the Fredegar Chronicles as follows: 'As a result of sound changes, the forms of words were modified; and in consequence of this, the forms of the declensions and conjugations of Classical Latin were upset, and, because of this resulting confusion, new syntactical expressions had to be evolved'. By the time the Carolingians attempted to return to the classical forms, the Latin had 'developed from a synthetic into an analytical language'.⁴⁸⁸

However, a few general observations should be made. The first is the apparent attempt of the compiler to comply with newly introduced standards to write Latin according to the classical rules. A comparison between for example his Latin and Fredegar's shows marked differences, and the way the composer treated his sources deserves a closer study. Occasionally, work written by an author such as Orosius seems not to have been fully understood or lost its meaning in an attempt to summarise or to abridge.

⁴⁸⁸ Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, xxx.

7.2 – Phonology and orthography

The many sound changes in the period of Vulgar Latin affected vowels and diphthongs as well as consonants. A brief survey below presents the most important changes present in the manuscripts of P and the Waitz-group.

7.2.1 – Vowels

When the differentiation between long and short vowels disappeared to make place for a distinction based mainly on the accentuation of syllables, some vowels underwent phonetic changes. The long, closed \bar{e} and the short, open \check{i} were gradually pronounced alike as a closed e . The same happened with the pronunciation of the long, closed \bar{o} and the short, open \check{u} . Both were pronounced as a closed o . Since scribes in Merovingian times had to rely for their graphy mainly on spoken, vernacular Latin and had no other standards available than what was left sporadically from classic texts, substitutions were often made arbitrarily. Wallace-Hadrill pointed out this phenomenon in the case of Fredegar's *Chronicles*; the LHF also contains frequent examples.⁴⁸⁹ P relied heavily on much older sources and thus presents us with a highly heterogeneous mixture of samples. Other evolutions, such as the amalgamation of declensions and cases, contributed to similar substitutions as the ones above. The text presents a great number of examples of words which substituted o freely for u and e for i . The following list shows some examples of this with regard to the various manuscripts of the Waitz-group and P; page and line number of the edition are given in parenthesis, the first word always refers to the version in P, the following words present one or more variations from one or more manuscripts of the Waitz-group:

sacerdos/sacerdus (20 line 6; 30 line 1; 38 line 7); edocatus/educatus (20 line 10); posuit/pusuit (23 line 7); Romulo/Romolo (23 line 8); distructum/destructum (23 line 19); Capitolium/Capitulium (25 line 1; 56 line 15); purpura/purpora (25 line 8, also on pages 64, 66, 67, 70, 75, 80, 89); colligitur/collegitur (26 line 21); nuncupatur/noncupatur (28 line 6); destruxit/distruxit (28 line 8); emulumentum/emolumentum/emolumentum (31 line 6); terremoto/terramotu (33 line 1); obtinuit/obtenuit (34 line 20; 43 line 27, also 65, 67, 68, 85, 93); veneni austu/veneni austu (34 line 24); maliolos stopa involutos/maliolus stuppa

⁴⁸⁹ Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, xxx; Pauline Taylor, *The Latinity of the Liber Historiae Francorum. A Phonological, Morphological and Syntactical Study* (New York 1924) 20-26; Herbert Haupt, Andreas Kusternig and Herwig Wolfram, *Quellen zur Geschichte des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt 1982) 20-21.

involutos (36 lines 15-16); labebantur/labibantur (37 line 2); agnoscitur/agnuscitur (38 line 18; 70 line 7; 75 line 18); consul/consol (39 line 12); relatus/relatos (40 line 2); succedit/succidit (40 line 24); insola/insula (frequent); precepit/precipit (42 line 14); adolescens/adulescens (43 line 23); devolutum/divolutum (43 line 23); accipit/acceptit (44 line 24); subolem/sobolem (45 line 9); delinivit/dilinvit (45 line 16); interfecit/interficat (46 line 7); legati/ligati (46 line 20); spontaneum/spontanium (47 line 6); parvulos/parvolos (48 line 2); murus/muros (78 line 7).

Although P seems to have some preference for writing an *o* and *e* instead of *u* and *i*, there is really no clear pattern to be discerned here. All these orthographical differences are presented in the apparatus. One exception has been made for the interchange of the vowels *i* and *y*, which have not been included in the apparatus. The *y* was introduced in the Latin alphabet often through patristic works and a Greek vocabulary of ecclesiastical words. It is generally accepted that both vowels were pronounced in the same way since the early middle ages. The entirely indifferent substitution of the two without any apparent rule is confirmed in the text of P and the other manuscripts. ‘clipeus’, ‘certi’, ‘misterium’, ‘historicus’, ‘sinodicam’ and ‘tirannide’ are all found in P, whereas the other manuscripts present them either in the same way or as ‘clypeus’, ‘certy’, ‘mysterium’, ‘hystoricus’, ‘synodicam’ and ‘tyrannide’.⁴⁹⁰ Vice versa, P gives ‘ymperium’, ‘ymperator’, ‘ydola’, ‘symulacrum’, ‘martyrio’, ‘cybi’, whereas S, B and Mu write ‘imperium’, ‘imperator’, ‘idola’, ‘simulacrum’, and ‘cibi’.⁴⁹¹ The lack of distinction with which the scribes of the collated manuscripts worked is perhaps demonstrated clearest on page 59 where one finds ‘imbribus’ in P against ‘imbrybus’ in S and ‘ymbribus’ in B.

7.2.2 – Diphthongs

Whereas nearly all orthographical differences concerning vowels are included in the apparatus, most orthographical differences regarding consonants and diphthongs have been left out. Too many of such distinctions would burden the apparatus heavily without any philological advantages in return. However, I operated selectively, confident that they would

⁴⁹⁰ CMM II, 65 line 6 (clipeus); 2 line 8 (certi); 8 line 22, 149 line 4 (misterium); 58 line 1 (historicus); 60 line 19 (sinodicam); 63 line 28 (tirannida).

⁴⁹¹ There are many examples of most of these words, sometimes more than ten. To curb this footnote I will only give two examples for each word. CMM II, 3 line 13, line 20 (ymperium); 55 line 4, 63 line 1 (ymperatorem and ymperatorum) 6 line 8, 21 line 22 (ydola); 38 line 20 (symulacrum); 57 line 22, 61 line 6 (martyrio); 48 line 5 (cybi).

neither give cause to phonetic confusion nor that the resulting apparatus would restrict further research of the tradition of the manuscripts.

Phonologic evolution led to the disappearance of the diphthongs *ae*, *au* and *oe*. *Ae* and *oe* were pronounced (and subsequently written) as *e*, whereas the diphthong *au* developed into *o*.⁴⁹² The *ae* and *e* are used indiscriminately for one another in P as well as in the other manuscripts. Almost every page of the text provides examples. In line with a development from the Carolingian reforms, the scribe of P shows a clear preference for *ae* written as *ę*, whereas S writes *e*, and B and Mu variously write *ae* or *e*. The reverse of these options occurs frequently as well though.

The interchange between *ae* or *e* for *oe* is much more limited. They concern only a handful of words such as ‘*coepit*’, ‘*proelium*’ and ‘*poenam*’.⁴⁹³ The pattern of their substitution is more rigid. In most cases the classic form is retained in B and Mu, whereas P and S follow the evolved pronunciation. The combination most frequently found involves ‘*caepit*’ in P, ‘*cepit*’ in S and ‘*coepit*’ in B and Mu.⁴⁹⁴ Other combinations are found only by exception, such as ‘*poenam*’ in P against ‘*penam*’ in S; ‘*poenitus*’ in P against ‘*penitus*’ in S and Mu and ‘*paenitus*’ in B; ‘*foedus*’ in P, B and Mu against ‘*fedus*’ in S.⁴⁹⁵

7.2.3 – Consonants

The consonants *c*, *d*, *f*, *h*, *p*, and *v* were subjected to several phonologic mutations while retaining their original pronunciation. Whereas *c* was pronounced *k* in classic Latin, in the early middle ages the letter came to be pronounced as *s* before the vowels *a*, *i*, *o* and *u* as a result of assibilation. In our manuscripts, *cio* is frequently used for *tio* and *cia* for *tia*. A common example in the early part of the text of the four manuscripts shows ‘*habitatio*’ in P, B and Mu, and ‘*habitacio*’ in S.⁴⁹⁶ Examples of the obverse, with P presenting a *c* are more plentiful: words such as ‘*diligencia*’, ‘*aedicionem*’, ‘*racione*’, ‘*sapiencia*’, ‘*sacerdocium*’, ‘*dicione*’, ‘*amicicias*’ are found frequently in P and are written in several variations in the other manuscripts.⁴⁹⁷ In general, the graphy *cio* and *cia* prevail in S and P, whereas B and Mu give preference to *tio* and *tia*. The interchange of *ciu* and *tiu* occurred less frequently.

⁴⁹² Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, xxx.

⁴⁹³ CMM II, 80 line 22 (*coepit*); 89 line 25, 99 line 26 (*proelium*); 70 line 23 (*poenam*).

⁴⁹⁴ A few examples can be found on : CMM II, 4 line 1, 12 line 12, 21 line 5, 26 lines 14, 20, and 23.

⁴⁹⁵ CMM II, 70 line 23 (*poenam*); 69 line 24 (*poenitus*); 73 line 18 (*foedus*).

⁴⁹⁶ CMM II, 14 line 8, 15 line 5.

⁴⁹⁷ CMM II, 6 line 22, 56 line 20, 117 line 2 (*diligencia*); 1 line 19, 11 line 23, 14 line 8 (*aedicionem*); 9 line 8, 11 line 24 (*racione*); 21 line 10, 37 line 10 (*sapiencia*); 9 line 9, 34 line 17, 39 line 4 and 26 (*sacerdocium*); 19 line 24, 35 line 8, 42 line 2, 53 line 8 (*dicione*); 39 line 26, 45 line 1, 87 line 7 (*amicicias*).

However, examples such as ‘gencium’ or ‘pociuntur’ are present in P and S, versus ‘gentium’ and ‘potiuntur’ in B.⁴⁹⁸ The substitution of *tii* for *cii* in P was found only once: ‘Nonis Marciis’ for ‘Nonis Martiis’ in S and B.⁴⁹⁹

The *t* was often replaced by a *d* when the Vulgar Latin moved towards Romance. In P words such as ‘semed’, ‘inquit’, ‘reliquid’, ‘quod’, ‘apud’, ‘capud’ and ‘adtollebat’ occur frequently and are written in S, B and Mu as ‘semet’, ‘inquit’, ‘reliquid’, ‘quot’ and ‘aput’, ‘caput’ and ‘attollebat’.⁵⁰⁰ Examples of the reverse are much less frequent, but ‘atque’ and ‘aut’ are also found in P against ‘adque’ in S and B, or ‘haud’ in Mu.⁵⁰¹

The *f* is found in P for words such as ‘cronografi’, ‘helefantos’ and ‘profetico’, and substituted with a *ph* in the other manuscripts: ‘cronographi’, ‘helephantos’ and ‘prophetico’.⁵⁰² In P the *h* very frequently disappeared at the beginning of a word before a vowel, as shown in ‘ac’, ‘aut’, ‘ospita’, ‘aequo’, ‘aeretica’, ‘occiditur’ and ‘ubi’. They are found in the other manuscripts as ‘hac’, ‘haut’, ‘hospita’ (B), ‘hequo’ (S), ‘hereticha’, ‘hocciditur’ (S) and ‘hubi’ (S).⁵⁰³ The reverse also occurs, as in ‘habitu’, ‘hictus’, ‘honore’, ‘haec’ and ‘habiit’ in P for ‘abitu’, ‘ictus’, ‘onore’, ‘aec’ and ‘abiit’.⁵⁰⁴ P and B consistently write ‘habere’, whereas S writes ‘abere’.⁵⁰⁵ The words ‘michi’ and ‘nichil’ are encountered in P for ‘mihi’ and ‘nihil’ in the other manuscripts.⁵⁰⁶ The letter *h* is also added to or removed from *c* in P, as is demonstrated by ‘arca’, ‘cronica’, ‘stoicus’, ‘aeretica’, ‘novercam’, for respectively ‘archa’, ‘chronica’, ‘stoichus’, ‘aereticha’ and ‘novercham’ in the other manuscripts.⁵⁰⁷

Similar mutations are found in relation to *t*. One finds in P: ‘tomo’, ‘ortodoxorum’ and ‘Gotos’, for ‘Gothos’ in S, and ‘thomo’, ‘othodoxorum’ in S and B.⁵⁰⁸ The reverse occasionally occurs, as in ‘catenatus’ in P versus ‘catenatus’ in S and B.⁵⁰⁹

⁴⁹⁸ CMM II, 2 line 4, 11 line 3, 84 line 5, 99 line 18 (gencium); 64 line 21 (pociuntur).

⁴⁹⁹ CMM II, 61 line 11.

⁵⁰⁰ CMM II, 13 line 11 (semed); 8 line 11, 27 line 18 (inquit); 20 line 5, 39 line 28, 55 line 17 (reliquid); 53, lines 3, 4 and 15 (quod); 61, lines 6, 11 and 21 (apud); 12 line 5, 69 line 14, 89 line 17 (capud); 64 line 11 (adtollebat).

⁵⁰¹ CMM II, 4 line 22 (atque); 7 line 20 (aut).

⁵⁰² CMM II, 9 line 16 (cronografi); 36 line 4 and 7 (helefantos); 21 line 23 (profetico).

⁵⁰³ The examples for ‘ac’, ‘aut’ and ‘ubi’ are too plentiful to list. CMM II, 47 line 4 (ospita); 59 line 13 (aequo); 59 line 10 (aeretica); 23 line 15, 45 line 8 (occiditur).

⁵⁰⁴ CMM II, 66 line 22, 93 line 17 (habitu); 36 line 13 (hictus); 49 line 6, 62 line 11 (honore); 67 line 11, 71 line 20 (haec); 90 line 8, 95 line 6, 119 line 3 (habiit).

⁵⁰⁵ CMM II, 16 line 3, 85 line 10 (habere).

⁵⁰⁶ CMM II, 30 line 15 (michi); 45 line 7, 60 line 11 (nichil).

⁵⁰⁷ CMM II, 95, lines 22 and 24 (arca); 19 line 25, 29 lines 12-13 (cronica); 61 line 2 (stoicus); 59 line 10 (aeretica); 61 line 18 (novercam).

⁵⁰⁸ CMM II, 89 line 5 (tomo); 89 line 5 (ortodoxorum); 88 line 18 (Gotos).

The *p* mutated into *b* before *s*, *t* or in case of a double *p*. Strangely, P writes ‘princebs’ on the early folios and ‘princeps’ from folio 42r onwards, and sometimes writes ‘deincebs’ and ‘optenuit’, versus ‘deinceps’ in S and Mu, and ‘obtenuit’ in S.⁵¹⁰ Other examples include P’s ‘oppressus’ versus ‘obpressus’ in S, ‘optimum’ and ‘scripta’ versus ‘obtimum’ in B and ‘scribta’ in S and Mu.⁵¹¹

The *v* pronounced as *b* is found, among others, in the word ‘Danuvium’ or ‘Danubium’.⁵¹² The further evolution of the letter is witnessed in P by the words ‘aevangelium’ and ‘aevangelista’, written in B as ‘aewangelium’ and ‘aewangelista’.⁵¹³

Finally, the consonants *d*, *f*, *g*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t* and *x* are indifferently found as single and double consonants. A vowel in a closed position, as in the case when it is followed by two consonants, constituted a long syllable. After the distinction between long and short syllables disappeared, the meaning of single or double consonants after a vowel was lost as well. Wallace-Hadrill observed for the Fredegar Chronicles that ‘All double consonants become single in pronunciation and the graphies may correspond, or double consonants may occur when Classical Latin uses only a single consonant (...).’⁵¹⁴ The following examples were found:

d: The word ‘reddidit’ in P for ‘redidit’ in Mu.⁵¹⁵

f: The word ‘suficere’ in P for ‘sufficere’ in S, B and Mu.⁵¹⁶

g: ‘eggressi’ in S and B for ‘aegressi’ in P.⁵¹⁷

l: The interchange of single and double consonants occurs indiscriminately in the manuscripts, regardless of the preceding vowel: ‘vellis’, ‘ballistas’, ‘tranquillissimus’ in P are found as ‘velis’, ‘balistis’ and ‘tranquilissimus’ in S, B and Mu.⁵¹⁸ P also writes ‘intulit’, ‘calidi’, and ‘pepulerant’, found in the other manuscripts as ‘intullit’, ‘callidi’ and ‘pepullerant’.⁵¹⁹

⁵⁰⁹ CMM II, 25 line 5 (catenatus).

⁵¹⁰ CMM II, 89 lines 18 and 26 (deincebs); 66 line 17 (optenuit).

⁵¹¹ CMM II, 54 line 8, 58 line 22 (oppressus); 58 line 16 (optimum); 45 line 3 (scripta).

⁵¹² CMM II, 19 line 23, 64 line 20 (Danubium). P consistently writes Danubium, the other manuscripts write Danuvium. Another example is the word ‘intrabit’, found as ‘intravit’ in S and B. CMM II, 97 line 11.

⁵¹³ CMM II, 23 line 5, 30 line 16 (Evangelio); 51 line 23, 53 line 3 (evangelium); 9 line 15, 22 line 20, 50 line 14, 71 line 2 (evangelista).

⁵¹⁴ Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, xxxii.

⁵¹⁵ CMM II, 39 line 2, 41 line 15, 81 line 23 (reddidit).

⁵¹⁶ CMM II, 64 line 8 (suficere).

⁵¹⁷ CMM II, 74 line 17 (aegressi).

⁵¹⁸ CMM II, 32 line 3 (vellis); 37 line 2 (ballistas); 67 line 19 (tranquillissimus).

⁵¹⁹ CMM II, 12 line 4, 29 line 18 (intulit); 40 line 8 (calidi); 42 line 14 (pepulerant).

m: P always presents a single *m* while S, B and Mu write *mm* in the following examples: ‘amirabili’, ‘flamis’, ‘gemis’, ‘comentarios’, ‘cominutus’, ‘Comodus’, ‘consumatum’, ‘comunicare’.⁵²⁰

n: The interchange of *n* and *nn* does occur very frequently in the four manuscripts. P writes ‘innumera’ while S and B write ‘innumera’.⁵²¹ P sometimes writes a double *n*, such as in ‘ennormitatem’, ‘ennumerando’ and ‘pannis’, which are all written with a single *n* in the other manuscripts.⁵²²

p: The single consonant *p* in P is consistently given as *pp* in the other manuscripts. Examples in P include: ‘apellaret’, ‘reperit’, ‘stopa’, ‘opinione’ and ‘opidum’.⁵²³

r: P writes ‘corruerint’, ‘perrimit’, ‘perrexit’, for ‘coruere’, ‘perimit’ and ‘perexit’ in S and B.⁵²⁴ The reverse is also found: ‘occurit’ in P for ‘occurrit’ in S and B.⁵²⁵

s: Albeit not very frequently, an interchange between *s* and *ss* sometimes occurs, as shown in ‘conpresit’ in P and B, against ‘conpressit’ in S and Mu, but also ‘oppressit’ and ‘discessionis’ in P, for ‘oppressit’ and ‘discesiones’ in S and B, and ‘dissertissimi’ in P against ‘disertissimi’ in Mu.⁵²⁶

t: P writes ‘litteras’, ‘quatuor’ (consistently), and ‘mitit’, against ‘litteras’, ‘quattuor’ (consistently), and ‘mittit’ in S, B and Mu.⁵²⁷

x: P reads ‘sancxit’ and ‘iuncxit’ for ‘sanxit’ and ‘iunxit’ in S and B.⁵²⁸

7.3 – Morphology and syntax

The transformation process affected both the morphology and the syntax of written Latin. The number of declensions gradually diminished and cases faded out. The 5th declension, consisting almost entirely of feminine nouns, mutated slowly into the 1st and disappeared almost completely in Merovingian times. The same happened to the 4th declension, which assimilated into the 2nd. Adjectives of the 3rd declension tended to integrate with those of the

⁵²⁰ CMM II, 59 line 14 (amirabili); 39 line 16 (flamis); 66 line 22, 84 line 23, 102 line 18 (gemis); 38 line 19 (comentarios); 32 line 19, 39 line 13 (cominutam and cominuto); 60 line 7-8 and 12 (Comodus); 56 line 13 (consumatum); 63 line 5 (comunicare).

⁵²¹ CMM II, 16 line 9 (innumera).

⁵²² CMM II, 22 line 19 (ennormitatem); 28 line 1 (ennumerando); 53 line 16 (pannis).

⁵²³ CMM II, 60 line 15 (appelaret); 12 line 1 (reperit); 69 line 15, 89 line 15, 95 line 22 (reperitur); 36 line 15 (stopa); 62 line 19 (opinione); 38 line 3, 73 line 17 (opidum).

⁵²⁴ CMM II, 41 line 6 (corruerint); 45 line 14 (perrimit); 19 line 11, 70 line 9 (perrexit);

⁵²⁵ CMM II, 9 line 4 (occurit).

⁵²⁶ CMM II, 34 line 2 (conpresit); 41 line 5 (oppressit); 32 line 15 (discessionis); 61 line 3 (dissertissimi).

⁵²⁷ CMM II, 17 line 3, 18 line 7, 110 line 1 (litteras); 34 line 5, 42 line 23, 50 line 16 (quatuor); 54 line 10, 71 line 22 (mitit).

⁵²⁸ CMM II, 76 line 22 (sancxit); 41 line 14 (iuncxit).

2nd and the 1st (*acris, acris, acre* > *acer, acra acrum*). As far as gender is concerned, the neuter assumed masculine endings, in particular for the accusative *m*. Neuter plurals with a case ending in *a* came to be assimilated with feminine nouns of the 1st declension.

As mentioned above, the differentiation between *e* and *i* and *o* and *u* disappeared in many cases, consequentially affecting the case endings. The process was aggravated by the loss in the pronunciation of accusative-*m*; on some occasions P returns to the accusative-*m* and writes ‘*gradum*’, ‘*temporum*’ and ‘*mortem*’, whereas the older manuscripts write ‘*gradu*’, ‘*tempore*’ and ‘*morte*’.⁵²⁹ The disappearance of the accusative *m* in the 1st declension led to frequent confusion with other cases, such as ‘*gracia dedit*’.⁵³⁰ Several examples can be found in the passage describing Constantine building his several basilicas.⁵³¹ Other examples include ‘*septimam*’ instead of ablative ‘*septima*’, or ‘*ad quam*’ instead of ablative ‘*a qua*’.⁵³²

The second declension was disturbed by the substitution of *o* for *u* with consequences for most case endings. The nominative *us* was mixed up with accusative plural *os*. In addition, the loss of the *m* gave rise to confusion between the dative, accusative and ablative singular. In the 3rd declension confusion between *e* and *i* caused the substitution of the dative for the ablative and vice versa (‘*omnis/omnes*’ and ‘*igne/igni*’).⁵³³ The nominative and genitive *is* endings were mixed up with the nominative and accusative plural *es* (‘*graves pestis/gravis pestes*’).⁵³⁴ Other examples include ‘*clades/cladis*’, ‘*montis/montes*’, and ‘*conpage/conpagi*’.⁵³⁵

The disappearance of the difference in pronunciation between *b* and *v* gave rise to a confusion of future and perfect tenses, (such as in ‘*amabis/amavis*’, ‘*amabit/amavit*’) except for the 1st person singular and the 3rd person plural. The disappearance of the difference between *i* and *e* caused confusion in the use of the third person singular of verbs of the 3rd conjugation (‘*prebet/prebit*’).⁵³⁶ The confusion between the endings containing *e* and *i* was probably the cause for the substitution of the future tense by auxiliary verbs like ‘*debere*’,

⁵²⁹ CMM II, 9 line 8 (*gradum*); 16 line 10 (*temporum*); 2 line 15 (*mortem*). Occasionally P omits an accusative-*m* as well, such as in the case of ‘*igne*’ (‘*ignem*’ in S; CMM II, 3 line 29).

⁵³⁰ However, this might be a scribe’s error. P writes ‘*gracia dedit hos*’, S writes ‘*gracia deditus*’, B ‘*gratia deditos*’. CMM II, 3 line 24.

⁵³¹ CMM II, 69.

⁵³² CMM II, 2 line 16 (*septimam*); CMM II, 2 lines 8-9 (*ad quam*).

⁵³³ P generally writes ‘*omnes*’, the other manuscripts occasionally instead write ‘*omnis*’. CMM II, 20 line 11 (*omnes*); 55 line 8 (Orosius writes *omnis*, P *omnes*). CMM II, 39 line 16 (*igneque*); 67 line 4 (*igne*).

⁵³⁴ CMM II, 33 line 4 (*graves pestis*).

⁵³⁵ CMM II, 41 line 6 (*clades*); 32 line 14 (*montis*); 37 line 3 (*conpage*).

⁵³⁶ CMM II, 51 line 1 (*prebet*);

‘habere’ and ‘velle’ followed by the infinitive. For the same reason, the future participle was frequently used instead of the future tense, as we find in ‘pugnaturus’.⁵³⁷

The passive voice practically disappeared in its synthetic forms. ‘Laudatus sum’ replaced ‘laudor’ in the present tense, often becoming ‘laudatus fui’. An example in P is ‘fuisse distructam’.⁵³⁸ The growing use of composite constructions with ‘habere’ led to a composite past tense formed by ‘habere’ and an accusative past participle. The sentence ‘templi Iudeorum, quo mortuo non habuit successorem’ may have been influenced by this kind of development.⁵³⁹ The growing neglect of the original meaning of deponent verbs developed into a frequent use of, for example, ‘ventus est’ in analogy to ‘locutus est’. The disappearance of the composite passive tense, together with a vague remembrance of the former use of despondent verbs, led to a confused substitution of the active by the passive. The infinitive present ending on *e* became prone to be written with *i* (ordinare/ordinari).⁵⁴⁰

Similar features have been recognised in Fredegar’s language.⁵⁴¹ Taylor has also observed them in her detailed analysis of the LHF, albeit with much less frequency.⁵⁴² She concentrated her research on studying the use of the *casus generalis*, that reduced all genitive, dative, accusative and ablative singular cases into endings of *a*, *o* and *e*.⁵⁴³ She concluded her survey stating that the oblique case endings were much more widely spread than the plural ending *is*, confirming d’ Arbois, who called it the unique indirect case of the Latin of the Merovingian times.⁵⁴⁴ The general use of the oblique case upset many of the classical rules of syntax. A pair of examples in P include ‘post longa pace’ or ‘ponam eos in stupore et in sibilum’.⁵⁴⁵

7.4 – Difficulties and errors

Modifications and mutations of Latin as mentioned above resulted in some difficult reading. To find ‘urbe’ where one expects ‘urbem’ as the only correct form is but a minor inconvenience compared to some other sentences. Though such difficulties can sometimes be resolved, several other factors led to additional complications, often leaving the reader with

⁵³⁷ CMM II, 31 line 11 (pugnaturus).

⁵³⁸ CMM II, 25 line 26 (fuisse distructam).

⁵³⁹ CMM II, 38 line 10.

⁵⁴⁰ CMM II, 112 line 14.

⁵⁴¹ Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, xxxvi-xxxviii.

⁵⁴² Taylor, *The Latinity of the Liber Historiae Francorum*, 43-48.

⁵⁴³ *Ibidem*, 64-94.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 93.

⁵⁴⁵ CMM II, 25 line 8 (post longa pace); 27 line 13 (ponam eos in stupore et in sibilum).

an incomprehensible or nonsensical sentence. Sometimes these are the product of gradual erosion during the long transmission. For example, on page 52: ‘causatus’ instead of ‘accusatus’, ‘expleta’ for ‘spreta’, but also misspellings such as ‘Galicule’ for ‘Caligulae’ or ‘Siciliam’ for ‘Seleuciam’ on page 35.⁵⁴⁶

On other occasions the text gives an incomprehensible reading that has nothing to do with scribal errors but was most likely caused by an erroneous understanding of a source by the composer. One section on page 36 is very difficult to understand without consulting the source, in this case Orosius, IV, 1.16-18, which reads:

Interea Romanus exercitus, postquam uictus clam fugit e castris, miserabilem belli cladem grauioribus monstris auctam accumulataque persensit. Nam pabulatores forte progressos uelut hostilis quaedam oborta tempestas cum horribili fragore caeli correptos diris fulminibus exussit. Quippe XXX et IIII eorum idem turbo prostrauit; duo et uiginti semineces relictis, iumenta exanimata et capta conplurima: ut merito contigisse non in signum uastationis futurae sed uastatio ipsa referatur.⁵⁴⁷

The composer’s attempts to abridge or summarise his sources might also have led to some confusing sentences, and for subsequent scribes it must have been difficult to properly understand what the text meant without having recourse to the original source. For example, a few sentences on page 37 can only be reconstructed on the basis of the source.⁵⁴⁸

Similar examples abound in the text. In order to produce a comprehensible edition without resorting to many additional reference books, the text of the sources is reproduced whenever P poses difficulties. For most cases the apparatus under the heading ‘Sources’ provides the essential match of words or sentences taken from the underlying texts. Of course, a comparison of the readings of the sister manuscripts, also mentioned in the apparatus, might occasionally solve difficulties as well.

⁵⁴⁶ CMM II, 52 line 6 (causatus); 52 line 15 (expleta); 53 line 24 (Galicule); 35 line 13 (Siciliam).

⁵⁴⁷ Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., IV, 1.16-18

⁵⁴⁸ CMM II, 37 lines 1-4. Orosius, *Histoires*, Arnaud-Lindet ed., IV.8.11.

Chapter Eight: The presentation of the text

The edition relies largely on the text of the first 54 folios of BN lat. 4886. This text has been fully transcribed, including all the corrections, marginalia, and other palaeographic peculiarities. To summarize from chapter one, the following editions and manuscripts have been collated for this edition: B (Besançon, bibl. mun. 186), S (Leiden, Scaliger 28) and Mu (Munich, BSB Clm 246) have been collated for the period from Creation till their last year, 741. Br (Brussels, KBR, 17349-60) only begins with the year 710 and ends with 741.⁵⁴⁹ The text of AA as written in BN lat. 5941 begins with 670 and has been collated up to the end of the text in P. The missing folios in P, covering the period 717-770, have been complemented by the text as written in AA. Finally, the texts of the Lorsch annals were also collated. StP (Sankt Paul, Stiftsarchiv, cod. 8/1.), and Duch. (Rome, BAV, MS Reg. Lat. 213, fols. 149-151) were collated from where P continues after the year 770. FrV (Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 515) only begins with 794 and has been collated from there.⁵⁵⁰

Where the text of P was unreadable because of a damaged folio, ink stain or other accident, it has been reconstructed based on the other manuscripts (S, B and Mu for the early part, AA for the latter) or based on other sources.⁵⁵¹ These reconstructions are given in square brackets, [as such]; the critical apparatus refers to which texts each section was based on.

To aid the reader, capitals and punctuation have been added to the text and quotations are marked between » « and are, where possible, accompanied by a note in the margin referring to the source of the quotation. The paragraphs in the edition are derived from the chronological systems; the Hebrew and Septuagint dates, the ‘ab urbe condita’ dates, or the Christian ‘anno domini’ dates. The transition from one folio to the next is marked by a slash followed by the respective folio, all set in cursive type, such as /f7v. For the first 112 pages the text closely follows Bede’s CM. On these pages, sections that are identical to Bede’s CM are set in Roman type, while interpolations from other sources are set in cursive type.

The format of the critical apparatus is as follows. Cursive type refers to editorial notes or references to other manuscripts while Roman type is used to present sections of text from the manuscripts. References to sources under the header ‘Sources’ are given in bold;

⁵⁴⁹ For this text the edition of Baron von Reiffenberg has been collated. Baron de Reiffenberg, ‘Notices des Manuscrits’, *Compte-rendu des séances de la commission royale d’histoire* 7 (Brussels 1844) 236- 246, and 8 (Brussels 1844) 167- 192.

⁵⁵⁰ In the case of Duch. the edition as published by Duchesne was the source for the collation. *Fragmentum Annalium*, Duchesne ed., 21-23. For StP I consulted the manuscript; for FrV the facsimile edition by Unterkircher, *Das Wiener Fragment der Lorscher Annalen*.

⁵⁵¹ For example, none of the other manuscripts include the first, highly damaged folio of the text in P, but this has been reconstructed based on Bede’s preface to DTR.

references to variations are set in Roman type. The latter also includes words and fragments from sources to clarify particularly difficult sections of the edition. Sources are abbreviated as shown on the first pages of the edition. These abbreviations are sometimes abbreviated themselves. For example, whereas ‘9–26) Bede, 85-104’ states that lines 9-26 are derived from lines 85-104 of Bede’s DTR, the note ‘14) vixere/B: dixere’ means that the word ‘vixere’ in line 14 is written as ‘dixere’ by Bede. Marginalia are placed after the section ‘Sources’, with reference to their approximate line number in the edition, and present all the marginalia in the text of BN lat. 4886.

The orthography of P has mostly been maintained in this edition. Where applicable, a *u* has been transcribed as a *v*, or a *uu* as a *w*. Roman numerals have not been normalised because Arab numerals make it far more complicated to recognize scribal errors. The number thousand is given as *i*, the abbreviation *mil.* as *milia*. Abbreviations have been completed based on what the text most likely calls for. Whenever a certain abbreviation requires a choice in orthography, the edition follows the option chosen by the scribe of P elsewhere in the text. For example, the abbreviation ‘gra’ for ‘gracia’ calls for a *c* rather than a *t* based on the rest of the text. The suffix *con* or *com* has consistently been written as *con*, as in ‘conprehendere’. Because the critical apparatus would otherwise be overburdened by minor discrepancies, certain differences in spelling and grammar have been left out. These include:

- *c* for *t*, or vice versa (for example generations/generaciones).
- *m* for *n*, or vice versa (complectens/complectens).
- *w* for *v*, or vice versa (ewangelista/evangelista).
- *e* for *ae*, or vice versa, unless part of declination (aevangelista/evangelista).
- *i* for *y*, or vice versa (certy/certi, Syria/Siria).

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