

Compilation as Palimpsest

Tracing Origins of the Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César in the Liber Floridus

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Abstract

This article offers an initial assessment of the multiple and varied uses of a manuscript of the *Liber Floridus* as a source of the early thirteenth-century *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*. The material deriving from Lambert de Saint-Omer's twelfth-century encyclopaedic compilation ranges from idiosyncratic chronologies and genealogies to his abridged versions of *Daretis Phrygii de excidio Troiae historia* and the *Epitome* of Julius Valerius. Uncovering the origins of these passages compiled in the *Liber Floridus* alters our understanding of the composition of the *Histoire ancienne* and provides new evidence of the wider legacy of Lambert's compilation.

Keywords: compilation; manuscripts; universal history; genealogy; Troy; French; Alexander the Great; *Liber Floridus*; *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*.

The earliest universal chronicle in French, the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, was composed in the region of medieval Flanders in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.^{1, 2} According to the verse prologue, it was written for Roger IV (d. 1230), castellan of Lille, by an anonymous author, though some

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2 Montorsi (2016a) dates the composition to between 1214 and 1219. The title was assigned by Paul Meyer (1885) in his seminal article on the contents and manuscripts of the *Faits de Romains* and the *Histoire ancienne*.

scholars have attributed it to the prolific Wauchier de Denain, who was active in the circles of the counts of Flanders.³ The *Histoire ancienne* is witnessed in over one hundred manuscripts, from across Europe and the Mediterranean, dated from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.⁴ The earliest manuscripts are divided between the regions of Northern France and Flanders, and the Holy Land, in addition to a handful of late thirteenth-century Italian copies.⁵ The extensive textual tradition underlines the important place of the *Histoire ancienne* in the broad cultural and geographical span of French language usage in the Middle Ages.⁶ Scholarly interest in the text and its manuscripts has flourished in recent years thanks to the publication of a number of editions of discrete sections of this voluminous work.⁷ This article results from research undertaken to produce the first complete edition of the *Histoire ancienne* based on the text in the two most important manuscript witnesses of the first and second redactions: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS f. fr. 20125 (*Fr20*), possibly produced in Acre c. 1275, and London, British Library, MS Royal 20 D I (*Royal*), made in Naples around 1330.⁸ Whilst *Fr20* is the most extensive account of the first redaction, featuring the sparsely attested verse prologue and moralisations, *Royal* is the earliest and most authoritative witness of the second redaction that emerged in fourteenth-century Naples.⁹

The first redaction of the *Histoire ancienne* largely follows the structure and contents of Orosius's *Historiae adversus paganos*.¹⁰ The prologue that introduces the work in *Fr20* suggests that the account will begin with the first man and continue up contemporary Flanders (*Fr20* § 1.1, ll. 115-184,

3 Meyer (1903) first associated Wauchier de Denain with the *Histoire ancienne*. For more recent discussions of Wauchier as author of the *Histoire ancienne*, see Michelle Szkilnik 1986 and Douchet 2015.

4 For a list of manuscripts, see Rochebouet 2016. There is one further manuscript of the first redaction missing from this list: Lisbon, Biblioteca nacional de Portugal, MS Ilum. 132. For further discussions of the manuscript tradition of the *Histoire ancienne*, see Baker 2017 and Rachetta 2019.

5 For an overview of the geographic range of the manuscripts, see Palermi 2004.

6 See, for example, Gaunt 2015, Morato and Schoenaers 2018, and Gilbert et al. 2020.

7 Joslin 1986 (*Genesis*); De Visser van Terwisga 1995-1999 (*Orient I*, *Thebes*, *Greeks and Amazons*); Jung 1996 (*Troy*); Gaullier-Bougassas 2012 (*Alexander*); Rochebouet 2015 (*Orient II*).

8 See Morcos et al. 2020. On the second redaction and the *Royal* manuscript, see Barbieri 2020.

9 The prologue only occurs in one other manuscript, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2576. On the verse moralisations, see Morcos & Ventura 2019.

10 Arnaud-Lindet 1990-1991. The narrative units of the *Histoire ancienne* are known as: *Genesis* (1), *Orient I* (2), *Greeks and Amazons* (4), *Troy* (5), *Eneas* (6), *Rome I* (7), *Orient II* (8), *Alexander* (9), *Rome II* (10) and *Caesar* (11). This subdivision follows Jung 1996 (and Oltrogge 1989) and refines the original outline in Meyer 1885.



Ill. 1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 20125, f. 2v. *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*. Prologue. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BNF.

Ill. 2: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 20125, f. 3r. *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*. Opening of the Genesis-section. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BNF.

Ills 1 & 2).¹¹ This vast transtemporal feat is however not achieved: the work concludes, as Paul Meyer's title suggests, with Caesar's activities in Gaul, 57 years before the birth of Christ. For the sections that Orosius either glosses over or omits, the vernacular author supplements the narrative with other Latin sources, such as the Vulgate and Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica* for *Genesis* and the *Epitome* of Julius Valerius and the *Epistola Alexandri Magni ad Aristotelem* for the material on Alexander the Great.¹² In other cases, the influence of vernacular verse romance is identifiable, including the *Roman de Thebes* and *Roman d'Eneas*.¹³ The second redaction of the

11 All references to *Fr20* are from Morcos et al. 2020.

12 For *Genesis*, see Joslin 1986. On the *Alexander* sources, see Ross 1963 and Gaullier-Bougassas 2012.

13 On the 'romans antiques' in the *Histoire ancienne*, see Raynaud de Lage 1957. For example, the *Roman de Thebes* is the basis of *Thebes* (3). Virgil's *Aeneid* and Servius's commentary provide the material for *Eneas* (6), but the influence of the *Roman d'Eneas* is also evident (see Monfrin

Histoire ancienne is differentiated from the first primarily for its replacement of the account of the Fall of Troy, based on *Daretis Phrygii de excidio Troiae historia* in the first redaction, with a more extensive version combining different redactions of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*, which is known as *Prose 5*.¹⁴ The remaining sections are the same as those found in the first redaction, but the biblical and Alexander material is omitted. These interventions result in a significantly different characterisation of the whole, away from the model of universal history.

In what follows, I will suggest that a twelfth-century Latin encyclopaedic compilation was the intermediary for at least two of the sources translated in the *Histoire ancienne* as well as a number of chronologies and genealogies. Composed by Lambert, the canon of the Church of Our Lady at Saint-Omer, the *Liber Floridus* was completed by 1121, around one hundred years before the *Histoire ancienne* in a region close to its own probable origins. The *Liber Floridus* is preserved in an incredible, illustrated autograph manuscript, now Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 92 (G), nine further copies, several fragments, and numerous excerpts.¹⁵ Unlike the geographically dispersed manuscripts of the *Histoire ancienne*, the witnesses of the *Liber Floridus* are restricted to the regions of northern France and Flanders. There are three distinct branches of the tradition, which feature reconfigurations of Lambert's compilation and provide clues to what is now missing from the autograph.¹⁶

The relationship between the *Liber Floridus* and the *Histoire ancienne* has only ever been tentatively explored.¹⁷ Francesco Montorsi is the first and only scholar to identify the *Liber Floridus* as a potential source of the *Histoire ancienne*, in his analysis of the genealogies of the Franks at the beginning of *Eneas*.¹⁸ The multiple genealogies and chronologies found throughout the *Liber Floridus* are at times idiosyncratically refashioned by

1985). Similarly, the *Roman d'Alexandre* has been identified as a source of the *Alexander* section (see Ross 1963 and Gaullier-Bougassas 2012).

14 On *Prose 5*, see Jung 1996, 505-562 and Barbieri 2020. See also the notes accompanying Luca Barbieri's edition of *Prose 5* in *Royal* (Morcos et al. 2020). A printed edition of *Prose 5* has recently been published by Anne Rochebouet (2021).

15 For a digital surrogate, see <<https://lib.ugent.be/catalog/rug01%3A000763774/items/900000106992>> (consulted 21/09/2020). Albert Derolez's detailed textual and codicological analyses of this unique compilatory feat have revealed thirteen different phases in its creation, dated to between 1111 and 1121. See Derolez 2015, 173-182. On some of the excerpts and fragments, see Vorholt 2017, 6-8, 31-40, 155-210.

16 On the manuscript tradition of the *Liber Floridus*, see Gumbert 1973.

17 See my discussion of Ross 1962 and 1963 below, and Conklin Akbari 2014.

18 Montorsi 2016b.

Lambert. The shared particularities of these genealogical passages with the *Histoire ancienne* offer a compelling starting point for considering more wide-ranging and extensive borrowings from the *Liber Floridus*.

In this article, I will examine the different ways the author of the *Histoire ancienne* exploited and integrated material from the *Liber Floridus*, and how the etchings of that pre-existing compilation, and its subsequent reconfigurations, alter our understanding of the composition of the vernacular work. Moreover, I hope to add further evidence of the legacy of Lambert's idiosyncratic work. After introducing the significant function of genealogies and chronologies in the *Liber Floridus* and the *Histoire ancienne*, I will attempt to identify the branch of the manuscript tradition possibly used by the *Histoire ancienne*'s compiler, moving from the genealogies of the Franks to the Trojan section that precedes them. Secondly, I will examine how content from two different chapters of Lambert's compilation is integrated into the account of early Roman history. Finally, I will explore the influence of the positive portrayal of Alexander the Great in the *Liber Floridus* on the *Histoire ancienne* and the echoes of Lambert's eschatological framing of the First Crusade.

The *Liber Floridus* brings together diverse material from almost one hundred identified sources on a variety of different types of knowledge: historical (local and universal), biblical, geographical, scientific, cosmographical, and eschatological.¹⁹ Wim Blockmans highlights its possible didactic function, considering Lambert's compilation as 'un manuel pour les étudiants de la *schola canonicorum* et celles d'autres chapitres'.²⁰ The named authors include *inter alia* Augustine, Bede, Dares Phrygius, Eutropius, Flavius Josephus, Frechulf of Lisieux, Hegesippus, Isidore of Seville, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Orosius, and Lambert's near contemporary, Petrus Pictor (a poet and canon of Saint-Omer).²¹ Lambert actively extracts, abbreviates, paraphrases, and summarises his source texts throughout.²² The content deriving from Orosius, the principal source of the *Histoire ancienne*, is selective and condensed.²³ But

19 Derolez attempts to identify Lambert's sources in the manuscripts of the chapter library of Saint-Omer and the library of Saint-Bertin abbey. See Derolez 2015, 39-43, 195-199.

20 He even suggests that Lambert's continuous *remaniements* might reflect 'adaptations inspirées par les échanges avec les étudiants'. Blockmans 2018, 18.

21 There is, however, a distinction between who is quoted and who is mentioned by name. See De Coene & De Maeyer 2011, 52.

22 On Lambert's approach to compilation, see De Coene & De Maeyer 2011.

23 The longest excerpt, on the emperors of Rome, covers f. 190v-202r in G. Elsewhere, Lambert refers to Orosius for geographic information (f. 19r and 52r), his judgement of Moses (f. 142v) and Alexander the Great (f. 153r-v). The whole *Historia* is summarised on f. 166v-167v. See Rubenstein 2019, 227, n. 17.



Ill. 3: Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 92, f. 20v, Lambert of Saint Omer, *Liber Floridus*, Ages of the World.

two of the other shared sources, *De Excidio* and the *Zacher Epitome* of Julius Valerius, are featured at length, albeit in an abridged form. One of the longest chapters of the whole compilation is based on the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnatium*, which gives an indication of the significance of the First Crusade to Lambert's overarching eschatological framework.²⁴ Images in particular serve to elucidate his vision, in the form of illustrations, diagrams, and maps, which give a prominent place to Jerusalem, in its earthly and heavenly forms.²⁵ The diagrams of the tree of consanguinity (f. 102v and 103r), based on Isidore, reflect Lambert's exhaustive interest in tracing origins. This is similarly evident in the numerous genealogies and lists of rulers and ecclesiastical figures that fill the pages and margins of the *Liber Floridus*, including Lambert's own family tree.²⁶ Hans Hummer describes the *Liber Floridus* as 'the richest genealogical trove of the twelfth century [...] which poignantly expresses the eschatological trajectories of medieval genealogy'.²⁷ Multiple chronological concordances situate the rulers and reigns in relation to each other and the ages of the world (Ill. 3).²⁸ Together these passages play a fundamental role in tying the different strands of history to the principal salvific thread.²⁹

The multiple and often repeated chronological summaries and genealogies that pervade the *Liber Floridus* represent a key area of concordance with the *Histoire ancienne*. Multiple interludes of a similar nature form part of the narration of the vernacular universal history, in which the immediate narrative is placed in its wider historical context and the protagonists are related to their ancestors and/or progeny. They most commonly occur as the history moves from one reign to another, situating each in relation to key temporal landmarks, such as the destruction of Troy or the founding of Rome. Some of these passages are directly translated from Orosius. Others

24 Derolez 2015, 117-118. On the importance of the First Crusade to Lambert, see Rubenstein 2012. On the eschatological texts and their relationship to the First Crusade, see Verhelst 1988.

25 See, for example, the depiction of heavenly Jerusalem on f. 65r. On the map of earthly Jerusalem, which was in a quire now missing from G, see Rubenstein 2014, 267-271. On the relationship of several of the diagrams and illustrations in the *Liber Floridus* to the First Crusade and Lambert's eschatological schema, see Mayo 1973. See also Lecoq 1987.

26 Lambert's is 'one of the earliest genealogical trees of non-noble families' (Derolez 2015, 172). Hummer (2018, 309) identifies 'ten titled *Genealogiae*' in the *Liber Floridus* and several others 'embedded in other texts', as well as forty-five lists of rulers and bishops. 'If Lambert's narrative acknowledged changes in the ruling lines and dynastic turbulence, the underlying coherence was clarified in the marginal genealogies that run alongside the text and assert a continuous tradition.' *Ibid.*, 314.

27 *Ibid.*, 307.

28 On Lambert's different approaches to the ages of the world and his sources, in particular Orosius, see Rubenstein 2019, 21-34.

29 Hummer 2018, 311.

derive from the tradition of the Jerome-Eusebius *Chronicon*, but in several instances the figures diverge and the origin of these disparities has rarely been identified. In the case of the genealogies of the Franks at the beginning of the *Eneas* section, Montorsi ascertained that the *Histoire ancienne* featured the same modifications as the *Liber Floridus* to the genealogy derived the ninth-century *Chronicon* by Frechulf of Lisieux, in which the Franks descend from a people who originate in an island called Scanzia (see *Fr20* § 589.6-7).³⁰ This lesser-known version follows the traditional account of the seventh-century *Chronicle of Fredegar*, which traces the Trojan origins of the Franks via Frigas and Francio (*Fr20* § 589.1-5). Both feature at the beginning of the chapter from Frechulf which occurs towards the end of the *Liber Floridus* in *G* (Delisle § 326).³¹ A further genealogy, inserted two paragraphs later in the same section of the *Histoire ancienne*, traces the Franks' origins all the way back to Noah via the line of Japhet (*Fr20* § 591). The latter has close parallels with a genealogy that forms part of a chapter on the history of the Franks that occurs earlier in the autograph manuscript (Delisle § 277).³² Echoing Lambert's exhaustive approach, the author of the *Histoire ancienne* incorporates all three genealogies as part of the narrative shift between the fall of Troy and the trajectory of the errant Trojans, linking the heroes of the past to the origins of 'France' (§ 589.7), albeit via three alternative trajectories.³³

None of the extant manuscripts of the *Liber Floridus* replicate the arrangement of the autograph manuscript. In many cases the changes made reflect an attempt to increase the coherence of the content. This is evident in the rearrangement of the material on the Trojan origins of the Franks in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1 Gud. lat. (*W*), the earliest of the nine extant manuscripts of the *Liber Floridus* after the autograph. Produced in Northern France or Southern Belgium in the third quarter of the twelfth century, *W* is the only surviving 'first-generation copy' in J. P.

30 See Montorsi 2016b, 418-420. For more information on all of the examples of material deriving from the *Liber Floridus*, see the appendix below.

31 I refer to the chapter numbers for the *Liber Floridus* set out in Delisle 1906.

32 See Montorsi 2016b, 421-423. Derolez suggests that the Trojan descent of the Franks was initially unknown to Lambert and not included in the original version of this chapter from the *Liber historiae Francorum* (Delisle 1906, § 277). In order to incorporate the Trojan line of descent, Lambert inserted a single folio (f. 234). Previously, the chapter focused only on the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties. Derolez dates the addition of this genealogy to the final stage of the work's completion, after the inclusion of *Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae historia* (Delisle 1906, § 325) and the later content from Frechulf's *Chronicon* (§ 326-327), which includes the other Frankish genealogies. Derolez 2015, 158-159, 182-185.

33 On the indeterminacy of the French and 'France' in these passages, see Gaunt 2015, 46-48.

Gumbert's stemma.³⁴ This manuscript also features material absent from the autograph but understood to have been part of the original composition, including the illustrated Apocalypse section.³⁵ Montorsi draws our attention to the possibility that *W* was the potential *Liber Floridus* exemplar used by the author of the *Histoire ancienne* for the Frankish genealogies, in light of its geographic and temporal proximity to the composition of the vernacular universal history.³⁶ There is unfortunately a significant material lacuna affecting the section that would have contained the genealogies of the Franks. However, a group of fifteenth-century manuscripts which descend from *W* attest the presence of the chapters missing from their model: Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château, MS 724 (*Ch*), The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 72 A 23 (*Hi*) and Genoa, Biblioteca Durazzo-Giustiniani, MS A IX 9 (*Du*).³⁷ In these manuscripts, the genealogies of the Franks are repositioned so that the histories of Troy, Rome, and the Franks form a series.³⁸ This involves moving *Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae historia* (Delisle § 325) and the subsequent chapter on the founding of Rome attributed to Frechulf of Lisieux (Delisle § 326-327) before the life and deeds of Julius Caesar (Delisle § 221) and the *Gesta Romanorum imperatorum* (Delisle § 222), and two texts on Charles the Bald (Delisle § 223-224).³⁹ The history of the Franks (Delisle § 277-278) and list of Frankish kings (Delisle § 279) are moved to the end of this series along with the chapters on the counts of Namur and Leuven, and local religious leaders (Delisle § 281-285). As Vorholt sums up, through this rearrangement *W* 'fully materializes this idea of the Frankish dynasty's Trojan pedigree by bringing together material from different sections of *Ghent* (§ 325-7, 221-4, 277-8) to create a history which comes full circle, with the list of the Frankish rulers reaching from Priam to Lambert's own day (§ 279).'⁴⁰ This re-arrangement of chapters in *W* reflects the order of the genealogies of the Franks as they appear in the *Histoire ancienne*.⁴¹

34 Liefstinck 1973, 31. A handful of twelfth-century manuscripts contain material from the *Liber Floridus*, but *W* is 'the only surviving major *Liber Floridus* manuscript clearly based on *Ghent*', Vorholt 2017, 31-40 (42). A digital surrogate of *W* is available here: <<http://diglib.hab.de/mss/1-gud-lat/start.htm>> (consulted 12/03/2021).

35 On the contents and arrangement of this manuscript, see Liefstinck 1973 and Vorholt 2017, 31-96.

36 Montorsi 2016b, 423.

37 See Gumbert 1973 and Liefstinck 1973. Throughout the article, I refer to Gumbert's *sigla*, which are slightly different from Delisle's.

38 Gumbert 1973, 42.

39 Vorholt 2017, 51.

40 Vorholt 2017, 54.

41 The genealogy from the Roman history deriving from Frechulf of Lisieux (Delisle 1906, § 326) is in *HA* § 589 and the one from the chapter on Frankish history (Delisle 1906, § 277) *HA* § 591.

The possibility that *W* (or a close copy) was the exemplar used to compile the *Histoire ancienne* is further supported by the presence of a chronological concordance at the end of the final paragraph of *Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae historia* (Delisle § 325), which also occurs in the vernacular work. One further manuscript from a different branch of the *Liber Floridus* stemma, of which it is the sole extant representative, includes the same chronology at the end of *De Excidio*: Paris, BNF, MS f. lat. 6685 (*M*).⁴² The chronology appears to be the equivalent of Delisle's § 204 in the autograph manuscript (*G* f. 155v):⁴³

Anno ab orbe condito III^[m] CCXLIII Troia edificata est / mansitque
postea annis DCCCC LX^{ta} II^{obus} et subuersa est /a Grecis\
Ab euersione Troie anno [] CCC [] Roma a Romulo incepta est.
A Romulo usque ad Brutum per VII^{tem} reges Rome regnatum est annis
CC^{tis} XL^{ta}.
A Bruto et a consulibus usque ad Christum anni D^{ti} XIII^{cim} regnante
Augusto.
Summa annorum ab orbe condito usque ad Christum V^[m] CC^{mo} L^{mo} VIII^{mo}.⁴⁴

In *G* (f. 278r), *De Excidio* concludes with:

Dares Frigius supradictam historiam ueraciter scripsit, nam is ibidem
re*ansit / cum Antenoris faction usque ad excidium Troie. /
Anno ab urbe condito III^[m] CXXX Troia condita est et post anno DCCCCL
euersa est.

The contents of the revised final paragraph of *De Excidio* with the chronology in the *W*-branch manuscripts and *M* appear closely related to a passage towards the end of the Trojan section of the *Histoire ancienne* (*Fr*20 § 583),

42 A digital surrogate is available here: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000541b>> (consulted 12/03/2021).

43 This chronology (Delisle 1906, § 204) occurs on an 'artificial bifolium' in *G* (f. 155v), after Lambert's own genealogy and a short survey of biblical and Christian history. The thirteenth-century quire-mark and nineteenth-century foliation indicates that it may have once been grouped with the Alexander material. Another note by Lambert suggests that it was intended for the end of the book where it is currently bound. See Derolez 2015, 171. Delisle (1906, 727-728) observes that a chronology is added to the final paragraph of *De Excidio* in *Ch* and *Hi*, but does not recognise that the content is the same as his § 204. Similarly, Gumbert (1973, 47-50) does not recognise the presence of this chapter in his list of the contents of the manuscripts in this branch of the tradition.

44 All citations from *G* are based on Derolez 1968.

which occurs six paragraphs before the first genealogy of the Franks mentioned above. Moreover, the latter immediately follows *De Excidio* and the Troy chronology in both the *W*-group manuscripts and *M*. In light of the material lacuna in *W*, I will use *Ch* for the transcription:⁴⁵

<p><i>Ch</i> (f. 123v) Dares fri- gius supradicta[m] historia[m] veraciter scripsit Nam is ibide[m] rema[n] sit cum antenor factione usq[ue] ad excidiu[m] troye. Anno ab orbe condito tria milia ce[n]tu[m] ·xxx^{ta}. troya condita est. Et post a[n]nos nonge[n]tos ·L^{ta}. euersa est. Anno ab orbe condito tria milia ·cc^{ta} ·xliiii^{or}. troya edificata est. Mansit q[ue] postea annis nonge[n] tis ·lxxii^{b[us]}. et subuersa est a grays. Ab euersione troye anni ·ccc^{ta}. Roma a Romulo incepta est.</p>	<p><i>M</i> (f. 70r) Dares frigi^{us} sup[er] scriptam historiam ueraciter scripsit. nam is ibidem remansit cum anthenoris facto[n]e. usq[ue] ad excidium troie. Anno ab orbe condito iii^l ·c ·xxx· troia condita est. Et post anno ·dccc ·l· eu[er]sa e[st]. Anno ab orbe condi- to ·iii^l ·cc ·xliiii· troia edificata. Mansitq[ue] postea annis ·dccc ·lxvii· [et] subu[er]sa est a grecis. Ab eu[er]sione troie anno ·ccc· Roma a romulo incepta e[st].</p>	<p><i>Fr2o</i> (§ 583) Ceste ystorie escrist Daires, qui estoit manans avec Anthenor en Troies. [...] Tres le comence- ment dou monde dusques au comencement de Troie ot ·iii· mil ans et ·cc· et ·xliiii·, puis dura ele ·ix^c· ans et ·lxii· si fu destruite. Et tres la destruction de Troies ot ·ccc· ans dusques au comencement de Rome, que Romulus la funda primes.</p>
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45 All manuscript transcriptions are my own unless otherwise indicated. The transcriptions are semi-diplomatic, with abbreviations indicated in square brackets.

A romulo usq[ue]
ad brutu[m] p[er]
septe[m] reges
regnatu[m] est annis
·cc·xl·

A bruto [et]
consulibus anni
quingenti et
duodecim regnante
augusto cesare·

Su[m]ma annoru[m]
ab orbe condito
usq[ue] ad [christu]
m qui[n]q[ue] milia
ducenti quinquaginta octo·

A romulo usq[ue] ad
brutu[m] per septem
reges regnatum est
annis ·cc·xl·

a bruto [et]
consulibus usq[ue]
ad [christu]m anni
·D· [et] ·xii· regnante
augusto cesare·

Summa annor[um]
ab orbe condito
usq[ue] ad [christu]
m ·v^[m]·~~dd~~·cc·lviii·

E tres Romulus, qui
primes en fu rois
et sires, dusques a
Brutus, qui primes
en fu conceles, ·cc·
et ·xl· ans, et en cest
termine i regnerent
·vii· roi qui mout de
malisse firent.

E tres le tans Brutus,
que gouvernerent
la cité concele,
ot dusques a la
naissance Jhessu
Crist nostre segnor
que Cesar Augustus
en fu enpereres, ·v^c·
ans et ·xii·.

Li somme des
ans tres [b] dou
comencement dou
monde dusques a la
nativité Jhesu Crist,
si est ·vi· mile et ·cc·
et ·lviii· ans.

In *Ch* and *M*, the concluding chronology duplicates the content on the creation and destruction of Troy at the end of the autograph's version of *De Excidio*. It is the additional chronology that matches the figures and phrasing of the paragraph in the *Histoire ancienne*.⁴⁶ In his work on the latter, Marc-René Jung notes that the duration of Troy is longer than in other accounts (962 years), while the date from the foundation of Rome to the birth of Christ is in line with Orosius and Eusebius (752 years).⁴⁷ This unusually long duration parallels the figures in the *Liber Floridus*, in which the total is 962 years in the second chronological concordance (Delisle § 204) (but 950 years at the end of *De Excidio* (G f. 278r)).⁴⁸ Jay Rubenstein identifies in the *Liber Floridus* an attempt to place Troy in parallel with the founding of Babylon, the two cities succeeded around 950 years later by Rome and Jerusalem respectively: 'The overlaps are not precise, but they are close enough to reveal what Lambert saw as the fundamental harmonies of history and theology.'⁴⁹ In this vein, the Trojan War provided genealogical origins for the Frankish heroes of the crusade as well as 'a historical echo of the First Crusade'.⁵⁰ Thus, the figure in the *Histoire ancienne* bears witness to Lambert's idiosyncratic account of Troy, shaped by his ideological concerns and interest in the First Crusade. The vernacular author appears not only to interpolate the discrete chronologies and genealogies mentioned thus far. There is evidence to suggest that he translated more than just the chronology at the end of *De Excidio*: both Lambert's abridged version and the account in the *Histoire ancienne* omit the sequence of portraits in chapters XII and XIII of *De Excidio*. These portraits have been viewed by Dennis Bradley as a clumsy integration by the author of *De Excidio*.⁵¹ Only the *Liber Floridus* manuscripts and two unrelated fourteenth-century English copies share this omission.⁵² The cumulative evidence thus makes it likely that the author of

46 There are minor discrepancies in the number of years from the creation of Troy to its destruction: 972 in *Ch*, 967 in *M* and 962 years in *Fr20* and *G*. The total number of years from the beginning of the world to the birth of Christ is 5258 in *G*, *Ch* and *M*, but 'dd' is crossed out in the latter which would have made it identical with the total of 6258 years in *Fr20*. However, this figure is 5258 in other *Histoire ancienne* manuscripts, according to Jung (1996, 419). The omission or addition of a numeral is not an infrequent scribal error, see, for example, Lagomarsini 2015.
47 Jung 1996, 419.

48 The accounts also reveal inconsistencies in the dates for when it was founded: 3244 or 3130. This type of disparity is not uncommon in Lambert's work.

49 Rubenstein 2014, 273.

50 Ibid.

51 Bradley 1991, 233-234.

52 Faivre d'Arcier highlights the deliberate omission of chapters XII and XIII in the *Liber Floridus*, and their rearrangement after at the end of the text. He considers the omission of these

the *Histoire ancienne* used a manuscript of the *Liber Floridus* as the exemplar of *De Excidio*, and the chronology indicates that it was from the branches of *W* or *M*. In *G* (f. 278r) and also *Ch* (f. 123r-v), the portraits in chapters XII and XIII are re-integrated at the end of *De Excidio* before the concluding paragraph with the chronological note. In *M*, they are omitted: the final chapter (XLIV) is immediately followed by the passage cited above with the additional chronology. The fact that chapters XII and XIII are not found in the *Histoire ancienne* thus gives an initial indication that the *M*-branch might be the more likely candidate.

As it happens, *M* features material extracted from the *Liber Floridus* that is not found in *W* and its descendants, but shared with the *Histoire ancienne*. The list of consuls of Rome integrated into the section on early Roman history (*Fr20* § 661-662), which follows *Eneas*, appears to derive from a chapter on the ages of the world preserved only in the autograph manuscript of the *Liber Floridus* and *M* (Delisle § 188; *G*, f. 136v-139r; *M*, f. 44r-45v, Ill. 4).⁵³ The list of consuls is found in the paragraph on the fifth age of the world and the *Histoire ancienne* shares the same order as well as several garbled names.⁵⁴ In Lambert's manuscript, additional facts and figures are written in the margins. In *M*, these details are presented in highlighted boxes framed within the text block. A number of these details are integrated into the list in the *Histoire ancienne*. For example, following the consul *Pompeius Cornelius* and the reference to the combat with Hannibal in that period, the account then mentions the losses inflicted on the Romans:

chapter in the two English manuscripts (*Lk* and *Le*) to be coincidental. See Faivre d'Arcier 2006, 97-98, 180, 189, and 238.

53 However, content added on the sixth age of the world (Delisle 1906, § 189) is present in three other manuscripts from a different branch. These two chapters represent a 'survey of world history', extracted from Frechulf, Eutropius, and others, compiled by Lambert in two stages. The famous portrait of the Emperor Octavian Augustus and additional text on folio 138 was inserted between folios 137 and 139, supplementing and duplicating some of the content. See Derolez 2015, 122-123. Delisle divides the content on folio 139r (1906, § 189) from folios 136v-138v (§ 188) in his chapter analysis (678).

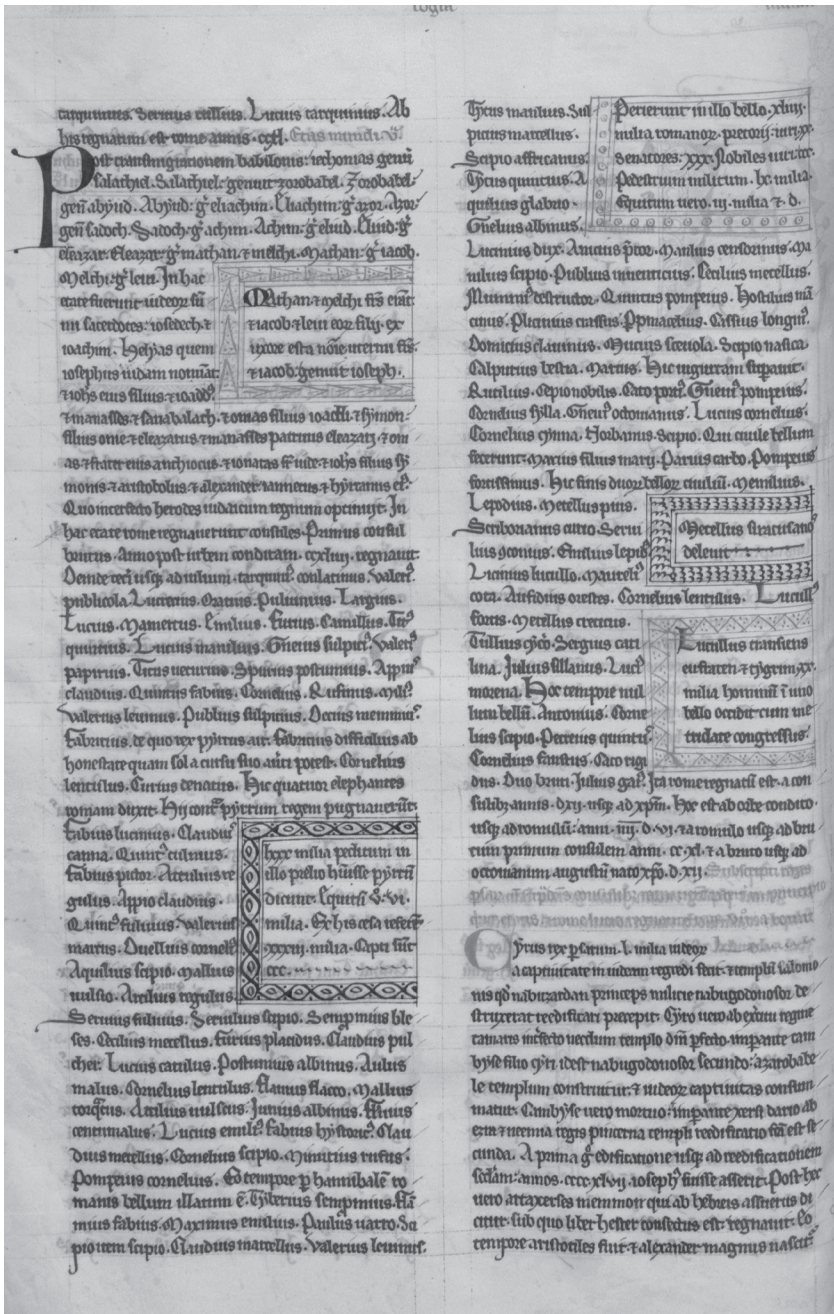
54 In *Fr20*, 'Duellius Cornelius' and 'Concipio Aquilius' (§ 661.3) appear to be a conflation of Gaius Duilius, Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Aquilius Florus. In *G*, we find a similar reading: 'Duellius Cornelius' and 'Aquilius Scipio' (f. 137v).

<p>G (f. 137v) Eo tempore per Hannibalem Romanis bellum illatum est.</p>	<p>M (f. 44va-b) Eo tempore p[er] hannibale[m] romanis bellum illatum e[st]</p>	<p>Fr2o (§ 661.7-10) Ou tans de ces vint li rois Hannibal de Cartage sor les Romains por con- querre Rome, et il a lui se combatirent. En cele bataille perdirent li Romain ·xliiii· mile homes de la cité, et ·iii· mile chivaliers et ·v^c· qui tuit a chivau furent, et de chivaliers a pié ·xl· mile, e entre conceles et haus princes ·ccc·, et ·xxx· senators, et ·xx· pretorie.</p>
<p>{In the margin:} Perierunt / in eo bel/ lo XL et IIII^{or} milia / Romanorum pretorii ui/ri XX, / senato/res XXX, nob**es ui/ri CCC, / ped*strium / militum / XL milia, equitum uero tria milia / ***</p>	<p>{In the highlighted box within column b:} Perierunt in illo bello ·xliiii· milia romanor[um]· pretorii uiri ·xx· senatores ·xxx· Nobiles uiri ·ccc· Pedestrium militum ·lx· milia Equitum uero ·iii· milia [et] ·d·</p>	

The breakdown of the different Romans killed – knights, foot soldiers, senators, etc. – are in the reverse order in the *Histoire ancienne*, but the passage and list as a whole are clearly derivative of the *Liber Floridus*. The *Histoire ancienne* performs the next stage of the integration of the material from the margins of Lambert’s page into the text block proper. Taking this example into account, in addition to the chronology at the end of *De Excidio*, we might hypothesise that the content in the *Histoire ancienne* derives from a predecessor of *M*, rather than *W* or a close derivative. Moreover, the genealogies, chronology, and lists encountered thus far give us an indication of the potential wider influence of the *Liber Floridus* on the composition of the *Histoire ancienne*.

Copied around the third quarter of the thirteenth century, *M* has a unique arrangement and selection of chapters from the *Liber Floridus* as well as texts not known to be from Lambert’s compilation.⁵⁵ G. I. Lieftinck locates the manuscript to the diocese of Cambrai, but others suggest that it comes from the diocese of Rheims, where it was in the library of

55 Delisle 1906, 729-735; Gumbert 1973, 37.



111. 4.: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 8865, f. 44v, Lambert of Saint Omer, *Liber Floridus*, Consuls of Rome. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BNF.

the charterhouse of Montdieu since at least the fourteenth century.⁵⁶ *M* is the only extant copy to omit Lambert's prologue, hence anonymising the compilation. Furthermore, the chapters on Saint-Omer and Flemish history are omitted and texts with a French focus are added, such as Andrew of Marchiennes's *Historia succincta de gestis et successione regum Francorum* and two lives of Charlemagne.⁵⁷ In his stemma, Gumbert projects the existence of a twelfth-century intermediary between *M* and the autograph manuscript, which he denotes as **N*. The *Histoire ancienne*, compiled at the beginning of the thirteenth century, thus might provide evidence of the existence of this hypothetical intermediary. This manuscript would have been completed sometime after 1146 according to the content in the list of Flemish counts (Delisle § 177; *M* f. 126r) and patriarchs of Jerusalem (Delisle § 94; *M* f. 142v), which does not include any of the later twelfth- and thirteenth-century additions to *G*.⁵⁸ *M*, however, integrates content composed in the thirteenth century.⁵⁹ Indeed, it is also possible that it does not reflect the exact same textual arrangement of the *Liber Floridus* as the projected **N*. It is therefore necessary to consider with caution the potential textual and temporal distance of *M* from the twelfth-century model that may have been accessed by the compiler of the *Histoire ancienne*.

The vernacular author appears to have turned to a different chapter of the *Liber Floridus* for the section on early Roman history. The interpolated genealogy of Brutus and the passage on the rulers of Britain (*Fr20* § 665-667, Ill. 5) was initially identified by Guy Raynaud de Lage as deriving from the Harleian version of the *Historia Britonum* (London, British Library, MS Harley 3859), a ninth-century historical compilation on the history of Britain. He, however, noted that the *Histoire ancienne* diverged from the *Historia Britonum* at certain points. Lambert's abridged version of the *Historia Britonum* (Delisle § 86) again offers an explanation for the divergences between the *Histoire ancienne* and the source. One of the principal disparities concerns the genealogy of Brutus.⁶⁰ Lambert's version contains a single genealogy of Brutus, which combines content from chapters 17 and 18 of the *Historia Britonum*. In

56 Lieftinck 1973, 32; Vorholt 2017, 102-3.

57 Woodward 2010, 51. See also Vorholt 2017, 100-101.

58 Gumbert 1973, 38; Vorholt 2017, 41.

59 For example, the letter from Blanche of Castile dated to 1250.


60 He comments on the fact that the genealogy in the *Histoire ancienne* ends with Brutus, who conquered Britain from the Picts and Scots, and not the mythical figure of Brito, whose reign would place him before their arrival. He also notes that the *Histoire ancienne* omits the peoples that take us from 'Brito' to 'Britones' (Raynaud de Lage 1948).

Cornelius scipio. patreus quibus
 Cornelius scipio. patreus quibus
 hodierna. et nihilis gaudis qui fu
 nomen uiles clar. et qui par lui
 font si com uos oes tant lonoz de
 rome et la regnoie. Or li corele los
 mirent a rome grant partie
 du monde.

Segnoz et dames cest que
 ie uos ai nome main
 tendrent rome. et guo
 uernerent. V. c. ans. et xij. par loz
 grans sens et par loz grans procey
 et plusoz autre que ie ne uos ai
 mie uomes ausi los aidrent et par
 loz sens et par loz forces. et par loz pro
 uoces firent il tant ceiens celui
 terminer que que il perchissent que
 rome fu dame poi sen falli de tot
 le monde. et or des regnes des tres
 les cens. et les cheuages ne ne fu q
 uers li feist entr en bataille. Ens
 ou quant eage dou monde adrent
 en si tmes oes li concele la cite et
 si fu li regnes de ple de grant renon
 et de grant puissance. Troismant

renon ou regne de macedonie
 o il or este nes et nous si com les
 elarures dient et raconter mes
 de ce le launoz estre. si raconten
 ceul de brutus a parler par au
 lui furent premeantement
 abatu de rome. et qui premiers
 i fu conceles quar en si le conuier
 afaire poi lectoie meaus cont
 auer et entendre. Si comence
 des conceles li grans affaires

Brutus si com
 uos oes fu pre
 metains conce
 les fais par les
 senatois et par
 le commun elist
 de toz ceaus de
 la uile. Et tar
 quinius amlatinus dont uos
 aues oi parler auere. assis poi
 fu ce tarquinius en la baillie
 nient pr autre chose tant sole
 ment que por ce quil or a nom
 tarquinius ausi com li man
 uais roi qui de la cite chace estan
 ent. por ce tant solement ne uoit
 brutus ne li senator ne li autre
 pueples quil eust for aus porte
 tant ne quant ne en la cite nul
 le baillie. Et por ce prist il tot le pa
 tremone qui li estoit remes. et toz
 ses muables et tote la maison.
 si iust de la cite et ala manoir en
 autre contrée. et ens ou lui de lui
 fu naletius publicola fais conce
 les. Adonques loz esmuit grans
 guerre. li tois tarquinius qui
 fors estoit lotoes de la cite si com



qualixandres li grans en alexan
 don. et fin transt la regnoie. et le

Ill. 5: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 20125, f. 185r. *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César. Brutus.* Source gallica.bnf.fr / BNF.

doing so, it conflates the paternal line of Alanus, which goes back to Noah,⁶¹ with his maternal line. The latter links Brutus to Japheth via the Trojan line of Aeneas and his descendant Rhea Silvia, the mother of Alanus.⁶² The version we find in the *Liber Floridus*, and translated in the *Histoire ancienne*, merges these two genealogies, re-arranges the names in chronological rather than reverse order, and removes the Trojan/maternal line:

<i>G</i> (f. 69r)	<i>M</i> (f. 111v)	<i>Fr20</i> (§ 665.7)
Brutus iste de	Brutus iste de	[Brutus] fu de la
Iapheth / filio Noe	iaphet filio noe	lignee Japhet le
descendisse traditur,	descendisse traditur	fill Noé, ce vos
sicut genealogia	sicut genealogia	voill je bien faire
subscripta ostendit	subscripta ostendit	entendre. Quar de
: / Iapheth genuit	Iaphet genuit	Japhet issi Ivan, et
Iuuan, Iuuan genuit	iuuan· Iuuan genuit	de Ivan Joboath, et
Iobaath, Iobaath	iobaath· Iobaath	de Joboath Baath,
genuit Baath, /	genuit baath· Baath	et de Baath Izrau,
Baath genuit Izrau,	genuit izrau· Irau	et de Izrau Ezra,
Izrau genuit Ezra,	genuit ezra· Ezra	et de Ezra Rain, et
Ezra genuit Ram,	genuit ram· Ram	de Rain Abyr, et de
Ram genuit Abyr,	genuit abir· Abyr	Abyr Oth, et de Oth
/ Abyr genuit Oth,	genuit oth· Oth	Aurach. Aurach
Oth genuit Aurach,	genuit aurach·	engendra Mair, et
Aurach genuit	Aurach genuit	Mayr Symeon, <et
Mayr, Mayr genuit	Mayr· Mayr genuit	Symeon> Sethebyr,
Simeon, / Simeon	symeon· Symeon	et Sethebyr Alanum,
genuit Sethebyr,	genuit sethebyr·	Alanus Hesitionem.
Sethebyr genuit	Sethebyr genuit	Hesius engendra
Alanum, Alanus	alanu[m]· Alanus	Brutum dont vos oés
genuit Hesicionem,	genuit hesitionem·	la genealogie.
/ Hesicio genuit	Hesitio genuit	
Brutum consulem.	brutum [con]sule[m]	

61 'Alanus autem, ut aiunt, filius fuit Fetebir, filii Ougomon, filii Thoi, filii Boib, filii Simeon, filii Mavi, filii Aurthach, filii Oth, filii Abir, filii Rea, filii Ezra, filii Izrau, filii Baath, filii Iobaath, filii Jovan, filii Jafeth, filii Noe...' (Faral 1929, § 17).

62 'Brutus filius Hisitionis, Hisition Alanei; Alaneus filius Reae Silviae; Reae Silviae filia Nume Pampilii, filii Ascanii; Ascanius filius Aeneae, filii Anchisae, filii Troi, filii Dardani, filii Flise, filii Juvani, filii Jafeth' (Faral 1929, § 18).

The compiler of the *Histoire ancienne* was thus not responsible for this reconfiguration of the genealogy, but extracted the content in this form from the *Liber Floridus*.⁶³ The knowledge of Lambert's interventions and appropriation of the material affects our understanding of the vernacular author's own ideological engagement with the sources. In the *Liber Floridus*, the history and rulers of Britain, which incorporates the Brutus genealogy, serves to contextualise the Norman conquest of England.⁶⁴ By streamlining the genealogy of Brutus, Lambert guards the Trojan line for the Franks, whom he ultimately connects to the Normans and the counts of Flanders, the heroes of the First Crusade.⁶⁵ In the *Histoire ancienne*, the history of Britain concludes with the Christianisation of Britain, the Saxon invasion, and the subsequent conversion by Augustine of Canterbury and Paulinus of York (*Fr20* § 667), before returning to the life and death of the first consul of Rome. Whilst the integration of the passage into the *Histoire ancienne* is somewhat awkward, occurring in the middle of the narrative as opposed to a moment of transition, the cut-off point nonetheless attributes a salvific inflection to the line of Brutus, concluding in a time of peace and Christianity.

Despite previous comparisons between the content on Alexander the Great in the *Liber Floridus* and the *Histoire ancienne*, no scholar has seriously considered the possibility that they were directly related. Unique parallels between the two works are strongly suggestive that the former is a source for the latter in the *Alexander* section also. Furthermore, the arrangement of the content relating to the life of Alexander the Great in *M* may yet be of further evidence that the author of the *Histoire ancienne* was working from

63 A further shared divergence from the *Historia Britonum* concerns the rulers of the Picts: the region 'Dalrieta' (see Faral § 14) is transformed into a fourth ruler 'Balbrieta' (*Fr20* § 666.3) in the *Histoire ancienne* (see Raynaud de Lage 1948). This refashioning of the name originates in the *Liber Floridus*: in *G* a single line added to the bottom of f. 68v identifies the rulers of the Picts as 'Storech filius Storim et Dalbrieta et Builas et Iectan'. Their names are also listed in a summary table that precedes the chapter. Whilst the form 'Dalbrieta' is attested in the list in *G*, *M* (f. 111ra) shares the reading 'Balbrieta' with *Fr20* (the spelling in the main chapter of *M* is however 'Dalbrieta').

64 See Hummer 2018, 320. See also Vorholt (2017, 50-51) on the contextualisation of this series in *W*, which results in an increased emphasis on the 'hereditary right' of William the Conqueror through his blood relationship to Edward the Confessor.

65 'Francorum Flandrensiunq;ue principium nobilium Priamus dux Troianus extitit exordium' (Delisle 1906, § 128; *G*, 105v; *M*, f. 126r). Indeed, this versified genealogy, known as the *Genealogia regum Francorum comitumque Flandriae*, has been attributed to Lambert (see Derolez 2015, 111-112). On the way Lambert links the lines of the Franks and the Flemings, by suggesting the equivalence of Goths and Normans, see Hummer 2018, 319-320.

a manuscript from this branch of the *Liber Floridus* manuscript tradition. In *M, De Excidio* (Delisle § 325; *M f.* 65bis v-70r) is concluded by the first paragraph from the Frechulf passage on the founding of Rome including the Frankish genealogy (Delisle § 326) used in *Eneas*, and then immediately followed by a triptych of texts on the life of Alexander the Great (Delisle § 197-200; *M f.* 70v-75r).⁶⁶ This includes the so-called *Zacher Epitome* of Julius Valerius, the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, and *Collatio Alexandri Magni cum Dindimo Bragmanorum de philosophia per litteras facta*.⁶⁷ The *Alexander* section of the *Histoire ancienne* develops the principal source, Orosius, with various Latin and vernacular accounts of Alexander's life, including the *Epitome* and the *Epistola*. David Ross observes contrasting approaches to these sources in the vernacular work: 'In general the author of the *Histoire ancienne* tends considerably to abbreviate the *Epitome* as he slightly expands Orosius.'⁶⁸ Ross does not, however, contemplate the possibility that the compiler of the *Histoire ancienne* was working from an already abbreviated copy of the *Epitome*. In his article on the *Liber Floridus*, he describes Lambert's approach to the *Epitome* as 'abbreviation by omission', using the account of the death of Nectanabus as an illustration.⁶⁹ In Lambert's abbreviated version, the direct reported speech is removed, along with a number of details, reducing the passage to the bare bones of Alexander's fatal exchange with his father.⁷⁰ The equivalent passage in the *Histoire ancienne* (*Fr20* § 775.6-776.1) is also abbreviated in comparison with the *Epitome*:⁷¹

66 The two chapters on the Franks (Delisle 1906, § 277-278) occur later in *M*, beginning on *f.* 120r, followed by the lists of kings (§ 279), counts and religious leaders (§ 280-285).

67 On the manuscripts of these works and their circulation together, see Ross 1956, and more recent additions to the check-list in Voorbij 1984. Ross does not include the *Liber Floridus* manuscripts in his check-list. However, he looks at the Alexander content in Lambert's compilation in a separate article published in 1962.

68 Ross 1963, 189.

69 Ross 1962, 125.

70 On Lambert's approach to 'editing' *De Excidio*, including the removal of some narratorial interventions and indirect reported speech, see Faivre d'Arcier 2006, 238.

71 Gaullier-Bougassas (2012, 223) suggests that Wauchier de Denain 'censures' the more fictional content in *Epitome* (I, 4-16) in *Fr20* § 775 (§ 18 in her edition), omitting the references to the magical/astrological practices of Nectanabus, reducing the love scenes with Olympias, and the details on the childhood of Alexander, including the names of his masters.

G (f. 153r)

Dum uero esset
annorum XII et /
nocte quadam artis
astrologice comi-
tante Nectanabo
frueretur,
impro/uiso eum
fossa impellens
precipitaat. Ibi que
letali ictu ceruicis
afflictus, / iacens
resupinus et adhuc
uiuus Alexandro
Egypti fugam et qua
arte eum / genuerit
in similitudine dei
Amonis indicauit. Et
his dictis obiit. /

M (f. 70v)

Dum uero e[ss]et
annor[um] ·xii· [et]
nocte quadam artis
astrologice comi-
tante nectanabo
frueretur improuiso
eum fossa i[m]pel-
lens p[re]cipitaat.
Ibiq[ue] letali ictu
ceruicis afflictus.
iacens resupinus
[et] adhuc uiuus
alexandro egypti
fugam· [et] qua arte
eum genu[er]it i[n]
similitudine[m] d[e]
i amonis indicauit.
His dictis obiit.

Fr20 (§ 775.6-776.1)

e quant Alixandres
fu tant creus que il
ot ·xii· ans de son
eage, il avint une
nuit que entre lui
et Neptanabum
issirent fors des sales
por esgarder par
l'art d'astronomie en
l'air et ou cors des
estoiiles. Adonques
bouta Alixandres
Neptanabum si
que il ne s'en dona
garde en une fosse,
qui derriere lui es-
toit plaine de pierres
dures et grandes, et
ce fist il por ce que li
pluisor le gaboient et
disoient que c'estoit
ses peres. Si en avoit
grant vergoigne
et si ne le creoit il
ne ne cuidoit mie.
Neptanabus, qui fu
botés en la fosse, en
tel guise com vos
m'oés dire, ot le cou
si desloié et la teste
si defroissee que il
le convint mourir
prouchainement
et perdre la vie. E
quant il vit que
il n'en porroit
mie eschaper et
Alixandres l'ot
retrait dou fossé et

si l'ot sovin couché
 a terre, Neptanabus
 parla et si li dist
 coment il estoit
 fuis d'Egypte en
 Macedonie et par
 quel art il l'avoit
 engendré en la roine
 en la semblance
 Amonis, le deu de
 Libe. E tantost com
 il ot ces paroles
 dites et contees a
 Alixandre qui mout
 s'en esmerveilloit,
 il moru en meisme
 l'ore.

Et Alixandres, qui
 sot certainement
 que c'estoit ses
 peres, le fist
 enseveillir et ardoir
 le cors come roi
 et faire trop riche
 sepouture, haute
 amont, grande et
 eslevee.

At Alexan[[
]] *comperto*
quod pater eius
fuerit sepulchrum
operiosissimum illi
erexit.

At alexander
 comp[er]to q[uo]
 d pater eius esset
 sepulchrum op[er]
 iosissimu[m] illi
 erex[it].

The account in the *Histoire ancienne* closely resembles the details retained in the *Liber Floridus*. The only notable divergence concerns the explanation for why Alexander killed his father (*et ce fist il por ce que li pluisor le gaboient et disoient que c'estoit ses peres. Si en avoit grant vergoigne et si ne le creoit il ne ne cuidoit mie (Fr20 § 775.7)*), which Ross associates with the *Roman d'Alexandre* by Alexander de Paris.⁷² In both his article on the *Histoire ancienne* and the one on the *Liber Floridus*, Ross also notes that they share a similar 'inaccurate' chronological note including the date of Alexander's death, which is not found in Jerome-Eusebius, *Chronicon*:

72 Br. I, laisse 16, ll. 364-366. See Ross 1963, 189 and Gaullier-Bougassas 2012, 223.

<p>G (f. 162r) Anno ab orbe condito IIII^[m] DCCCC[]X[] / <i>et ante Christi</i> aduentum anno CCCXLVIII regnare cepit</p>	<p>M (f. 75r) Anno ab orbe condito iiij^[m]·dcccc· [et] ·x· ante [Christ]i aduentu[m]· Anno ·ccc· [et] xlviij· REGNARE CEPIT</p>	<p>Fr2o (§ 868.8-9) l'an tot droiturere- ment que li siecles ot esté comenciés a faire ·iiii· mile et ·ix· cens et ·x·. Et si comensa a regner devant la naissance Nostre Segnor Jhesu Crist en terre ·ccc· ans et ·xlviij·, si com l'estorie tesmoigne.</p>
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Ross is cautious about their possible filiation, postulating instead that there may have been a group of manuscripts combining the *Epitome* and *Epistola* with this chronology.⁷³ Not only are the figures identical, but they are appended to the end of the content from *Epitome*, III, 35, on the twelve Alexandrias (see *Fr2o* § 868.2-7) in both the *Liber Floridus* and the *Histoire ancienne*.⁷⁴ Neither *W* nor its descendants include the concluding paragraph on the twelve Alexandrias from the *Epitome* and the chronological concordance; instead they feature additional material from the *Collatio*.⁷⁵ This offers yet further support to the hypothesis that the compiler of the *Histoire ancienne* was working from an exemplar related to *M* rather than *W*.

The most significant modification to the material from the *Epitome* translated in the *Histoire ancienne* concerns the interpolation of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem and his meeting with the high priest of the Jews (*Fr2o* § 791-792). This encounter was well known in the Middle Ages and can be traced back to Flavius Josephus.⁷⁶ One of the most widely circulating accounts is found in Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, which was deemed the source of the passage in the *Histoire ancienne*.⁷⁷ In Petrus Comestor's version, however, Alexander converts to Judaism. In her edition of the *Alexander* section, Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas argues that the author of the *Histoire*

73 Ross 1963, 188-189, and Ross 1962, 128.

74 This paragraph follows the content from the *Collatio* and concludes the Alexander section in the *Liber Floridus*.

75 See Vorholt 2017, 79-82.

76 'The basic source for Alexander's visit to Jerusalem is of course Josephus, *Antiquitates judicae*, XI, chap. VIII, known in western Europe in the Middle Ages in the Latin version ascribed to Rufinus.' Ross 1963, 197.

77 See Ross 1963, 197-198 and Gaullier-Bougassas 2012, 227-228.

ancienne chooses to omit his conversion and retains Alexander's paganism '[a]u nom de la vérité historique'.⁷⁸ In fact, Alexander's visit to Jerusalem is also inserted in this position in Lambert's version of the *Epitome*. Furthermore, it does not include his conversion to Judaism and generally bears a close resemblance to the passage in the *Histoire ancienne*. Suzanne Conklin Akbari's commentary on the interpolation in the *Liber Floridus* emphasises both its uniqueness and global importance to Lambert's compilation:

Alexander's time in Jerusalem foreshadows the rule of the Christian kings of Jerusalem in the twelfth century. His conquest of Darius the Persian is echoed in the crusaders' defeat of the Saracen armies, while his exploration of India is reflected in the apocalyptic future that, from Lambert's point of view, would surely follow on the heels of the Christian conquest of Jerusalem [...] Lambert's addition serves to highlight the role of Alexander at this crucial point in the history of the Western effort to reclaim Jerusalem, for Alexander appears both as a figure of the exemplary ruler and as a negative exemplum of the terrible dangers awaiting the man who ventures too far into the dangerous region of the sun.⁷⁹

The visit to Jerusalem represents a key part of the rehabilitation of the negative portrayal of Alexander in Orosius. Lambert's appropriation thus sees him 'depicted as a typological prefiguration of the Christian king of Jerusalem in the time of the crusades'.⁸⁰ The context of the Alexander texts in the autograph manuscript accentuates this association, in which they immediately follow a series that includes the extensive chapter on the history of the First Crusade (Delisle § 182). By contrast in *M*, the Alexander texts follow *De Excidio* and the descendants of Eneas, an arrangement that adheres more closely to the model of universal history than the concept of salvific history that pervades the autograph. It is not insignificant that this series of chapters in *M* are translated and integrated into the *Histoire ancienne*. Nonetheless, even if via an intermediary in which the association

78 Gaullier-Bougassas 2012, 38.

79 Conklin Akbari 2009, 89.

80 Conklin Akbari 2009, 136. See also Lecoq 1987, 27: 'Contrastant avec l'attitude de certains théologiens et moralistes contemporains qui voyaient en Alexandre un tyran sanguinaire dévoré par l'ambition ou même plus simplement le diable, Lambert – sans doute à l'imitation de Raban Maur qui, dans son commentaire sur les livres des Macchabées, laisse transparaître son admiration – dresse le portrait d'un héros 'positif', très proche des futurs héros des romans courtois. Non seulement Alexandre est beau, de cette beauté médiévale blonde et claire, mais encore il apparaît en filigrane comme l'instrument de Dieu sur la terre, en quelque sorte comme une figure typologique du Christ.'

has to a degree shifted, the *Histoire ancienne* inherits from Lambert the characterisation of Alexander as a proto-Christian, grounded in the post-crusade context of the early twelfth century.

The First Crusade is explicitly referred to once in the *Histoire ancienne*, in a chronological paragraph on the ages of the world in the *Genesis* section (*Fr20* § 52, Ill. 6). Before recounting the descendants of Noah, the narrator outlines the key figures, events, and chronology of each age, and afterwards explains the didactic and mnemonic function of the passage in relation to the whole work.⁸¹ As noted by Mary Coker Joslin, this version of the *ages dou siecle* ‘does not differ greatly from the years given in Isidore, Eusebius and Bede.’⁸² But again the *Liber Floridus* offers an explanation for the particularities of the formulation in the *Histoire ancienne*. Lambert elucidates his vision of the ages of the world in a striking circular diagram on f. 20v of the autograph (Delisle § 22), divided by overlapping arches containing summaries of each age (see Ill. 3).⁸³ The content is also summarised towards the end of the *Annals of Saint-Omer*:⁸⁴

ETATES MVNDI

Ab Adam usque ad Noe anni II^[m] CCXLII.

A Noe ad Abraham anni DCCCCXLII.

Ab Abraham ad Daudid anni DCCCCLXXIII.

A Daudid ad transmigrationem Babylonis anni DXII.

A transgratione ad Christum anni DXLVIII.

Summa annorum V^[m] CCXVII.

A Christo usque ad captam Iherusalem, Godefrido rege in ea regnante,
anni MXCVIII et anno Domini MC obiit et frater eius Balduinus successit.

Summa annorum omnium VI^[m] CCCXVII.

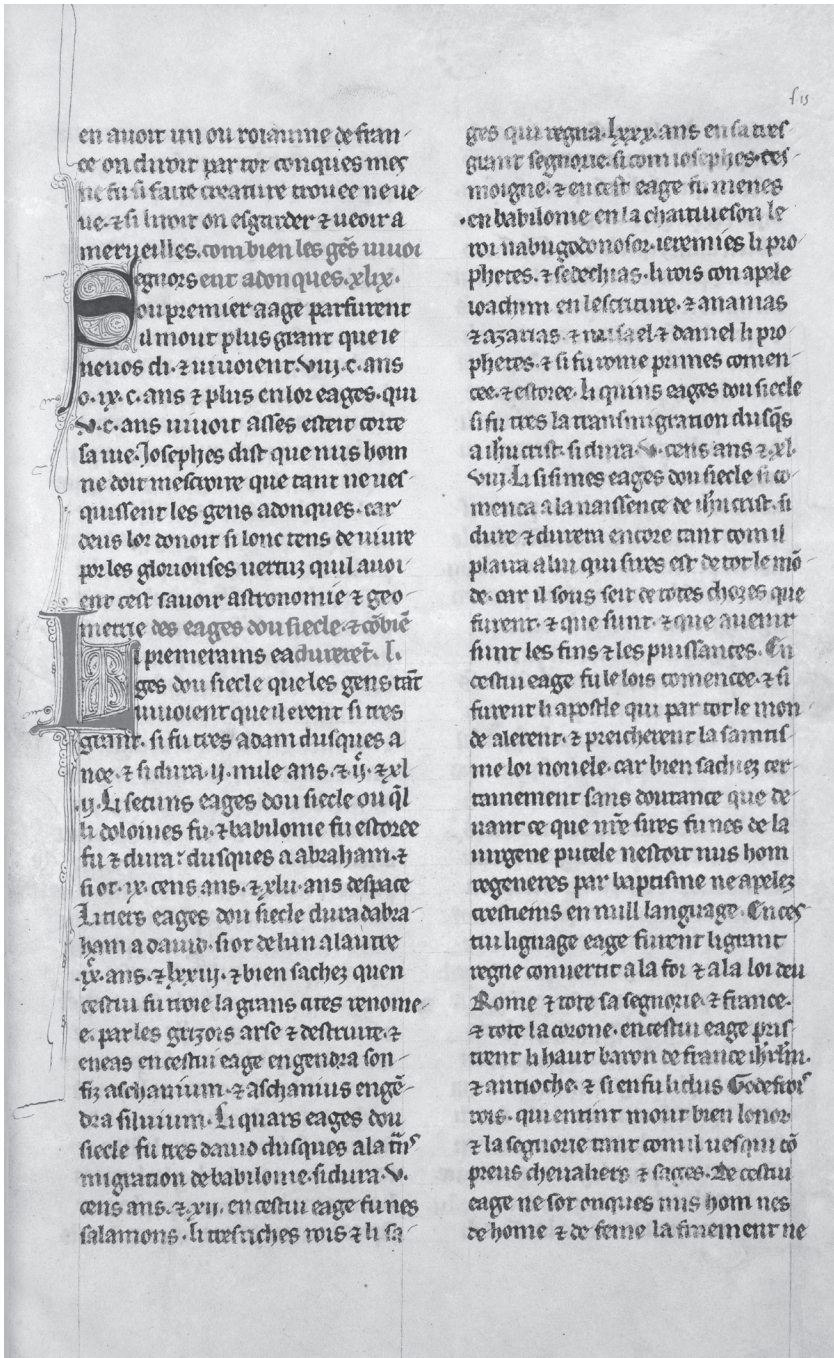
(G, f. 46r)

81 ‘Segnors et dames qui avés discretions et entendances, parlé vos ai et conté des aages dou siecle si com il sunt venu et trespasé dusques a ore, parce que, quant vos orrés et entendrés les fais et les ovres ancienes, que vos sachez plus legierement les affaires, et les porrés metre en memoire a mains de paine, s’il vos plait, par les tempories. Quar de pesant istorie et de grande qui trop n’est usee ne puet on mie savoir segurement en ordene les passages bons a oïr s’on n’i a ses poins por quoi on se recorde plus legierement de la matiere, et por ce se covient il a la fiee dire avant et tochie ce qu’a venir en est por avoir plus legiere entendance.’ (*Fr20* § 53)

82 Joslin 1986, 294.

83 Rubenstein notes that, after the first two ages, the ‘sources for the next three ages are less obvious’ (2012, 73). He identifies an anonymous continuation of Fredegar’s chronicle as a possibility, which shares the same figures for the first, second, fourth and fifth ages (2012, 92, n. 19).

84 The same chronology may also have been repeated on a now missing fragment of parchment at the end of another chapter on the ages of the world (Delisle § 40). See Delisle 1906, 626.



Ill. 6: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 20125, f. 15r. *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*. Ages of the World. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BNF.

The years and the individuals or events at the limit of each age match those in the *Histoire ancienne*. Moreover, in the description of the sixth age, they share the reference to Godfrey of Bouillon's conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, his role as ruler of the crusader state, and the succession of his brother Baldwin of Boulogne, details which were assumed to be additions by the author of the *Histoire ancienne* (Ill. 6):⁸⁵

En cestui eage pristrent li haut baron de France Jherusalem et Antioche, et si en fu li dus Godefrois rois qui en tint mout bien l'onor et la seignorie tant com il vesqui com preus chevaliers et sages. De cestui eage ne sot onques nus hom nés de home et de feme l'afinement la some. Des le naissance Jhesucrist jusques au coronement le roi Godefroi et que Jherusalem fu prise si ot ·m· ans et ·lxxx· et ·xix· ans, ce me samble. Et bien sachés que li rois Godefrois moru et parti de cest siecle l'an de l'incarnation Nostre Segnor ·m· et ·c· ans, et après lui fu li rois dou roiaume li cuens Bauduis ses frere. Or poez savoir s'il vos plaist mout legierement par ceste raison quans ans li siecle a duré jusques ou tens ou nos somes. Li some des ans si est des Adam nostre premerain pere jusques a la mort le bon roi Godefroi le nobile prince ·vi· mile et ·ccc· et ·xvii· ans et tres dunques a ore puet on legierement trover le conte. (*Fr20* § 52.8-12)

Lambert associates the ages of the world with changes of empire, and in this vein the conquest of Jerusalem marks 'another transformative moment in salvation history, an instance of spiritual and political renewal'.⁸⁶ In the *Histoire ancienne*, this model is extracted and translated to serve as a key point of reference for the entire work and its relationship to the present day (*ou tens ou nos somes*). *M*, the witness of the *Liber Floridus* closest to the contents in the *Histoire ancienne*, features neither the diagram that depicts this version of the ages of the world in *G* (f. 20v) nor any related summary. Yet, it is more than likely that the twelfth-century intermediary **N* did, especially as it is also found in the other manuscripts, including the *W* branch.⁸⁷ When *M* was compiled in the second half of the thirteenth

85 Joslin 1986, 295. Mayo (1973, 65) interprets Lambert's reference to the conquest of Jerusalem as a terminus for the Sixth Age, 'unparalleled in computations' elsewhere, and thus indicating the apocalyptic beginning of the Seventh. By contrast, Rubenstein (2019, 33) sees the phrasing as more 'careful', and not necessarily marking its end. Indeed, this is the way it is rendered in the *Histoire ancienne*: 'si dure et durera encore' (*Fr20* § 52.6).

86 Rubenstein 2019, 33.

87 The manuscripts from the branch of *W*, however, preserve the diagram and the summary at the end of the Annals of Saint-Omer.

century, the Crusader States were under increasing threat. By contrast, in the early thirteenth century, the original conquest of Jerusalem retains significance for the author of the *Histoire ancienne*. Lambert's conception of the relationship of the past to the present, with all its eschatological inflections, thus echoes in the universal history.⁸⁸ Indeed, this might also be considered in relation to the circulation of the *Histoire ancienne* in the Latin East, where a number of the earliest and most important extant copies were produced.⁸⁹

The author of the *Histoire ancienne* consciously selects, arranges, and translates several different sources to configure his universal history. The evidence collated in this article reveals that a number of the sources used to expand its Orosian content were already compiled together in a copy of the *Liber Floridus*. From this exemplar, the vernacular author excerpted, translated and transposed several genealogies, chronologies, and even entire texts in the case of *De Excidio* and the *Epitome*.⁹⁰ It is not difficult to imagine that he had access to one of the *Liber Floridus* manuscripts circulating in northern France and Flanders given what we understand about the work's composition in this region.⁹¹ Indeed, the arrangement and selection of material from the *Liber Floridus* in the *Histoire ancienne* bear witness to the existence of *N, the intermediary between the autograph and *M* (which probably originated in the diocese of Cambrai or Rheims). By deciphering the etchings of the *Liber Floridus* throughout the *Histoire ancienne*, as well as the potential intermediaries between the autograph and the vernacular history, it has been possible to gain a better understanding of how the *Histoire ancienne* was composed and attune our ears to the

88 Conklin Akbari (2014) looks at both works in relation to the temporal model of Orosius, but does not consider the potential direct influence of the material compiled in the *Liber Floridus* on the *Histoire ancienne*, which significantly affects how we understand the latter.

89 On the Acre manuscripts, see Folda 1976 and Maraszak 2015.

90 For a preliminary list of the identified material deriving from the *Liber Floridus* across the different sections of the *Histoire ancienne*, see the appendix below.

91 It is interesting to note that John Jay Thompson (1999) suggests that Wauchier de Denain used a manuscript belonging to the medieval library of the abbey of Saint-Amand, just north of Valenciennes, for his *Vie monsieur Seint Nicholas le beneoit confessor*. In the inventory of books belonging to this abbey transcribed at the end of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS f. lat. 1850 (produced in the second half of the twelfth century), none of the descriptions are clearly identifiable with a *Liber Floridus* manuscript, nor is anything immediately similar to the arrangement of *M*, i.e. with an illustrated Apocalypse cycle and no prologue. Coincidentally, there are manuscripts containing several sources found in the *Histoire ancienne*, such as Orosius, Eusebius, Virgil, Servius... For a transcription of this index, see Delisle 1874, 448-458.

ideological echoes of Lambert, particularly evident in the rehabilitation of Alexander the Great. Moreover, it has offered new insights into the 'complex and multifaceted' afterlives of Lambert's compilation.⁹² Whilst the dissemination of the *Liber Floridus* was fairly restricted, via the *Histoire ancienne* its legacy extends across Europe and the Mediterranean.⁹³ This represents the first largescale attempt to trace the relationship between the two works and further areas of potential enquiry include the influence of the combination of prose and verse in the *Liber Floridus*, as well as the impact of the text-image relationship (as mediated by the manuscripts that come after Lambert's autograph).⁹⁴ The layers between the material extracted, re-contextualised and translated in the *Histoire ancienne*, the reworked witness of the *Liber Floridus* used by the *Histoire ancienne*'s compiler, and the sources compiled, arranged and edited by Lambert himself underline the palimpsestic nature of medieval compilation.⁹⁵ Recognising the existence of these intermediaries impacts our understanding of their composition and transmission in time and in space.

92 Vorholt 2017, 29. See Vorholt also on the potential 'conceptual stimuli' provided by the *Liber Floridus*: 'the *Liber Floridus* is a highpoint within a much broader history of compilations and may well have inspired some of those who continued to produce such works to seek out similar or more complete texts from different exemplars and to combine these with other material into new compilations'. (Ibid., 40)

93 The thirteenth-century *General estoria* commissioned by Alphonso X of Castile might also be added as a node in this network of transmission, which integrates material from the Trojan section of the *Histoire ancienne* as part of a complex web of linguistically and culturally diverse sources. See Salvo García 2019, 426-428.

94 For example, Petrus Pictor's poem *Denarii* bears a similarity to the verse passage 'Que trop est grande la covoitise de deniers aquerre' (*Fr20* § 1007), and invites further investigation beyond the scope of the current study.

95 Indeed, the *Liber Floridus* itself derives from pre-compiled material, such as Frechulf's *Chronicon*, and is it likely that Lambert accessed other texts in manuscript compilations. See De Coene & De Maeyer 2011.

Appendix

A preliminary list of contents derived from the Liber Floridus in the Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César

Section in the <i>Histoire ancienne</i>	Content shared with/ sourced from the <i>Liber Floridus</i>	Chapter in Delisle 1906	<i>Liber Floridus</i> manuscripts		
			G	Ch (W branch)	M
Genesis (1)	Ages of the World (Adam to the conquest of Jerusalem)	§ 22 (diagram)	20v	6r	-
	Fr20 § 52 (in margin)	§ 43	46r	30v	-
Troy (5)	<i>Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae historia</i>	§ 325	271v-277v	117v-123v	65 bis v-70r
	Fr20 § 519-586 Chronological concordance Fr20 § 583	§ 204	155v	123v	70r
Eneas (6)	Genealogy of the Franks (Frigas to Francio + alternative origins via the island of Scanzia)	§ 326 (<i>Chronicon</i> by Frechulf of Lisieux)	278v	123v	70r
	Fr20 § 589 Genealogy of the Franks (Japheth to Pharamond) Fr20 § 591	§ 277	234r-v	141v	120r
Rome I (7)	List of consuls Fr20 § 661-662	§ 188	137r-v	-	44v
	Genealogy of Brutus and history of the English Fr20 § 665-667	§ 85-86 (<i>Historia Brittonum</i>)	68v-72r	-	111r-113v
Alexander (9)	<i>Zacher Epitome</i> (including visit to Jerusalem) Fr20 § 774-780, 785-792, 801-802	§ 197	152v-153'r	86r-87r	70r-72v
	Alexander Chronology / 12 Alexandrias Fr20 § 868	§ 200	162r	-	75r
Rome II (10)	Number of men in a legion and cohort	§ 4	2v	-	88r
	Fr20 § 916.4, 961.4, 1160.4	§ 221 (in margin)	190v	130r	88v

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