

Embodying the Historical Moment: Tombs and Idols in the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*

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In some ways, sacred objects are very different from nonsacred (or secular) objects: the bone of a saint housed in an intricately bejeweled reliquary, or the miraculous image of the Virgin on an icon painted without human hands, conveys a powerful aura and contributes to the construction of sacred space in a way that, we might assume, nonsacred objects do not.¹ Yet objects, as recent work inspired by Bruno Latour and Jane Bennett has revealed, also convey a potentiality that is not necessarily linked to their status as sacred or nonsacred. For example, Caroline Bynum's evocative account of the temporal linkages created by a meditation on her grandmother's butter dish is a moving statement of the power of the object to link persons and places across space and time, demonstrating that the sense of sacrality associated with an object depends very much on context.² Such work makes it clear that the sharp divide between sacred and nonsacred (or sacred and secular) often made by modern readers is, ultimately, an arbitrary one. Sacrality is as much a product of the way in which the object is seen as a quality inherent in the object itself.

The artificiality of this divide between sacred and secular is particularly evident in medieval universal histories, in which all events of history—not just those we would identify as sacred, being based on biblical sources, but also the histories of Troy, Thebes, and Macedonia—are unified by being brought within the overall economy of salvation history. In other words, all historical events are understood, by the medieval compiler and by his readers, as being threads in a larger fabric of the narration of the past. In the construction of this historical web, objects—both secular and sacred, functioning in both realms simultaneously—have a particularly important role. In the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* ("History of ancient times up to Julius Caesar"), a thirteenth-century universal history that is

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the focus of this article, objects such as the gates of Janus in imperial Rome, the Tower of Babel, and the fortified city of Troy serve as potent emblems of turning points in the historical past and as potential springboards toward an imagined future. Throughout the *Histoire ancienne*, sacred objects are rendered both textually in detailed, ekphrastic prose accounts and as vividly illuminated images, so that these emblematic objects represent temporal turning points in spatial terms. In other words, the depiction of the object provides a way to embody the moment of transition, when one age gives way to another. Such moments appear frequently in the *Histoire ancienne*, particularly in the points of junction between one imperial sequence and the next, where the reader moves from a focus on one nation or one empire to another. These junctions often make both textual and iconographic reference to other moments in history—not only the periods just before and just after the junction—often to the Incarnation or the concurrent rule of Augustus Caesar, sometimes to the history of the Jews or to contemporary crusade history.³ The chronicler also makes explicit comparisons between figures from the ancient past and powerful rulers of the twelfth and early thirteenth century.⁴ Sometimes he adds a moralizing digression on what the medieval reader might learn from a particular episode in history.⁵ These cross-period points of reference create a kind of lattice of historical parallels that give a form to past time.⁶

This form of past time is powerfully rendered through the monumental structures that are described textually and represented as images, as in the example of the Janus gates that are a repeated point of focus in the *Histoire ancienne*. Similar examples in this universal history include, in the Genesis section, the depiction—both textual and pictorial—of the Tower of Babel; in the Troy section, the monumental city gates which come to be adorned with the sepulchre of Hector; in the Alexander section, the sacred objects carried by the high priest as he confronts the conquering Macedonian at the gates of Jerusalem. These iconic forms, emphasized both in text and in image, provide moments where the reader can perceive what we might call the “crystallization of time,” sites where the mutability of history becomes visible.⁷

The following pages provide a detailed examination of the shape of time in the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, which from the period of its composition in the early thirteenth century was very widely disseminated throughout Europe and the eastern Mediterranean, focusing on how emblematic objects, depicted through word or image in the text, anchor its account of the history of mankind.⁸ The shape of time in the *Histoire*

1 *ancienne* is contextualized through an examination of the time schemas in
2 its two main precursors: Paulus Orosius's fifth-century world history and
3 Lambert of Saint-Omer's early twelfth-century *Liber Floridus*. Each of these
4 works sheds light on how the compiler of the *Histoire ancienne*, Wauchier de
5 Denain, constructed his account of the history of the world and his vision of
6 the shape of time. The Janus gates serve as a regular point of reference, punc-
7 tuating various eras, in the early medieval account of Orosius, and continue
8 to be crucial markers of time in Lambert's account, written in the wake of
9 the First Crusade. By the time of the *Histoire ancienne*'s composition, the
10 Janus gates had developed into an even more powerful and vivid emblem,
11 and they were complemented by other emblematic objects that served to
12 mark the divisions of eras and to connect disparate moments in time.

13 The *Histoire ancienne* follows Orosius's basic pattern for dividing
14 historical ages, and Wauchier imitates Orosius in beginning his chronicle
15 with an overview of world geography that provides a foundation for the fol-
16 lowing sequence of world history; but the *Histoire ancienne* also departs from
17 the Orosian model in several intriguing ways. Wauchier inserts historical
18 material that Orosius saw as irrelevant, such as the histories of Troy and
19 Thebes; he elaborates biblical material to include apocryphal stories, par-
20 ticularly about the prophetic figure of Joseph in Egypt; he develops Alexan-
21 der the Great into a prefiguration of the crusader kings of Jerusalem; and he
22 creates a typological vision of history that provides for a multilayered, even
23 allegorical reading of the historical past. This typological vision of history is
24 manifested in several ways, by explicitly comparing figures from the ancient
25 past with powerful rulers of the twelfth and early thirteenth century, as well
26 as by inserting moralizing or didactic digressions (often in verse) on what
27 might constitute a Christian perspective on history. Most intriguingly, the
28 *Histoire ancienne* places special emphasis on physical objects—monuments,
29 tombs, or statues—that anchor turning points in the historical narrative,
30 providing a visual object for contemplation that imposes form on history,
31 giving a shape to the passage of time. These objects carry the weight of time
32 itself, serving as vivid, almost tangible manifestations of the temporal hinges
33 that are the basis of the secular typologies mapped out within the universal
34 history.

35 Objects such as monuments, tombs, and colossal images serve three
36 temporal functions in the *Histoire ancienne*: they mark the boundary that
37 separates one age from another; they link disparate moments in history, by
38 using the same or similar emblematic objects to embody a turning point in
39 time; and, occasionally, they point forward into an imagined, eagerly antici-

1 pated future. This third aspect, most rare and more hesitant in the *Histoire*
2 *ancienne*, reflects the ability of medieval historians to anticipate imagined
3 futures, constrained by the predestined end narrative of salvation history,
4 but powered by an eager anticipation of what might lie ahead. For readers
5 of the *Histoire ancienne*, and especially for the patrons who commissioned
6 the manuscripts of that text produced at Acre, imperial conquest as seen in
7 the historical past provided a template through which crusader rule in the
8 Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem—and even the ambition to retake Jerusalem
9 itself—could be expressed. To understand fully the role of these emblematic
10 objects, it is necessary to understand the temporal system in which they
11 are embedded. This requires an overview of the structure of time as pre-
12 sented in the *Histoire ancienne*, as well as in its precursor texts by Orosius
13 and Lambert of Saint-Omer, and even in the broader context of how time
14 schemas are reconceptualized by cultures that are in the state of anticipating
15 an imminent apocalypse, or that are in the midst of revolution.
16

17 **Reshaping time: Imagined past, imagined futures**

18

19 On the 22nd of September, 1793, the French revolutionary government
20 restarted the historical clock. Starting on that date, at the moment of the
21 autumn equinox, time would no longer be marked according to the old Gre-
22 gorian calendar, dividing the week into seven days and the year into twelve
23 months, counting the years from the birth of Christ. Instead, time would
24 begin with the birth of the Age of Reason, which had taken place, the revo-
25 lutionaries decided, on the 22nd of September 1792. The first of Vendémi-
26 aire of the year 1 would be a new beginning, the first day of the first month
27 of the first year of the Republic.⁹ It is significant that the moment of the
28 introduction of the French Republican Calendar is not the same as its start-
29 ing date: the calendar was introduced for legislative consideration in Decem-
30 ber 1792 and adopted the following year, so that the actual beginning of the
31 calendar is prior to the date of its coming into use: the calendar's day 1 is in
32 1792, but the calendar began to be used only in 1793. To put it another way,
33 the introduction of a new system of time is retrospective: it happens when a
34 community decides to impose form on its own past by identifying and locat-
35 ing the crucial moment of rupture, and then organizing all of time in rela-
36 tion to that central point, creating what we might call a "temporal hinge."

37 In our own time, we function within a normative global system in
38 which, right now, the year is 2013. Even though this system has its origins in
39 a specifically Christian worldview, numbering years from the birth of Jesus

Christ, this Gregorian calendar has become part of the global currency of time, a common denominator that links the many various parts of the world through trade, communications, science, and entertainment. Different time schemas continue to exist, especially within religious communities that measure time from the Creation (as in Judaism) or from the Hijra (as in Islam). Yet these chronological systems are alternatives contained within the normative global schema of numbering time, used internally within each religious community, and subordinated to the global common currency of time.

For medieval European chroniclers, the situation was more complex. The normative schema of numbering time from the birth of Christ was central, but there were also other ways of counting up the eras of the past—in terms of sequences of imperial succession, or in terms of sequences of kings or consuls—that offered alternative ways of giving form to past time. The Christian worldview of these chroniclers caused them necessarily to maintain their calendar's orientation toward the central point of the Incarnation; but their way of marking the transitional moments in that calendar, as one imperial age gave way to the next, shifted in dynamic and often very suggestive ways. Without exception, chroniclers mark these transitional moments—these new beginnings—with descriptions of extreme violence followed by the imposition of peaceful order, underscoring the fundamentally cyclical nature of history. This cycle of chaotic violence followed by peaceful order comes to an end, however, in chronicles that point toward an apocalyptic end to world history. In these cases, the cycle of violence and peace comes to a climactic end as an overwhelming deluge of destruction is ultimately followed by a peace that is not temporal but eternal.

In order to give a clear sense of the ways in which imperial conquest is described in the *Histoire ancienne* and the function of the sacred object in marking this temporal hinge, it is essential to grasp the overall structure of time found in Orosius's fifth-century universal history, which provided the basic structure and much of the content for the *Histoire ancienne* and also the structure of time found in the early twelfth-century *Liber Floridus*, an integrated compilation of miscellaneous works by Lambert, canon of Saint-Omer. The *Histoire ancienne* and the *Liber Floridus* share four important features: they both draw extensively on the universal chronicle of Orosius, *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*; they both highlight the role of Trojan lineage in the construction of French national identity; they both conceive a special role for Flanders in the unfolding of imperial power; and they share an interest in the apocalyptic punctuation of history that, for the *Histoire ancienne*, lies in the distant future or that, for Lambert of Saint-Omer,

lies in the present moment. This section provides a brief overview of how world history is organized in Orosius's universal chronicle, focusing especially on how he represents moments of imperial transition. Then the *Liber Floridus* may be explored in the way it adapts Orosian patterns and amplifies the role of Alexander the Great—already a key figure for Orosius—into an even more significant harbinger of the crusaders' conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. A similar approach to Orosius can be seen in the *Histoire ancienne*, as the figure of Alexander is established ever more explicitly as a model for chivalric behavior and imperial rule. The treatment of imperial succession in both works is countered by a simultaneous engagement with national lineages, especially the role of Trojan refugees in giving rise to the ruling houses of France and Flanders. In the *Liber Floridus* and in the *Histoire ancienne*, imperial and national interests are complexly intertwined and intersect at crucial turning points of history. These turning points are marked by the outpouring of violence, but they are expressed differently depending upon whether that point in time is crucial within the discourse of national identity or within the discourse of empire. This cycle of violent flux leading to a period of tranquil rule is repeatedly crystallized, and each iteration of the cycle, in the form of emblematic objects—tombs, images, city walls, and gates—provides a vivid manifestation of the structure of time.

Medieval chroniclers drew upon discourses of both nation and empire, particularly on the myths of Trojan lineage, which increasingly provided a foundation for dynastic claims to rule, and on the conceptions of imperial authority found in the world chronicle of Orosius, written in the early fifth century at the request of his mentor, Augustine. In *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, Orosius maps out the progress of imperial power in world history, recounting how *imperium* was transferred from Babylon, to Macedonia, to Carthage, and finally to Rome. For Orosius, *translatio imperii* follows the points of the compass, moving from the East to the North to the South, and coming to rest in the West with the rise of imperial Rome. During the reign of Augustus, under whom Christ (in Orosius's words) "deemed it right to be seen as, and become, a man," temporal power enters onto another plane. At this moment, *translatio imperii* itself is translated in an act of supersession in which the rule of man gives way to the rule of God.¹⁰

For Orosius, the nation does not exist as an explicit category; his focus is instead on empire, which is coincident not so much with nation as with metropolis—the empire of the Persians is identified with Babylon in the same way that the later imperial powers are identified with their capi-

tal cities, whether Carthage or Rome. The exception is the imperial power of Macedonia, which rises into prominence with the mighty multinational armies of Alexander the Great. Significantly, for Orosius, the metropolitan center with which Alexander is associated is located not in his native territory of Macedonia but rather in the imperial city that he conquers: Babylon. Orosius emphasizes this metropolitan center in his account of Alexander, noting how the various nations of the world came to pay tribute to Alexander in the great city of the East: he says, "The Spanish and the Morini came to Babylon to grovel before Alexander, and of their own free will they sought out this bloodstained warlord through Assyria and India in order to stop him becoming their enemy" (*History*, 3.20.8; 141). The submission of all these nations to the imperial conqueror in Babylon is paralleled, later in the text, with the submission of nations to the imperial ruler of Rome, Augustus Caesar. While the nation may exercise headship within the overall exercise of empire, the empire itself is composed of a great range of nations. The assimilation of these various nations is effected through the act of violence; as Orosius puts it, "Alexander and Rome first made war on those whom afterwards they brought under their laws" (3.20.12; 141). The violent subjugation of diverse nations, whether for Alexander or Augustus, is precisely what enables the rise of empire.

The fall of empires, inevitably, is accompanied by bloodshed even more spectacular than that which was instrumental in its construction. The violence of the rise of empire is graphically illustrated in Orosius's account of Alexander the Great, whom he calls the "bloodstained warlord." Orosius emphasizes the "slaughter" carried out by Alexander in the course of his conquests, as well as his "cruelty towards his own people," including the "killing," "murder," and "butchering" of those who gave him offense (*History*, 3.18.2, 8; 136–37). Orosius tells a particularly chilling story regarding the death of Clitus, an old warrior who had been a friend of Alexander's father, Philip. After Clitus failed to praise Alexander above his father at a banquet, "He was run through with a hunting spear by the king, who had taken offense for no reason and, as he died, covered the whole banquet with his blood" (3.18.9; 137). Even after this atrocity, according to Orosius, Alexander's violent inclinations remained undiminished: "Alexander, whose taste for human blood, either of his enemies or even of his friends, was never slaked, always thirsted for fresh gore" (3.18.10; 137).

While to some extent this unrestrained violence is associated with Alexander personally, it is also portrayed by Orosius as endemic to the exer-

cise of imperial authority, as can be seen in his account of the destruction of Carthage, third in the sequence of four empires that have participated in *translatio imperii*. Orosius describes the arrival of the military leader Publius Scipio, who sought

to destroy Carthage completely. When he had fought there for six continuous days and nights, the depths of despair brought the Carthaginians to surrender. They asked only that those who had survived the disasters of the war be allowed to live on as slaves. (*History*, 4.23.1–2; 204)

The inhabitants of the waning imperial center, both men and women, are captured and enslaved, while others condemn themselves to a fiery death:

The [Roman] deserters who had occupied the temple of Aesculapius decided to fling themselves into the fire and were consumed by it. Hasdrubal's wife . . . cast herself and her two sons into the midst of the inferno. . . . The city itself burnt for seventeen days without ceasing. . . . Carthage was destroyed and every stone in its walls reduced to dust. (4.23.4–6; 204)

The violent end of Carthage, like the violent destruction of the Persian armies at the hands of Alexander, marks the end of one period of imperial might; the advent of the next holder of imperium, by contrast, is marked by the institution of peace, as chaos gives way to order, and violence to stasis. This transition is most pronounced, unsurprisingly, in the rise of Rome and the consolidation of imperial power under the rule of Augustus. The establishment of peace, achieved by the subjugation of diverse nations under the aegis of empire, is marked by the symbolic act of closing the gates dedicated to Janus:

So in the 752nd year after the foundation of the City, Caesar Augustus, after giving every nation from east to west, from north to south, and all around the encircling Ocean an all-embracing peace, closed the gates of Janus for a third time. That they remained shut in perfect peace from that time for almost the next twelve years was shown by the rust on them. . . . After he had closed the gates of Janus, Caesar endeavored to nourish and propagate by peace the state that he had sought out by war. (*History*, 6.22.1–3; 315)

1 This final establishment of temporal peace in the wake of violent conflict
2 marks the consummation of imperial rule, clearing the ground for the final
3 establishment of the rule of Christ.

4 Later chroniclers adapted Orosius's narrative, adding accounts of
5 later nations to bring the universal history up to their own day and, in some
6 cases, inserting supplemental material. The *Liber Floridus*, compiled in the
7 early twelfth century, does not reproduce Orosius's universal history as a
8 whole but instead recapitulates its overarching structure, using the chro-
9 nologies presented in the fifth-century text as the foundation for a synthetic
10 account of world history, along with shorter excerpts or condensations from
11 Orosius at particularly significant points in the compilation. Its compiler,
12 Lambert of Saint-Omer, attaches special significance to the figure of Alex-
13 ander, who is represented not only as the violent, "bloodthirsty" conqueror
14 described by Orosius, but also in the various other forms that the Alexander
15 legend had accrued over the centuries: Alexander is also the mighty warrior,
16 the attentive student of Aristotle, the explorer of the wondrous Orient, the
17 correspondent of the devout and austere Brahmin Didymus, and the courtly
18 conqueror who shows respect to his opponent even at the very moment of
19 triumph. Lambert collects a range of texts concerning the life of Alexander
20 into a single long chapter, abridges them, and juxtaposes the parts with one
21 another in a way that encourages the reader to assimilate these disparate nar-
22 ratives into a coherent view of the great ruler. The position of this integrated
23 chapter, moreover, adds to the reader's understanding of the significance of
24 Alexander within world history—a history that, in Lambert's view, includes
25 both the historical past and the eschatological future.¹¹

26 Most importantly, Alexander the Great inhabits a special role in
27 the *Liber Floridus* as a prefiguration of the ultimate Christian triumph in
28 the Holy Land. In Lambert's compilation, Alexander's imperial victories are
29 juxtaposed with the Christian conquest of Jerusalem in the First Crusade,
30 narrated in the first redaction of the chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres, which
31 makes its earliest manuscript appearance in the *Liber Floridus*.¹² Fulcher's
32 account of the bloody slaughter on the Temple Mount is a counterpart to
33 the narration of Alexander's battles, and the iconography of crusader palms
34 in Jerusalem is juxtaposed with an image of Alexander in triumph. These
35 images, as Penelope Mayo has shown, illuminate the central role of Jerusa-
36 lem in salvation history as both the geographical destination of contempo-
37 rary crusaders and the spiritual goal of every Christian soul.¹³ On one level,
38 then, the conquests of Alexander prefigure the crusaders' entry into Jerusa-
39 lem in 1099 in a typological relationship that is completed with the Chris-

1 tian victory in the First Crusade. On another level, however, this apparent
2 typological fulfillment is actually a precursor of yet another stage in salva-
3 tion history, as the ascent of the Christian ruler of Jerusalem marks one of
4 the final, crucial preliminary steps that precede the Apocalypse.¹⁴

5 While Lambert's primary focus is on imperial might, centered on
6 the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, his vision of history
7 also has a significant national dimension. In the figure of Godfrey of Bou-
8 logne, first Christian ruler of Jerusalem, Lambert draws together the abstract
9 ideal of Christian empire with a more specific imperial focus on the Franks,
10 emphasizing Godfrey's descent from Charlemagne in the genealogical tables
11 of the *Liber Floridus*. In addition, however, Lambert makes room for a spe-
12 cial national role for Flanders. This is evident not only in the inclusion of
13 several genealogies centered on the counts of Flanders (including Lambert's
14 own maternal genealogy) but also in the chronology that appears on the
15 first leaf of the *Liber Floridus* autograph manuscript, which begins with the
16 earliest events of human history and ends in Jerusalem in 1099 at the point
17 of triumph that concluded the First Crusade. Significantly, this climactic
18 moment is centered not just on Christian empire, and not just on Frankish
19 kingship, but on the special role of Flanders in achieving that aim. Lambert
20 writes, "Godfrey, son of Count Eustace of Boulogne, conquered Jerusalem
21 in the year of our Lord 1099. Then Robert, fourteenth count of Flanders,
22 established Godfrey as King of Jerusalem."¹⁵ There is an imperial victory
23 in the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099; simultaneously, however, Lambert
24 depicts this victory as a moment of national victory, not only for the Frank-
25 ish lineage that arises from Charlemagne, but also for Flanders.

26 The vision of history in the *Liber Floridus* is primarily based on Oro-
27 sius's universal chronicle, which provided the framework that underlies the
28 many chronologies and historical lists that Lambert includes in his compila-
29 tion. In his series of studies on the evolution of the autograph manuscript,
30 which was compiled over a long period of time, Albert Derolez has shown
31 that the use of Orosius was central to Lambert's undertaking from the very
32 first phases of the work's development. During the first phase of the project,
33 Lambert created a historical sequence made up of Fulcher's chronicle of the
34 First Crusade, a series of materials on Alexander the Great, and two Orosian
35 texts: first, a brief world chronicle condensed from Orosius and, second, a
36 detailed chronology of Roman emperors taken from the *Seven Books of His-*
37 *tory against the Pagans* with insertions from other sources. At a slightly later
38 stage in the first phase of the manuscript's compilation, more such materials
39 were added, including a biography of Julius Caesar drawn from Orosius and

a monumental portrait of Augustus Caesar, enthroned.¹⁶ Lambert clearly reproduces the comparison of Alexander the Great and Augustus Caesar that was so central to Orosius's account, centered on the imperial cities of Babylon and Rome, captioning one of his tree images as follows. He writes, "At one and the same time Babylon fell and Rome rose, in the year before the coming of the Lord 752."¹⁷ This is the pivotal date emphasized by Orosius, as was noted above, when Augustus shut the gates of Janus to mark the advent of peace, preparing the way for the Incarnation. Like Orosius, Lambert emphasizes the importance of Augustus as a marker of a crucial transitional moment, when the temporal sequence of imperial powers at last gave way to the advent of divine power with the Incarnation. He differs, however, from Orosius in the emphasis he places on the predecessor of Augustus, Julius Caesar.

This special focus on Julius Caesar can be seen at several points in the *Liber Floridus*: these include the biography that is immediately followed by an illuminated portrait of Augustus Caesar (noted above), as well as Lambert's insertion of an extra leaf into the manuscript in order to juxtapose an account of the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem with another account of Julius Caesar.¹⁸ During a still later phase in the manuscript's evolution, Lambert inserted an introductory chapter to his chronicle of the Roman emperors, yet another biography of Julius Caesar adapted from Orosius.¹⁹ This emergent focus on Julius Caesar rather than Augustus Caesar is striking. Orosius had repeatedly emphasized the ways in which the establishment of temporal peace during the reign of Augustus marked a turning point in history, both in terms of the way it set the stage for the advent of divine rule through the fact of the Incarnation and in terms of Augustus's correspondence to his predecessor, Alexander the Great, one subjugating all the nations of the world from an imperial center in the East, one doing so from an imperial center in the West. Lambert, by contrast, adapts Orosius's overarching framework, but shifts the temporal focus from the reign of Augustus to a slightly earlier period, the reign of Julius Caesar. By doing so, he prioritizes not the moment of tranquility that marks the inception of a period of imperial reign, characterized by stasis and stability, but the moment of turbulence that immediately precedes the period of peace. This is a significant shift, and it offers a useful context for interpreting the structure of later universal histories, especially the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*.

Lambert's historiographical approach displays many innovative features, including not only his integration of apocalyptic prophecy within the universal chronicle and his adaptation of Orosian chronological pat-

1 terning, but also his increasingly intense focus on the role of Trojan gene-
2 alogies in establishing the priority of certain national groups in the effort
3 to achieve Christian imperial rule centered on the Holy Land. Not until
4 a relatively late stage in the evolution of the *Liber Floridus* did Lambert
5 begin to integrate Trojan genealogies into his work, first within an account
6 of the history of Flanders, and subsequently in the form of an additional
7 preface added to his “Genealogia regum Francorum,” along with a sup-
8 plementary compilation of Frankish history appended to the genealogy.²⁰
9 Significantly, Lambert integrates Trojan national origins not only into his
10 account of Frankish descent—a feature seen in earlier chronicles (such as
11 that of Fredegar, writing in the seventh century, and the Carolingian *Liber*
12 *historiae Francorum*)—but also in his history of Flanders, a national con-
13 cern that was much dearer to Lambert’s heart.²¹

14
15 **Visions of Jerusalem, visions from Jerusalem:**
16 ***The Histoire ancienne***

17
18 In the *Liber Floridus*, national and imperial ambitions are separate, but
19 they run on parallel tracks as Flanders plays a crucial role in the Christian
20 conquest of Jerusalem and, by extension, in salvation history. In the *His-*
21 *toire ancienne*, by contrast, national and imperial ambitions are more fully
22 integrated. This integration of national and imperial ambitions is mediated
23 through the Trojan genealogies that are woven throughout the universal history,
24 creating filiations that link the concerns of nation and empire. The
25 *Histoire ancienne* integrates national lineages with Trojan genealogies to
26 produce a narrative of *translatio imperii* that recognizes both France and
27 Flanders as significant political entities. *Imperium* comes to rest in Flanders,
28 yet Trojan descent passes through the Trojan Francion to the French nation.
29 The tension between nation and empire is resolved through violent con-
30 quest, which is seen as both normative and transformative. It is normative
31 in that each empire rises in its turn and then falls, to be replaced by another
32 in a cyclical repetition; it is transformative in that the ultimate succession of
33 temporal rule by Christian rule replaces the conventional linear flow of time
34 with a new mode—that of apocalyptic time, where perpetuity gives way
35 to eternity.

36 While the *Liber Floridus* adopts the overall chronological frame-
37 work of Orosius’s universal history, along with brief condensed excerpts
38 from Orosius’s text, the *Histoire ancienne* instead reproduces long segments
39 of Orosius’s chronicle, translating the Latin text and adapting its historical

narratives to specify a particularly significant role for the French people. It also differs from the *Liber Floridus* in the ways in which it adapts the larger Orosian framework for structuring historical time. Lambert had followed, with some modifications, the Orosian model of six ages of human history featuring a sequence of four imperial powers: Babylon in the East, Macedonia in the North, Carthage in the South, and Rome in the West. In the *Histoire ancienne*, even though the four-part Orosian schema is periodically mentioned, the overall sequence of the narrative is very different.²² The periods of imperial dominance are divided not into four empires or six ages but into ten narrative parts: Genesis, Assyria (or Babylon), Thebes, the Minotaur, the Amazons and Hercules, Troy, Rome (first of two parts), and the Orient, Macedonia, Rome (second of two parts).²³ There are several remarkable features about this modification of the Orosian timeline, two of which are particularly striking: first, the *insertion* of separate historical traditions, including the siege narratives of Thebes and Troy, into the Orosian history of imperial succession; second, the *shifting* of the order of imperial succession as found in Orosius, especially in connection with the pivotal figure of Alexander the Great.

The *Histoire ancienne* differs significantly from its source text, Orosius's *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, by inserting long sections on Thebes and Troy, which were among the most popular elements in medieval imaginative retellings of the historical past. These parts of the narrative accrued other additions from the many popular accounts of Thebes and Troy, and a later redaction of the *Histoire ancienne* actually includes the entire *Roman de Troie* inserted within the work. Other literary texts, such as several of the letters included in Ovid's *Heroides* (especially those pertaining to the Trojan War) also found their way into the later manuscript tradition of the *Histoire ancienne*. In addition to expanding the history of Troy, the *Histoire ancienne* also alters Orosius's presentation of the sequence of *translatio imperii* by reducing the significance of Carthage and correspondingly augmenting the history of Greece, both in connection with the Orosian account of Alexander's Macedonia and also through the expanded Thebes and Troy narratives. These changes had three dramatic effects. First, by downplaying the role of Carthage in imperial history (a feature that particularly interested Orosius, writing in North Africa), the significance of Africa in world history was greatly reduced, with lasting effects. Second, by highlighting the role of Troy in the progression of imperial might, nationalist lineage came to be interwoven into the language of empire, as the Trojan Aeneas fled to the shores of Italy where, as "father Aeneas," he gave rise to the people

of Rome. Third, by developing an increasingly elaborate account of Greek history, both as it was integrated within Orosius's Macedonian history and in connection with the new segments on Thebes and Troy, the sequence of imperial succession was further modified. Instead of the symbolic geography found in Orosius, where imperial power moves from the East (with Babylon) to the North (Macedonia), to the South (Carthage), and finally to the West (Rome), the *Histoire ancienne* instead presents a more straightforward movement of *translatio imperii* from East to West.

The *Histoire ancienne* also departs from the Orosius four-part imperial model by presenting a more complex historical sequence in which both nations and empires have a role to play, and in which they are all lined up sequentially, like beads on a string. No longer was the passage of imperial might the only form of connective tissue that could link one historical era to the next; instead, nationalist genealogies would also provide bonds that stretched across time in the form of bloodlines, real or imagined.²⁴ This integration of imperial and national impulses is apparent in the *Histoire ancienne*'s teleological dimension (that is, in terms of where history is ultimately headed): often, the history's national focus is Flanders, but at other times the focus centers on France. The role of Flanders appears most strongly in the prologue to the *Histoire ancienne*, which explicitly declares that its subject is the movement of *imperium* from Greece to Troy, from Troy to Carthage, from Carthage to Rome, and from Rome to Flanders.²⁵ By inserting Troy within the original Orosian sequence, the *Histoire ancienne* inscribes national descent within the trajectory of *translatio imperii*, and therefore implicitly suggests that the modern fruition of the historical past—in terms of both imperial succession and Trojan lineage—is to be found in Flanders.

A very different perspective appears, however, in the section of the work devoted to Troy, where Trojan lineage is associated explicitly with France, without any specific allusion to Flanders. Aeneas is said to have a brother, Friga, whose son Francion went on to found a realm between the Rhine and the Danube. It is from this son that "the French issue" [issirent les François].²⁶ *Translatio imperii*, then, explicitly comes to rest in Flanders, based on the narrative plan laid out in the prologue to the *Histoire ancienne*; genealogical descent, on the other hand, comes to rest in the French people, who arise from the lineage of the Trojan Francion. *Imperium* and nation thus appear as two separate but intertwined elements in medieval French compendia such as the *Histoire ancienne*: while *imperium* is ephemeral and insubstantial, passed along invisibly from one great ruling state to another, nation is rooted in the corporeal world and is passed along patrilineally, in

1 genealogies that are carefully recorded (or, in some cases, invented) in medi-
2 eval chronicles. We might say that the *Histoire ancienne* is a tribute to the
3 French nation, but the *imperium* of Flanders.²⁷

4 Like the *Liber Floridus*, the *Histoire ancienne* displays a mastery over
5 the vast sweep of the past, confining it within the framework of a universal
6 history, but it has a peculiar relationship to its own present moment. While
7 the prologue of the *Histoire ancienne* indicates that the work will continue
8 onward to narrate the lives of the contemporary counts of Flanders, the text
9 actually concludes with Julius Caesar's invasion of the northern European
10 regions that would ultimately become Flanders. The work thus ends not
11 so much in the imperial moment, at a time of triumphant unity, as in the
12 colonial moment, when the *potentiality* of the future nation still lies in the
13 dimly visible future. The ambivalent temporality of the close of the *Histoire*
14 *ancienne* can be fruitfully compared to that of the *Liber Floridus*, especially
15 in terms of the apocalyptic impulse that motivated Lambert of Saint-Omer
16 as he compiled his great work. Although the *Histoire ancienne* does not dis-
17 play the intense apocalypticism that informs the *Liber Floridus*, it does share
18 the tendency to view the present moment obliquely, reflected in the mirror
19 of the past as it is constituted by the universal history. Flanders of Roger
20 IV's day does not appear explicitly in the closing passage of the work, as was
21 promised in the prologue, but rather implicitly in the potential that is made
22 manifest in the course of Julius Caesar's exploration of proto-Flanders—the
23 territory that would *become* Flanders. Similarly, in the *Liber Floridus*, the
24 acknowledgment of the imminent end-times signaled—in Lambert's
25 eyes—by the coronation of the ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem
26 cannot be captured directly by the historian's pen, but can only be foreshad-
27 owed through typological figures such as Alexander the Great and Augustus
28 Caesar.²⁸ In addition, as we have seen, Lambert gives increasing empha-
29 sis to the precursor of Augustus—Julius Caesar—in what seems to have
30 been an eagerness to focus on a historical figure that could point toward a
31 future fulfillment of historical destiny rather than embody that fulfillment
32 directly.

33 *Imperium* is identified most clearly with cities, each of which gives
34 way to the next in a cycle of military conquest, as in the fall of Babylon and
35 the even more catastrophic sack of Carthage. On one level, the addition of
36 Troy into this sequence simply adds yet another city's rise and fall to the
37 cyclical pattern of *translatio imperii*. On another level, however, the insertion
38 of Troy adds the narrative of national descent into the transmission of *impe-*
39 *rium*. The ephemeral passage of imperial might is thus coupled with the cor-

poreal transmission of national purity. Imperial cities of the distant past serve as prefigurations of medieval French aspirations toward empire, just as heroic figures of antiquity—those connected with Troy, such as Hector and Aeneas, but also the Greek Achilles and, above all, the Macedonian Alexander—serve as models for chivalric excellence. The city of Jerusalem plays a very special role in this vision as history: on the one hand, its siege and destruction in the first century is just one in a whole series of similar narratives of the falls of great cities; on the other hand, Jerusalem is unique in its typological function, as the earthly city prefigures the heavenly Jerusalem.

The alignment of the fall of Jerusalem and the fall of Troy, emphasized in several medieval universal chronicles, highlights this special role of Jerusalem.²⁹ Just as Troy is superseded and fulfilled through the foundation of Rome in the Virgilian account, so Jerusalem is superseded and fulfilled through the foundation of Christian Rome as recounted in medieval versions of Josephus's account of the fall of Jerusalem—which circulated widely, both independently, in the version of pseudo-Hegesippus, and within universal histories that integrated Josephus. Troy and Jerusalem are, in this view, twin progenitors of imperial Rome—in national terms, through the Trojan lineage, and in terms of salvation history, through the spiritual heritage of Jerusalem. This intertwining of Trojan and Jewish history is evident in many medieval chronicles, including the *Histoire ancienne*, where the narrative of Troy is repeatedly presented as a context for the history of the Jewish people and vice versa.

This can be seen, for example, in the concluding paragraphs of the Genesis section of the *Histoire ancienne*, where the compiler states:

Now it would be appropriate and fitting that I continue and advance the history of the sons of Israel (that is, the lineage of the sons of Jacob), telling how and in what way they came forth from Egypt and how, with great effort, they conquered the land of Canaan. But I will not do that now. Instead, I will first speak about the pagans who used to reign there, and I will begin as best I can with the kings and the realms just as far as the destruction of Troy. . . . And then, after that, I will return again to the Hebrews, how they came forth from Egypt, because in this way the history will be more correct and better loved, for from them [the Hebrews] was born and issued the glorious lady who bore and nursed on earth the savior of the world.³⁰

1 Just as the destruction of Troy serves as a reference point in the history of
2 the Jewish people, so the destruction of Jerusalem serves as a reference point
3 for the fall of Troy: the *Histoire ancienne*'s account of the destruction of
4 Troy uses language from Lamentations, mourning the fall of Jerusalem, to
5 describe the fall of Ilium.³¹

6 When the *Histoire ancienne* finally returns, as promised, from the
7 fall of Troy to once again address the history of the Jewish people, some-
8 thing peculiar happens: the historical narration of the past gives way to a
9 foreshadowing of what was, for the compiler, the *present* moment of cru-
10 sader conquest in the Holy Land. The destruction of Troy concludes, as
11 we might expect, with an account of the flight of the refugees from the city
12 and the establishment of various successors to the fallen kingdom. These
13 include, however, not only the newly founded cities described by Virgil in
14 the *Aeneid*, and by the Trojan histories of Dares and Dictys, but other cit-
15 ies key to the Crusader expansion in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,
16 including an innovative account of the foundation of Venice.³² The last
17 chapters of the Troy section of the *Histoire ancienne* recount how three new
18 cities were explicitly founded in Troy's image: the first city, constructed to
19 "restore Troy," says the compiler, was first of all called "Troy . . . but later on
20 the city was called 'Septe'" [restorer Troies, et Troies premierement le nome-
21 rent . . . puis la cite apelement Septe]; the second, founded on the site of old
22 Troy, was also called "Troy"; and the third, he says, was "another, which now
23 is called Saint John of Salogres" [une autre qui or est apelee Sains Johans de
24 Salogres].³³ These three "new Troys" are, on the one hand, repetitions or
25 reiterations of the fallen city; they are also, on the other hand, tendrils reach-
26 ing into the medieval present. The city of "Septe" is modern Skepsis and
27 "Saint John of Salogres" is modern Ayasoluk or Selçuk (near Ephesus), both
28 in western Turkey. By using these medieval names for the urban successors
29 to Troy, the compiler reminds the reader of the continuity that links the
30 ancient city to the present day (that is, the medieval "present day"), stressing
31 the extent to which the geography of the distant past underlay the geography
32 of current events in the Crusader Kingdom.³⁴

33 Moreover, the discourse of national identity so central to medieval
34 conceptions of Troy, in which the ruling houses of Europe traced their line-
35 age to the Trojan refugees, is in this way integrated once again with the
36 discourse of *translatio imperii*—both within the cycles of imperial succes-
37 sion found in the Orosian model of world history, reinscribed in the *Histoire*
38 *ancienne*, and within the cycle of imperial succession ultimately fulfilled in
39 the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. In other words, the European descendants

of the refugees from Troy return to the eastern Mediterranean in a journey of conquest that is, simultaneously, a return to their region of origin. The sequence of *translatio imperii* at first moves westward, following the Orosian template, but then turns backward upon the eastern Mediterranean, with a renewed focus on Jerusalem as the site of imperial rule.

This aspect of the *Histoire ancienne*—that is, the strongly articulated and closely integrated discourses of national identity and imperial might—is particularly striking in the manuscripts of the first redaction of the chronicle produced in the crusader stronghold of Acre. After the loss of Jerusalem in the twelfth century, Acre came to be the de facto capital of the Latin Kingdom, where a flourishing immigrant community of European Christians developed a colonial outpost whose artistic and cultural production is only now coming to be more completely understood.³⁵ Of the surviving manuscripts of the first redaction of the *Histoire ancienne*, the majority can be localized to the area of northern France and Flanders; several of them, however (at least four, probably five), were actually produced in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, most likely in Acre itself, and study of their manuscript illustrations has begun to reveal the particular social concerns and political circumstances that were important to the manuscripts' patrons.³⁶ The most significant aspect of the Acre manuscripts of the *Histoire ancienne* pertains to the topic of Christian victory in the Holy Land itself. In contradistinction to the vision of Jerusalem as a devoutly longed-for yet distant site that we find in Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber Floridus*, in the Acre manuscripts of the *Histoire ancienne* we find a vision of Jerusalem that keeps the object of apocalyptic desire close at hand.

This crystallization of turning points in time in the form of an emblematic image can be seen vividly in a number of passages and their associated illuminations in the Acre manuscripts of the *Histoire ancienne*. One particularly remarkable example appears in the a manuscript from Dijon's Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 562 (see fig. 1), which juxtaposes an illuminated image with a prose account of how the Roman temple of Janus came to be used as an armory. Instead of showing the armory, however, as is usual in the Continental manuscript tradition of the *Histoire ancienne*, the illumination shows a statue of the two-faced god Janus mounted on a pedestal between two monumental gates. As Bianca Kühnel has shown in her insightful study of the iconography of the Acre manuscripts of the *Histoire ancienne*, the two entrances into the temple of Janus are here "translated into two different buildings, one centralized (square) and domed, the other longitudinal, two-storied, narrow, and tall, topped by a gabled roof, possibly



Figure 1.
Temple of Janus. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale,
MS 562 (1260s), fol. 204v. Used by permission of the
Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, France.

1 suggesting Eastern and Western architecture, respectively.” She suggests that
2 the fleur-de-lis appearing on the eastern-style building on the left identifies it
3 with the Dome of the Rock or Templum Domini, thus “extend[ing] the ele-
4 ment of continuity in the figure of Janus to the Kingdom of Jerusalem and
5 to the French monarchy.”³⁷

6 Kühnel goes on to give an account of another of the Acre manu-
7 scripts, British Library, Additional MS 15268, which also departs from the
8 illustration normally found in the *Histoire ancienne* manuscripts: in this one,
9 the Janus image surmounts a single structure with two gates, to the left of a
10 domed building in which Roman senators partake in a banquet. As Kühnel
11 points out, the architecture in this scene also draws upon the local envi-
12 ronment of the Crusader Kingdom: the domed building strongly resembles
13 the Dome of the Rock (or Templum Domini). Through this iconographic
14 reference, as in the Dijon manuscript, the temporal gap separating ancient
15 Rome from medieval Jerusalem is collapsed, so that the “message of peace”
16 conveyed by the figure of Janus above the closed gates comes to be associated
17 with the Crusader Kingdom. Through this temporal juxtaposition, a typo-
18 logical relationship is implied that places the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem
19 within what Kühnel identifies as a “continuity schema,” so that the Latin
20 Kingdom is connected “with Augustus’s Rome through references to the
21 Templum Domini.”³⁸

22 A closer look at the textual tradition that lies behind these icono-
23 graphic references to Jerusalem can enrich our understanding of the typo-
24 logical relationship that is implied in this scene. The moment when the gates
25 of Janus are closed is a profoundly significant point in Roman rule: Augus-
26 tus seals the gates of Janus 752 years after the founding of Rome to mark
27 the moment when universal peace on earth has been established, setting the
28 stage for the birth of Christ in that same year. This moment is emphasized
29 both by Orosius, as we have seen (*History*, 6.22.1–3), and by Lambert of
30 Saint-Omer, who repeatedly alludes to the time when the gates of Janus were
31 closed during the reign of Augustus. For Lambert, this moment is the tem-
32 poral pivot for his many chronologies, the moment when time ceases to be
33 measured from the foundation of Rome and begins to be measured from the
34 birth of Christ, as year 752 of the Empire of Rome is suddenly transformed
35 into year 1 of Our Lord.³⁹ Yet both Orosius and Lambert also refer to other
36 times when the gates of Janus have been closed. Orosius cites Tacitus (pre-
37 sumably from a lost section of his *Histories*) to claim that the gates of Janus
38 remained open until the time of Vespasian. At that moment, however, the
39 gates were sealed, marking a crucial turning point in salvation history:

1 However, when at that time the city of Jerusalem had been taken
2 and destroyed, as the prophets had foretold, and the Jews exter-
3 minated, Titus, who had been ordained by God's Judgment to
4 avenge the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, closed the temple of
5 Janus on celebrating his triumph along with his father, Vespasian.

6
7 Here, the closure of the gates of Janus designates a moment that is significant
8 both in secular terms, pertaining to the establishment of peace at the hands
9 of Rome, and in spiritual terms, pertaining to the movement of the Church
10 from what Orosius calls the "empty womb" of Jerusalem to the nurturing
11 environment of papal Rome (*History*, 7.3.8; 324).

12 In a similar alignment of events in Roman history with those
13 related to the supersession of Judaism by Christianity, Lambert of Saint-
14 Omer revises his compilation to juxtapose the destruction of the Temple
15 at Jerusalem with an account of Julius Caesar.⁴⁰ This moment in the *Liber*
16 *Floridus* does not mark the institution of imperial peace, as was the case for
17 Orosius, but instead signals the anticipation of a coming moment of impe-
18 rial peace, a time that will come only after the reign of Julius with the advent
19 of Augustus. The Acre manuscripts of the *Histoire ancienne* register some-
20 thing like the apocalyptic anxiety so prevalent in the *Liber Floridus*, as the
21 focus on Jerusalem—geographically distant, for Lambert; proximate, for
22 the Acre manuscripts' patrons—reminded them of the episodes of *translatio*
23 *imperii* that had governed the historical past, and which might still govern
24 the colonial present. Unlike their northern European counterparts, the Acre
25 manuscripts reflect a very different perspective on the competing claims of
26 nation and empire. These texts share, however, an awareness of how impe-
27 rial conquest, when successful, might enable the establishment of peaceful
28 concord and even bring about the renumbering of time with the emergence
29 of a new age, embodied in the vivid, memorable form of the sacred object.

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32 Notes

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35 1 Robyn Malo, *Relics and Writing in Late Medieval England* (Toronto: University of
36 Toronto Press, 2013); Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before*
37 *the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
38 2 Caroline Walker Bynum, "The Presence of Objects: Medieval Anti-Judaism in Mod-
39 ern Germany," *Common Knowledge* 10, no. 1 (2004): 1–32, at 30.
3 3 For example, the Alexander section in the *Histoire ancienne* concludes by making a



comparative chronological reference to the history of the Jews: “Ne vos dirai or plus d’Alixandre ne des Macedoniens a presence. . . . De ce le lairai ge ore et quant ore venra et tans et lius, g’en reparlerai mout bien et de lor oirs qui d’aus issirent si com raisons iert et mesure. Ce ert en l’estoire des Ebrius cui il mout de maus firent si com vos porrés entendre quant la ert revenue la matere. Mais ore a presence vos dirai de Pirrus et des Roumains la ou ge le laissai quant je comensai a parler des rois persans et des Macedoniens dusques au tans le roi Alixandre” [I will not speak further now about Alexander, or about the Macedonians, at the present time. . . . I will abandon this topic now, and when the appropriate time and place arrive, I will begin again gladly to speak about them, and about their heirs that issued from them, in keeping with reason and measure. This will be in the history of the Hebrews, to whom they did many bad things, just as you will be able to hear when the topic resumes again. But now, for the present, I will speak to you of Pirrus and of the Romans, there where I left off when I began to speak about the Persian kings and the Macedonians, just as far as the time of the king Alexander]. Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas, *L’Histoire ancienne jusqu’à César ou Histoires pour Roger, chatelaine de Lille: L’Histoire de la Macédoine et d’Alexandre le Grand* (Turnhout, Belg.: Brepols, 2012), 195–96; translations are my own. A similar example appears near the close of the Troy section, sandwiched between an account of how the Troy story was recorded by Dictys and Dares and an account of the final burning of the city (“Ci define de Troies . . .”). Here the fall of Troy is related chronologically to the creation of the world, to the founding of Rome, and (by way of Romulus and Brutus) to the birth of Christ: “Tres le comencement dou monde dusques au comencement de Troies ot .iij. mil ans et .cc. et .xliiij., puis dura ele .ix.c. ans et .lxij. si fu destruite. Et tres la destruction de Troies ot .ccc. ans dusques au comencement de Rome, que Romulus la funda primes. E tres Romulus, qui primes en fu rois et sires, ot dusques a Brutus, qui primes en fu conceles, .cc. et .xl. ans, et en cest termine i regnerent .vij. roi, qui mout de malisse firent. E tres le tans Brutus que gouvererent la cité concele, ot dusques a la naissance Jhesu Crist, Nostre Segnor, que Cesar Augustus en fu enpereres, .v.c. ans et .xij. Li somme des ans tres dou comencement dou monde dusques a la nativité Jhesu Crist si est .v(j). mile et .cc. et .lviiij. ans” [From the beginning of the world until the foundation of Troy, there were three thousand two hundred and forty-four years; after that (Troy) lasted nine hundred and sixty-two years, and then it was destroyed. And from the destruction of Troy there were three hundred years until the foundation of Rome, which Romulus originally founded. And from Romulus, who was first to be king and lord there, to Brutus, who was first to be consul, there were two hundred and forty years, and during this time there reigned seven kings, who did many evil deeds. And from the time of Brutus, who governed the city as consul, there were until the birth of Jesus Christ, Our Lord, when Caesar Augustus was emperor, six hundred and twelve years. The sum of the years from the beginning of the world to the birth of Jesus Christ is therefore five (six) thousand two hundred and fifty-eight years]. Marc-Réné Jung, *La légende de Troie en France au moyen âge : Analyse des versions françaises et bibliographie raisonnée des manuscrits* (Basel: Francke, 1996) 401, chap. 67; translations are my own. Other examples of similar historical cross-referencing can be found at the beginning of de Visser-van Terwisga’s partial edition of the *Histoire ancienne* (covering the





- sequence between Genesis and Troy, including Assyria, Thebes, Minotaur, Amazons/ Hercules), which starts with a chronological overview of the period between Ninus (contemporaneous with Abraham) to Caesar Augustus, modeled on a corresponding passage in Orosius's chronicle.
- 4 For example, the concluding chapters of the *Histoire ancienne*'s account of Alexander include a comparison (in verse) of the Macedonian ruler with Baudouin, Count of Flanders and Emperor of Constantinople:
- Obliés fu tost Alixandres,
Ausi est li bons cuens de Flandres
Bauduins qui fu emperere
De Costantinoble et sa mere
Qui nomee fu Marguarite
E tant fu bone dame eslite,
De ce raconter est enfance.
- [Alexander was quickly forgotten,
Just as the good count of Flanders has been,
Baldwin, who was emperor
Of Constantinople, and his mother
Who was named Margaret
And who was such a fine, good lady,
To speak of it is childish folly.] (Gaullier-Bougassas, *Histoire ancienne*, 181)
- 5 The compiler breaks away from his account of the Greeks' great mourning for Achilles to admonish his readers to avoid excessive lamentation for the dead (Jung, 390–91; chap. 55).
- 6 In connection with these relations between historical past and contemporary moralization, see Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); and on "secular typology," see Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Political Utility in Medieval Historiography: A Sketch," *History and Theory* 14, no. 3 (1975): 314–25.
- 7 On the "crystallization of time" in the *romans antiques*, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "Erasing the Body: History and Memory in Medieval Siege Poetry," in *Crusade and Memory: Myth, Image, and Identity*, ed. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012) 146–73.
- 8 The most recent appraisal of the circulation of the *Histoire ancienne* (in both its first and second redactions) can be found in Gaullier-Bougassas, *Histoire ancienne*, 39–45.
- 9 The Republican calendar remained in effect from September 22, 1793 until January 1, 1806, when it was abolished by Napoleon; it was used again for eighteen days during the Paris Commune of 1871. On the crucial role of the new calendar, see Sanja Perovic, *The Calendar in Revolutionary France: Perceptions of Time in Literature, Culture, Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 236–50; also Perovic, "Untamable Time: A Literary and Historical Panorama of the French Revolutionary Calendar (1792–1805)" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2004); Serge Bianchi, "La bataille du calendrier' ou le décadi contre le dimanche," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 312 (1998): 245–64; Matthew Shaw, "Reactions to the French Republican Calendar," *French History* 15, no. 1 (2001): 4–25. On the calendar reforms enacted by



- the Bolshevik government after the 1917 October Revolution, see Irina Shilova, "Perfect Calendars in Chaotic Times" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 2010).
- 10 Orosius, *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, 6.22.6, trans. A. T. Fear (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), 316. Further citations of the *History* are given parenthetically in the text to both page numbers and to the text's book, paragraph, and sentence numbers.
- 11 For a detailed account of the Alexander material in the *Liber Floridus*, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009), 75–89.
- 12 On the relationship of the Alexander material in the *Liber Floridus* to Fulcher's crusade chronicle, see Albert Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus: A Key to the Encyclopedia of Lambert of Saint-Omer*, Corpus Christianorum Autographa Medii Aevi, vol. 4 (Turnhout, Belg.: Brepols, 1998), 122.
- 13 Penelope C. Mayo, "The Crusaders under the Palm: Allegorical Plants and Cosmic Kingship in the *Liber Floridus*," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 31–67.
- 14 On apocalyptic aspects of the *Liber Floridus*, see Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 79–89; Daniel Verhelst, "Les textes eschatologiques dans le *Liber floridus*," in *Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst, and Andries Welkenhuysen (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988), 299–305; Jay Rubenstein, "Lambert of Saint-Omer and the Apocalyptic First Crusade," in *Crusade and Memory: Myth, Image, and Identity*, ed. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 69–95.
- 15 "Godefriuds filius Eustachii comitis. Bolonie anno domini m xc viiii: Iherusalem cepit; Rotbertus quartus x comes Flandrie. Godefridum Hierosolimis tunc regem constituit" [Godfrey, the son of Eustace, count of Bouillon, in the year of Our Lord one thousand ninety-nine, took Jerusalem; Robert was the fourteenth (*sic*; *recte* eleventh) count of Flanders. At that time, Godfrey established the kingdom of Jerusalem]. Lambert, *Liber Floridus*, Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 92, fol. 1v; available in facsimile as *Lamberti S. Audomari Canonici "Liber Floridus": Codex autographus bibliothecae universitatis Gandavensis*, ed. Albert Derolez (Ghent: Story-Scientia, 1968); the translations are my own. Further citations are to the autograph MS of the *Liber Floridus*, citing folio numbers.
- 16 On this sequence of texts and the development of the manuscript, see Albert Derolez, *Lambertus qui librum fecit: Een codicologische studie van de "Liber Floridus"-autograaf* (Brussel: Paleis der Academiën, 1978), 400 and 472 (on the earlier elements), 404 and 473 (on later elements of the first phase).
- 17 "Uno eodemque tempore Babylon cecedit et Roma surrexit. anno ante adventum Christo DCCLII" [At one and the same time, Babylon fell and Rome rose. The year before the advent of Christ 752]. *Liber Floridus*, fol. 232v.
- 18 The insertion is just after quire 18, at *Liber Floridus*, fol. 137r (chap. 124). Derolez, *Lambertus qui librum fecit*, 404.
- 19 *Liber Floridus*, chap. 137; Derolez, *Lambertus qui librum fecit*, 477.
- 20 Derolez places the beginning of the integration of Trojan genealogies in the *Liber Floridus* at phase 10, well into the development of the compilation, with additional material added at phase 13. See Derolez, *Lambertus qui librum fecit*, 477, 479.

- 21 On the central role of Flanders, see Harry Bober, "Structure and Content of the Imagery of the *Liber Floridus*," in "*Liber Floridus*" Colloquium: Papers Read at the International Meeting Held in the University Library Ghent on 3–5 September 1967, ed. Albert Derolez (Ghent: Story-Scientia, 1973), 19; Raoul C. van Caenegem, "Sources of Flemish History in the *Liber Floridus*," in "*Liber Floridus*" Colloquium, 71–85.
- 22 For reiterations of the four-part Orosian schema in the *Histoire ancienne*, which nonetheless in its own historical narration inverts the place of Macedonia and Carthage to put Alexander's rule immediately before that of Rome, see (for example) Assyria, chaps. 6 and 7, in Marijke de Visser-van Terwisga, ed., *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* (*Estoires Rogier*), 2 vols. (Orléans, Fr.: Paradigme, 1995–99), 1:3–5 and discussion at 2:275–76.
- 23 The division into ten ages is not completely consistent across the manuscript tradition of the *Histoire ancienne*. Paul Meyer initially proposed dividing the historical periods covered by the work into seven; Doris Oltrogge has persuasively argued that a ten-part division more accurately reflects the structure of the work; most recently, Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas suggests an eleven-part schema. Paul Meyer, "Les premières françaises d'histoire ancienne," *Romania* 14 (1885): 1–81; Doris Oltrogge, *Die Illustrationszyklen zur "Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César" (1250–1400)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989); Gaullier-Bougassas, *Histoire ancienne*, 22.
- 24 On the relationship of myths of genealogical origin to conceptions of *translatio imperii*, see Zrinka Stahuljak, chap. 5, "Translations of Genealogy," in *Bloodless Genealogies of the French Middle Ages: "Translatio," Kinship, and Metaphor* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 142–89.
- 25 See the verse prologue edited by de Visser-van Terwisga, ed., *Histoire ancienne*, 2:291–94, esp. lines 231–46 on the planned account of Flanders; for discussion of the sequence, see 2:227.
- 26 On this passage, see *ibid.*, 2:242–43. This very same description, taken from a later redaction of the *Histoire ancienne*, became widely disseminated when it was inserted by Jean Corbechon into his popular translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum* as part of his explanation of the role of Trojan descent in the formation of the French nation.
- 27 On the position of the patron of the *Histoire ancienne*, Roger IV, relative to the political tensions between France and England, see de Visser-van Terwisga, ed., *Histoire ancienne*, 2:225–26, 241–42; Gaullier-Bougassas, *L'Histoire ancienne*, 7–19. Roger was generally on the pro-French side but was cautious about French expansion into Flanders, especially in the wake of the French crown's seizure of St.-Omer; as de Visser-van Terwisga puts it, Roger held "sentiments 'patriotiques' (flamands)" (2:225). For a comparison of the *Histoire ancienne*'s role to national identity in France and Flanders with adaptations of the universal history within Alfonso X's program of nation-building in Spain, see Paloma Garcia, "Hacia el modelo de la *General estoria*: Paris, la *translatio imperii* et *studii* y la *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 122, no. 1 (2006): 17–27, at 22–23.
- 28 On "secular typology" in medieval French chronicles, see Spiegel, "Political Utility in Medieval Historiography."



- 29 On the integration of the history of Troy and Jerusalem in Matthew Paris's *Flores historiarum*, see Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 287.
- 30 “Or seroit drois e mesure que je avant des fiz Israel, c’est de la lignee les fiz Jacob, vos deïsse e contasse avant e continuasse l’estorie coment et par quele ochoison il issirent d’Egypte / e comant e par com grant paine il conquerent la terre de Chananee. Mes non ferai ore. Ains dirai premerement de paiens qui adonques regnerent e comence-rai au meaus que je porrai des rois e des regnes trosques a la destruction de Troies, quar si le veut, ce me samble, e comande mes sires. E lores, après ce, revendrai e repai-rerai as Ebrius, coment il issirent d’Egypte, quar d’eaus est e doit estre plus droitu-rere e plus amee l’estorie, quar il en nasqui e issi la dame gloriose qui porta e alaïta en terre le Sauveor dou monde” [Now it would be right and appropriate that I come to the sons of Israel (that is, the lineage of the sons of Jacob), which I spoke of and recounted to you before, and continue with the history of how and for what reason they issued forth from Egypt, and how and with what great pains they conquered the land of Canaan. But I will not do this now. Instead I will speak first of the pagans who reigned at that time, and I will begin the best way that I can with the kings and the kingdoms, up to the destruction of Troy, just as my sire desires and commands, as it seems to me. And then, after that, I will resume and return to the Hebrews, how they issued forth from Egypt, for the history of these people is — and rightly should be — more rightful and better loved, for from them was born the glorious lady who bore and nursed on earth the Savior of the world]. This passage appears immediately after the death of Joseph; see Mary Coker Joslin, *The Heard Word, a Moralized His-tory: The Genesis Section of the “Histoire ancienne” in a Text from Saint-Jean d’Acre* (Lafayette: University of Mississippi Press, 1986), 277–78 [par. 513]; the translation is my own.
- 31 An extended account of the “grant dolor” of the Trojans, as the fall of their city approaches, appears in chap. 60 (Jung, 395), followed by an account of how the story of the siege was recorded by the Trojan “Daires” in cooperation with a “maistre clerc, Ditis” from the Greek camp (“mistrent en escriture en grijois language, puis si trans-late del griu en latin Crispus” [Jung, 401; chap. 67]). The narrative then returns to the anguish of the Trojans, with the compiler addressing the reader directly: “Oï avés et entendu, si vos vousistes, la grant destruction de Troies. Mout i ot gent ocise et d’une part et d’autre. Li Grijois, ains qu’il s’en partissent, espirent la cité par plui-sors parties, et ele arst mout lonc tans, quar li pluisor volent dire que .vij. ans i fu li fus, ains qu’ele fust tote parfundue, mais je ne sai se se puet verités estre que tant i durast flamme, quar a tel fu et si grant et si horrible convenist grant peutere por avoir si longe norreture. E ne portant la vile fu si grande et les riches tors et les riches sales que bien pot estre verités qu’au chief de .vij. ans fu i peüst on trover, si come charbons o flamesches qui en grant mont de cendres o en celier o en fosse fussent repusses. Cui chaut de ce, puis que la cités fu enbrasee?” [Now you have heard and understood, if you wish to do so, the great destruction of Troy. Many people were killed there, on one side and on the other. The Greeks, before they departed from there, set fire to the city in many locations, and it burned a very long time, so that the majority claim that the fire lasted seven years there, until it was entirely burned out; but I do not know if that can be true that a flame could last so long, for a fire such as that one, so great



- and so horrible, would have to have much fuel in order to be sustained for so long. And nonetheless the town was so great, with rich towers and rich halls, that it could well be true that for the better part of seven years one could find (flames) there, just as burning coals or embers can be buried within a pile of ashes either in a cellar or in a pit. What does it matter, since the city was entirely burned up? (Jung, 402; chap. 68).
- 32 On the foundation of Venice, see Jung 404–5; chap. 71.
- 33 Jung, 405; chap. 71.
- 34 “On ne peut s’expliquer ces resurgences troyennes qu’à la faveur d’un courant d’intérêt et d’un ensemble d’informations suscités par la Croisade dans les milieu flamands ou picards qui avaient largement participé à ce saintes aventures” (Jung 421).
- 35 For a wide-ranging overview, see David Jacoby, “Society, Culture, and the Arts in Crusader Acre,” in *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, ed. Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 97–157. For a very different (but influential) perspective, see Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Folda, “Before Louis IX: Aspects of Crusader Art at St. Jean d’Acre, 1191–1244,” in *France and the Holy Land*, ed. Weiss and Mahoney, 138–57.
- 36 On manuscript production in Acre and the copying of the *Histoire ancienne* in particular, see the masterful study of Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 173–228, 270–367, 393–478, 491–509. A useful overview with intriguing suggestions about manuscript patronage in Acre can be found in Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, “Amazons and Crusaders: The *Histoire Universelle* in Flanders and the Holy Land,” in *France and the Holy Land*, ed. Weiss and Mahoney, 187–229.
- 37 Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 562, fol. 204v, reproduced in Bianca Kühnel, “The Perception of History in Thirteenth-Century Crusader Art,” in *France and the Holy Land*, ed. Weiss and Mahoney, 161–86, at 165; the quotations are from 166. This image is also discussed in Emilie Maraszak, “Entre Est et Ouest, les manuscrits de Terre sainte au XIII^e siècle : L’exemple des manuscrits de l’*Histoire ancienne jusqu’à César*, Saint-Jean-d’Acre, 1250–1291,” *Bulletin du Centre d’Études Médiévales Auxerre* 12 (2010), at cem.revues.org/index11558.html.
- 38 Kühnel, “Perception of History in Thirteenth-Century Crusader Art,” 172.
- 39 On this date in the chronologies of Lambert, see Jay Rubenstein, “Lambert of Saint-Omer and the Apocalyptic First Crusade,” in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, ed. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne M. Yeager (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 69–95, at 79–84.
- 40 *Liber Floridus*, fol. 137r.



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