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1. Introduction

MS 100 in the Brotherton Collection of Leeds University Library is a genealogical history roll beginning with the Creation and concluding with the reign of Louis XI of France (1461-1483). The fifteenth-century French roll is, first of all, defined as a 'genealogie'. However, the manuscript is not a genealogy of a certain dynasty or people but the 'genealogy of the bible', the prologue asserts, and it narrates the biblical history as well as the history of the Romans, Franks and British. Moreover, it deals with two of the major myths of descent in the Middle Ages, namely, the legend of biblical origins and the legend of Trojan origins. In the manuscript, the legend of Trojan origins is linked to the biblical legend with the claim that the Trojans descended from the third son of Noah, Japheth. Thus history, from the Creation of the world, or rather from the time of the Flood, to contemporary France, is depicted as one continuous stream. Besides, the manuscript was composed in a century when the genealogical history writing tradition and the legends of origin, especially that of the Trojan, were highly established. In fact, within half a century, French historians would begin to question the tradition and look for their origins among Germanic peoples.[1]

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[1] George Huppert gives a very good summary of how historians began questioning the established Trojan origins in 'The Trojan Franks and their Critics', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 12 (1965), 227-41. See also Colette Beaune, 'The Political Uses of the Trojan Myth', in *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late Medieval France*, trans. by Susan Ross Huston, ed. by Fredric L. Cheyette (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 226-44 (pp. 226-31); R. E. Asher, 'Myth, Legend and History in Renaissance France', *Studi Francesi*, 39 (1969), 409-19 and Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'The Trojan Origins of the French and the Brothers Jean du Tillet', in *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. by Alexander Callender Murray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 348-84.

Throughout the Middle Ages, historians composed genealogies in order to find honourable origins for their own peoples and to justify the place they occupy in the contemporary world. In the broadest sense, the legends of origin served people to express the sense of solidarity within that social or political community and to legitimise that community's social or political aims. The present study looks at the representation of Trojan descent in MS 100 in the Brotherton Library and argues that while both French and British are portrayed as descendants of Trojan stock, the description of their history differs. The difference lies in the implication that French are more civilised and have stronger links with Trojans through their uncontroversial direct lineage, whereas the British are cruel, warlike and not pure Trojans since, even from the beginning of their history, they are regicides, and keep being mixed with other peoples especially as a result of numerous invasions of their land. Because the manuscript has been little studied, the following chapter provides a description of MS 100 in Brotherton Library, which includes a physical description of the manuscript as well as a brief summary of its contents. It is followed by 'A Comparative Look at MS French 99 in the John Rylands Library and MS 100 in the Brotherton Library', since MS French 99 and MS 100 are closely connected in terms of both style and contents. Chapter 4 consists of an overview of 'Genealogical Narratives and Legends of Origin' under three subtitles: 'The Legend of Biblical Origins', 'The Legend of Trojan Origins', and 'Japhethite Trojans, Trojan Europeans'. After this survey of the 'origins' of legends of origin, Chapter 5 is devoted to the representation of Trojan descent in MS 100. The Conclusion consists of a brief discussion of the possible implications of the claim of Trojan descent and is followed by an Appendix including selections of passages from both MS 100 and MS French 99.

2. MS 100 in Brotherton Library

The manuscript was acquired with the rest of Lord Brotherton's collection in 1936; however, the earlier history of the manuscript is unknown.[2] It is currently kept on rollers in a modern glass-topped box made by Sangorsi and Sutcliffe. The roll is 63 cm wide and 17.6 m long, and consists of thirty-nine membranes. Each membrane is 45 cm long and the individual membranes are glued together, overlapping by about 2 mm. Ker notes that the manuscript is 'written in handsome set cursiva' whereas in the description of the *Brotherton Collection* it is asserted that it is written in 'lettres batârdes [*sic*]' and in Anglo-Norman.[3] There are sixty-four roundel illuminations with toothed edges, numbered in modern pencil.[4] The illuminations vary from between 58 mm to 83 mm in diameter, and most of them have a caption.[5] Especially in terms of the selection of the subjects for the illuminations, the Brotherton roll is often compared to Fitzwilliam

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[2] For the description of the manuscript, see Neil R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries 3: Lampeter-Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 60-62 and *The Brotherton Collection, University of Leeds: Its Contents Described, with Illustrations of Fifty Books and Manuscripts* (Leeds: Leeds University Press, 1986), pp. 2-3. Oliver Pickering also gives a very detailed description in 'The Crusades in Leeds University Library's Genealogical History Roll', in *International Medieval Research 3. From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*, ed. by Alan V. Murray (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 251-66, which is, to my knowledge, the only article dealing with this manuscript.

[3] Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 62; *Brotherton Collection*, p. 2.

[4] The numbering is as follows: 1-16, 17 a-d, 18-61. 17 a-d depicts four roundels of ships full of soldiers in one horizontal row: Aeneas, Priamus, Turtus and Helenus.

[5] In the description in the *Brotherton Collection* it is stated that they are between 56 mm and 75 mm in diameter, see p. 2.

Museum, Cambridge, MS 176 and to John Rylands Library, Manchester, MS French 99.[6]

After the prologue which explains that what we are about to read is the 'genealogie de la bible', the roll narrates the Creation and separates into two columns in order to tell the story of Adam and Eve. Shortly after illumination number 11 on the third membrane, which depicts Adam's labour on the land, the manuscript begins narrating the descendants of Noah. The illumination of Noah's Ark is linked to the genealogical diagram presenting Noah's three sons and their descendants. While the descendants of Shem are narrated in the first column, the descendants of Japheth are narrated in the second column. The descendants of Ham are very briefly mentioned in the text; only the story of Babel finds elaboration. After this division of the world and its nations into three, the roll continues with the Old Testament history until it begins to narrate the fall of Troy on membrane 10. The destruction of Troy is illuminated with a roundel depicting a ruined city, to which four roundels of ships full of soldiers are linked with red lines (illuminations number 16 and 17 a-d). This group of illuminations is followed by the adventures of Aeneas, Turtus and Helen in the second column whereas the first column tells of Abraham. From this point onwards, the roll splits into four columns (sometimes five): the first two continue to narrate the Old Testament history, and the third and fourth columns narrate the beginnings of 'Europe', that is the history of the Romans, Franks and British. The transition between the Old and New Testament eras takes place on membrane 16. After that, the first column recounts the popes, and the second column narrates the history of the Roman Empire and the holy

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[6] For comparison of the illuminations, see the lists provided by Ker in *Medieval Manuscripts*, pp. 60-61 and 446-47.

Roman emperors, while the third and fourth columns narrate the French and the British history respectively. Column 1 ends on membrane 32 with the consecration of Urban VI in 1378 and refers to the resulting schism: 'Cy ne parle plus des papes pour la diuision qui a este depuis en saincte eglise que dieu veulle amender. Amen'. The history of the Romans ends on membrane 34: 'En lan mil .iii^c. xxxvii. [*sic*] fut couronne empereur de romme louys de bauiere et lors les romains firent a ro[m]me vng antipape. Explicit. Cy finent les empereurs du ro[m]me'.[7] Column 4, the English history, ends on membrane 35 with the coronation of Henry IV: 'Et fut hanry de lancastre couronne roy dangleterre le quell a fait mourir des plus nobles du royaulme dangleterre sico[m]me les chroniques le disent plus aplain'. Then column 3, the French history, takes over the whole width of the roll and tells of the reigns of Charles VI and Charles VII, concluding with the reign of Louis XI.

There are genealogical diagrams fitted into the empty spaces between the columns of the text. In fact, these diagrams were evidently drawn before the text was written,[8] since in most of the cases, the width of the columns changes at places where the diagram horizontally enlarges. The diagram starts with the roundel depicting Adam's Labour (illumination number 11, as I mentioned above) and continues with names in plain red circles, which are linked together again with red lines. In some cases, the genealogy is again linked to some of the illuminations, such as that illustrating Noah's Ark. Although the text is written around the diagrams in theory, it is evident from the layout that the text itself, rather than the genealogical diagram, is favoured. This

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[7] Ludwig IV of Bavaria was crowned in 1328 however, the reference here seems to be another reference to Great Schism in 1378.

[8] Pickering enumerates some of his observations about this. See 'The Crusades in Leeds University Library's Genealogical History Roll', pp. 252-53.

characteristic of MS 100, as we shall see below, is in contrast with MS French 99 of John Rylands Library, where the genealogical diagram is visually more dominant than the text. Moreover, the visual symmetry of the beginning and the end of MS 100, the prologue and Creation taking the whole width of the roll in the beginning and the fifteenth-century French history taking the whole width at the end, is further evidence that the text rather than the genealogical diagram is on the foreground.

Oliver Pickering argues that the exclusive concentration on the French history at the end is a confirmation of the fact that MS 100 was produced in France and states that 'the text within red circles is clearly by a different hand, and this evidence of division of labour makes it virtually certain that MS 100 was produced in a commercial workshop'.[9] In relation to the sources adopted to compile the manuscript, we do not have any evidence except the references throughout the roll. One of the references is to Orosius however, he does not provide the kind of detailed information that is ascribed to him in the manuscript. Although he is mentioned as an authority in relation to the Trojan origins, he just touches on the Trojan War in his *Seven Books against the Pagans* and very briefly mentions Aeneas' arrival in Italy.[10] Orosius does not also refer to the biblical origin legend; he only describes the three continents in detail but he does not link the continents to Noah's sons.[11] Nevertheless, the compiler obviously considers Ororsius as an authority. Other than Orosius, the remainder of the references are to an 'aultre roolle', to 'chroniques' and 'hystories' for certain information. These references

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[9] Pickering, 'The Crusades in Leeds University Library's Genealogical History Roll', p. 252.

[10] Paulus Orosius, *The Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, trans. by Roy J. Deferrari (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1964), I, 17-18. For the description of continents see *Seven Books*, I, ii.

[11] Orosius talks about the flood only to moralise the story. See Orosius, *Seven Books of History*, I, iii. For the description of the continents see I, ii.

might be genuine since it is highly probable that historiographical works like MS 100 used other sources in order to provide information on different eras and events. Moreover, there are similar references in MS French 99 in John Rylands Library, and there is even a good possibility that these two rolls used the same sources for their compilation.

3. A Comparative Look at MS French 99 in John Rylands Library and
MS 100 in Brotherton Library

As mentioned above, two other rolls are associated with MS 100: Fitzwilliam

Museum, Cambridge, MS 176 and John Rylands Library, Manchester, MS French 99.[12]

Below you will find a comparative description of the MS 99, since not only the

selection of the subjects for the illuminations but also the text is indeed quite similar to

that of MS 100.[13] MS French 99 in the John Rylands Collection is also a French

genealogical history roll. It begins with the Creation and concludes with accounts of the

reign of Charles VII (1422-1461), the father of Louis XI of France. Ker notes that it was

bought from a Mrs Coppock, Newquay, for £10, in January 1908 but, as is the case in

MS 100, its earlier history is unknown.[14] The roll is 68.6 cm wide and 17.23 m long

consisting of 23 membranes. Each membrane is around 75 cm long and the joining of

the membranes is less noticeable in comparison with MS 100. Ker states that the

manuscript is written in 'lettre batârde' whereas Pickering argues that 'the script is more

sloping and less formal' in comparison to the Brotherton roll.[15] There are sixty-six

roundel illuminations with toothed edges one of which, in the first part of the

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[12] However, I cannot examine MS 176 in the Fitzwilliam Collection, since the Museum is currently under reconstruction and the collection is not accessible until at least June 2004. For the description of the manuscript, see Montagu R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), pp. 381-83.

[13] For the description of the MS French 99, see Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, pp. 446-49 and Moses Tyson, 'Hand-List of the French and Italian Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1930', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 14 (1930), 563-624 (p. 593). See also Pickering, 'The Crusades in Leeds University Library's Genealogical History Roll', pp. 255-58.

[14] Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 446.

[15] Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 446; Pickering, 'The Crusades in Leeds University Library's Genealogical History Roll', p. 256.

manuscript, is totally lost, because of damage to the left-hand side.[16] The illuminations are usually about 78 mm in diameter and most of them have captions in red ink.[17] However, they are less sophisticated than MS 100 in terms of the depiction of the scenes; as Pickering also notes, 'the illustrations are cruder, though not so conventional'.[18] Neither the illuminations nor the membranes of MS French 99 are numbered.

The prologue of MS French 99 is almost identical to MS 100, except for the dating clause at the end.[19] As I have mentioned, the damage to the left hand side of the roll makes it impossible to read the first four to six words of each line of the six-line prologue. However, these were reconstituted by Moses Tyson and the substituted words correspond to the prologue of MS 100. The remaining of the text is organised in the same way with MS 100 and the passages from the manuscripts follow each other quite closely. However, MS French 99 concludes at an early date, during the reign of Charles VII. Moreover, the accounts of the reigns of Charles VI and Charles VII are much briefer when compared to MS 100. The scribe of MS French 99 uses punctuation marks, i.e. full stop, throughout and in most of the cases capitalises the first letter of the first word while beginning a new sentence. On the other hand, in MS 100, there is no punctuation except the full stops at the end of each paragraph. There are various

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[16] Tyson, in his 'Hand-List', states that there are sixty-five illuminations. He probably did not include the one which is missing.

[17] Occasionally the captions are in dark brown, especially when there is more than one roundel in a horizontal row, one is in red and the following one is in dark brown ink.

[18] Pickering, 'The Crusades in Leeds University Library's Genealogical History Roll', p. 256.

[19] For the differences in the prologues and the other differences mentioned below regarding the text and the spelling, refer to the Appendix where a selection of passages from both manuscripts are provided for comparison.

spelling differences between MS 100 and MS French 99, although both of the texts are quite consistent in terms of spelling. For example, while Troy is spelled as 'troye' in MS 100, it is spelled as 'troie' in MS French 99. Other examples might include, generation/generacion; voir/veoir; commancer/commencer; ensuyuant/ensuiuant; destruction/destruccion; cestuy/cestui; pais/pays. MS French 99 is also less abbreviated in comparison to MS 100.

MS French 99 is obviously more organised, especially in terms of the positioning of the genealogical diagram running throughout the roll. As is also the case in MS 100, these diagrams were evidently drawn before the text was written and thus the text is written around the diagrams. However, in MS French 99, the genealogical diagram is more geometrical and its positioning is more central to the layout so that the text seems to be accompanying to the genealogical diagram. Although, both the texts and the genealogical diagrams are quite similar, at least visually, this is certainly not the case for MS 100.

4. Genealogical Narratives and Legends of Origin

In the broadest sense, genealogical narratives can be separated into two categories; family chronicles and 'national' chronicles. In both cases, genealogical narratives are the result of the heightened awareness of the social or political community they were composed for. The main aim of the genealogies was doubtless to preserve, or even to celebrate, the memory of ancestors as well as to secure the status of that family, community or nation. The family chronicles were usually commissioned by noble families who tried to establish their honourable origins in order to strengthen their position, or to lay claim to the throne.[20] On the other hand, the 'national' chronicles were composed by historians who were interested in establishing the honourable origins of their nations. These chronicles do not necessarily only narrate the genealogical history of one group of people or of one nation, but also try to determine that people's relation to other contemporary communities. Whether it is a family chronicle or a 'national' chronicle, as Howard R. Bloch states, 'the implicit discursive strategy [is] the same: to establish the most ancient ancestry possible and to create the most coherent continuity between this mythic beginning and present'.[21]

Genealogical narratives are composed of series of biographies linked by the principle of hereditary succession. Presenting the individuals in succession enables

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[20] For family chronicles written in France from the tenth century onwards, see Howard R. Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 79-80. For more information on genealogical narratives in general see Léopold Genicot, *Les Généalogies*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge Occidental, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975).

[21] Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, p. 81.

historians to display the passing of time as well as the transference within that lineage. The transference can be the name, the title, the land or any other kind of material possession. Nevertheless, genealogies are dependant on this linear succession and thus created with a consciousness of linear history. As Gabrielle Spiegel points out, 'genealogy necessarily fashions history as a linear narrative, for what, after all, is a *lignage*, if not a line?'[22] She states that genealogy 'enabled chroniclers to organize their narratives as a succession of *gestes* performed by the successive representatives of one or more *lignages*, whose personal characteristics and deeds […] bespoke the enduring meaning of history as the collective action of noble lineages'.[23] Yet most often the sequence of years alone guides the narrative, and within each year events and states of affairs are simply 'lined up'. The events are reported item by item with sentences connected by 'and' or sometimes even without a conjunction. Regardless of whether or not medieval historians perceived the events within causality, usually the works do not show causality between events. Nevertheless, genealogical narratives, which are in fact focused on the transmission of property, name or status from father to son, replicate the patrilineal origin of humankind, and in this respect connected directly to legends of origins.

Medieval legends of origin are varied in form and content and are recorded in numerous works throughout the centuries. Susan Reynolds classifies the legends of origin into three main themes and states that 'all three can be traced back to the sixth or seventh centuries, when they seem to originate, not in popular traditions, but in the

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[22] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative', *History and Theory*, 22 (1983), 43-53 (p. 51).

[23] Spiegel, 'Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative', p. 51.

desire of learned clerics'.[24] The first legend is the basis of the so-called 'Frankish Table

of Peoples' and the earliest surviving version is a sixth-century Byzantine work which

displays the genealogical connection between the barbarians of the time by tracing their

descent to Mannus and his sons. This legend soon became known in the west, where the

name Mannus was changed to Alanus.[25] The second one, which will be called 'the

legend of biblical origins' throughout this paper, connects peoples of the whole world to

the Bible, by showing that they are all descended from Noah's three sons. The third, and

probably the most famous one is the legend of Trojan origins, which connects most of

the 'European' peoples to Troy, after the model of Virgil's Romans. The history of the

legend of biblical and Trojan origins will be examined in more detail below since these

two legends of origin are found in MS 100. Moreover, the two legends are perfectly

interwoven with each other so that Trojans are presented as the descendants of Japheth.

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[24] Susan Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium* and the Community of the Realm', *History*, 68 (1983), 375-90 (p. 375).

[25] The name Mannus (or Alanus) did not have much significance for western Europeans; however, the 'Frankish Table' provided them with a model. For more information on the 'Table', see Walter Goffart, 'The Supposedly "Frankish" Tables of Nations: An edition and a Study', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 17 (1983), 98-130.

4.1. The Legend of Biblical Origins

In the eighteenth century, a learned scholar could begin his argument regarding the origins of the Russians with the following statement: 'notum est omnes gentes originem a Noacho derivare': 'it is well known that all peoples descended from Noah'.[26] Even today, in the twenty-first century, there are still genuine claims about the legend of biblical origins, studies 'proving' that all mankind dispersed from Noah and his sons by way of identifying contemporary lands and nations with those of Genesis.[27] Hermann Gunkel states that, among a wide variety of legends in Genesis, 'the legends of the origin of the world and of the progenitors of the human race' is one of the most distinctive and he argues that 'their locality [is] remote and their sphere of interest [is] the whole world'.[28] Such legends, then, allowed many historians to trace several nations' origins back to Noah and to connect peoples to Noah's sons: Shem, Ham and Japheth. The 'original' story is found in the Bible, Genesis 9-10.[29] Genesis Chapter 9 tells of the immediate aftermath of the Flood, and towards the end of that chapter, there is an incident between Noah and his sons, which is used as a means to construct the

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[26] Christian Schoettgen, *De originibus Russicis dissertationes septem* (Dresden: n.p., 1731), p. 2.

[27] See, for example, Bill Cooper, *After the Flood: The Early Post-Flood History of Europe* (Sussex: New Wine Press, 1995) and Tim Osterholm, 'The Table of Nations (Genealogy of Mankind) and the Origin of Races (History of Man)' (2003) < http://www.home.cio.net/timo/man/> [accessed 20 August 2003].

[28] Hermann Gunkel, *The Legends of Genesis*, trans. by W. H. Carruth (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 1901), p. 13.

[29] For more information on Genesis Chapter 9 and 10, see Ellen van Wolde, *Stories of the Beginning: Genesis 1-11 and Other Creation Stories*, trans. by John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1996), pp. 141-74; Gordon J. Wenham, *Word Biblical Commentary. Volume I: Genesis 1-15* (Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1987), pp. 197-232; J. Simons, 'The "Table of Nations" (Gen. X): Its General Structure and Meaning', *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, 10 (1954), 155-84; D. J. Wiseman, 'Genesis 10: Some Archaeological Considerations', *Faith and Thought*, 87 (1955), 14-24.

future relations between the brothers and their descendants. Chapter 10, on the other hand, narrates the so-called 'Table of Nations'.

Chapter 9 starts with God's commandments in relation to the new 'beginning' after the Flood and follows with the covenant between God and all living creatures which is symbolised by the rainbow. Then it is mentioned once again that 'the sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth: and Ham is the father of Canaan' and that 'these are the three sons of Noah: and of them was the whole earth overspread'.[30] Noah is obviously seen as the father of the new humanity, as the second Adam. Then chapter 9 tells how Noah and his family start living on land again, and how Noah planted a vineyard. The story is that Noah gets drunk and while he is sleeping naked in his tent, Ham sees his father and tells his brothers about it:

> 20 And Noah began to be a husbandman, and he planted a vineyard:
>
> 21 And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered
> within his tent.
>
> 22 And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told
> his two brethren without.

When he wakes up, Noah curses Ham and all his descendants for his improper behaviour while he blesses Shem and Japheth, because they covered their father without looking at him: 'And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces

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[30] *The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments. King James Version* (New York: American Bible Society, 1998), Genesis, 9. 18, 19. All quotations are from this edition unless otherwise stated.

were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness' (Genesis, 9. 23). Noah's curse—and blessing—just before chapter 9 concludes is actually his first speech since the flood began. These three verses, each about one of his sons, prepare the ground for the forthcoming 'Table of Nations':

> 24 And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him.
>
> 25 And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.
>
> 26 And he said, Blessed be the LORD God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.
>
> 27 God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.

This story was later utilised to legitimise the Crusades, and even to legitimise African slavery in the following centuries, especially after the discovery of America ('God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant').[31] Yet our main concern, like the historians of the Middle Ages, is with Chapter 10. Although the story is familiar to us, it is crucial to quote, at least Japheth's lineage at length as it is described in Genesis 10:

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[31] See Denys Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957), p. 12; Wolde, *Stories of the Beginning*, pp. 151-54.

1 Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah; Shem, Ham, and Japheth: and unto them were sons born after the flood.

2 The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras.

3 And the sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and Riphath, and Togarmah.

4 And the sons of Javan; Elishah, and Tarshih, Kittim, and Dodanim.

5 By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations.

6 And the sons of Ham […].

[…]

19 And the border of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou goest unto Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha.

20 These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, and in their nations.

21 Unto Shem also, the father of all children of Eber, the brother of Japheth the elder, even to him children were born.

22 The children of Shem […].

[…]

30 And their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east.

31 These are the sons of Shem, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations.

32 These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their

nations: and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood.

As it is seen, the record in Genesis is just a list of names. However, we should not forget

that those names correspond to the communities of the time. The link between the

names of Noah's descendants and peoples is made even more explicit with the closing

verses repeated after every son's lineage: 'after their tongues, in their lands, after their

nations'. The verse specifies the three main constituents of nationhood; language,

territory and race. The closing verse of Genesis 10 mentions once again that 'these were

the nations divided in the earth after the flood'.

Although the territories of these 'nations' are not specifically identified with the

continents in Genesis 10, the association of the descendants of Ham with Africa, Shem

with Asia, and Japheth with Europe, is eventually found in all commentaries on

Genesis. However, the story of Noah's drunkenness, which, together with the Babel

story, actually initiates the dispersal of Noah's sons, was neglected by historians and it

was left to theologians to discuss the moral implications of the story. In genealogical

narratives, we find no explanatory information regarding *why* the descendants of each

son rule that territory or *why* some are seen superior to the others. The first surviving

adaptation of the Genesis story is found in Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*, dated to c.

AD 93.[32] However, Josephus does not make a one-to-one correspondence with the sons

of Noah and the continents, but instead gives a broader description of the lands acquired

by them. Moreover, he identifies the names of the grandchildren of Noah with names of

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[32] Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, trans. by H. St. J. Tackeray, Loeb Library, 490 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999), iv, 59-71.

the races in his own day. Although the Genesis story finds elaboration at such an early date, it does not elicit attention from scholars, historians and theologians alike, for a long time. Even St Augustine deals with the matter very briefly and his commentaries are scattered throughout the chapters of the *City of God*.[33] However, he interprets the Hebrew meanings of the names of Noah's sons: Shem is 'named' because from him was to descend the humanity of Christ; Japheth is 'breadth', i.e. enlargement appropriately because, as we read in Genesis 9.27, 'God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem'; Ham is 'hot'.[34] St Augustine's contemporary St Jerome, who also produced the Latin version of the Bible, summarises the views of the earlier writers in his commentaries on Chapters 9 and 10 of Genesis. According to St Jerome, Shem is the originator of the Jews and his generations populated Asia, and Japheth is the originator of Gentiles and his children populated Europe, whereas Ham's sons had the whole continent of Africa. About the matter of Japheth's 'enlargement', Jerome contributed with a novel interpretation; according to Jerome this meant Christians' overthrowing Jews' earlier monopoly of scholarship and scriptural knowledge.[35]

Eventually a full description of the tripartite world is given by Isidore of Seville (d. 636) in his *Etymologies* which gathers both classical and patristic traditions of late antiquity.[36] The three continents are linked with three sons of Noah and each of their generation is identified with the names of the later peoples. In relation to Japheth's

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[33] See St Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. by Marcus Dods, D. D. (New York: The Modern Library, 1950), xvi.

[34] St Augustine, *The City of God*, xvi, ii.

[35] St Jerome, 'Quaestiones in Genesim', in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Excudebatur apud Migne , 1844-1864), 23, cols. 998-1004.

[36] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. by W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), XIV.ii. Book XIV as a whole deals with the world and its parts.

name, Isidore interprets the 'enlargement' as the multiplication of the faithful.[37] Thus by the seventh century, not only does the Genesis story find full elaboration, but also peoples are accepted to be descendants of Shem, Japheth or Ham. Many historians followed Isidore's example but most of them were narrower in their interests and concentrated more exclusively on their own people rather than mapping out the whole world and its nations. Nevertheless, Europe's association with Japheth and 'European' peoples' claim of Japheth's ancestry were clearly established.

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[37] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, VII, vi.

4.2. The Legend of Trojan Origins

The first known written claim of the legend of Trojan origins comes from the seventh century, from a Frankish source attributed to Fredegar.[38] The story connecting Franks to the Trojans appears in two places in Fredegar's *Chronicle* and the second report seems to be a condensed and reworked version of the first.[39] However, it must be noted that, although the Fredegar *Chronicle* is obviously interested in establishing the origins of the Franks, it gives an account of the other peoples who are descended from Trojan stock, including the Macedonians and the Turks. The second account of the legend of Trojan origins is found in the anonymous *Liber Historiae Francorum* dated to 727.[40] Throughout the first four chapters of the *Liber Historiae Francorum* there is no reference to Fredegar and it agrees with the earlier text only in the broadest outline. Thus, it has been argued by scholars that the legend of Trojan origins in the *Liber Historiae Francorum* is independent of either of the two accounts in the Fredegar

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[38] 'Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici libri IV. cum Continuationibus', in *Monumenta Germaniae Histoica. Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum II: Fredegarii et aliorum Chronica. Vitae Sanctorum*, ed. by Bruno Krusch (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1888), pp. 18-200.

[39] The fact that the chronicle contains these two related but yet different accounts has been seen as evidence for the multiple authorship of the *Chronicle*. For the controversy about the authorship of the Fredegar *Chronicle*, see Alvar Erikson, 'The Problem of Authorship in the Chronicle of Fredegar', *Eranos*, 63 (1965), 47-76; John Michael Wallace-Hadrill's Introduction to his translation, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with Its Continuations* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1960), pp. xiv-xxv; Goffart, 'The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered', *Speculum*, 38 (1963), 206-241 (pp. 207-209); Roger Colins, 'Fredegar', in *Authors of the Middle Ages 13. Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), pp. 77-138 (pp. 11-16); Richard A. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the 'Liber Historia Francorum'* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), p. 14. However, scholars have reached no consensus about the interpretation of available evidence.

[40] 'Liber Historiae Francorum', in *Monumenta Germaniae Histoica. Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum II*, pp. 215-328.

Chronicle. John Michael Wallace-Hadrill furthermore asserted that the legend of Trojan origins must have been diffused even earlier, before Fredegar's time.[41]

The first account in Fredegar *Chronicle* is in a section added to the extractions to the Eusebius-Jerome *Chronicle* whereas the second is in another section added to the summary of the first six books of Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum*.[42] The first account reports that Priam was the first king of the Franks and that they later chose Frigas as their king. Then it tells that they were divided into two groups and that one of the groups went to Macedonia while the others, having chosen Francio as their king, eventually settle down between the Rhine, the Danube and the sea. After Francio's death, since past wars had reduced their number, they set up 'duces' and carry on with these 'duces' until the time of the consul Pompey, who brings them under Roman dominion. However, this dominion does not continue for a long time since Franks, in alliance with Saxons, rebel against Pompey. The account underlines the fact that after these events until the present day no one was able to conquer Franks but instead Franks subjugated other people: 'post haec nulla gens usque in presentem diem Francos potuit superare, qui tamen eos suae dicione potuisset subiugare'.[43] At this point, the account narrates the third group from Trojan stock, which are eventually named Turks after their king Torquotus. The account finalises with the assertion of the fact that Romans and Phrygians were indeed of the same stock; i.e., Franks' common blood with the Romans. The second account, which is even shorter, alters the sequence of events and in turn

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[41] Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, p. xii. Also see Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long-Haired Kings* (London: Methuen, 1962), p. 82.

[42] 'Chronicarum Fredegarii', II, 4, 5, 6 and III, 2 (pp. 45-47, 93) respectively. Gerberding gives translation of some passages in his *Rise of the Carolingians*, pp. 14-16. For more information on Fredegar in general, see Colins' study devoted to Fredegar: 'Fredegar', pp. 77-138.

[43] 'Chronicarum Fredegarii', II, 6.

connects Turks directly with Franks, claiming that, after they settled down on the shore of the river Danube, they split into two and that one group entered Europe with their king Francio while those remained elected Torcot as their king. The account finishes with the claim that they were never under foreign dominion: 'multis post temporibus cum ducibus externas dominationis simper negantes'.[44]

Whereas the first account in Fredegar's *Chronicle* is interested in establishing the 'long proud history of struggle through war'[45], the second account concentrates on their travel through Europe and the divisions among the group. In addition, the first account underlines the defeat of the Romans and eventually points to the common ancestry of the Romans and Franks; the second account does not mention Romans once. Both accounts mention that Franks founded a city near the Rhine 'in the image of and with the name of Troy', but the task remains uncompleted. In the anonymous *Liber Historiae Francorum*, which is the second surviving source for the legend of Trojan origins, Franks found a city on the Danube in Pannonia, which was called Sicambria. Moreover, in *Liber Historiae Francorum*, the Franks were already tributes to Romans when they were living in Pannonia. The names of the Romans mentioned in *Liber Historiae Francorum* also differ from Fredegar *Chronicle*; it speaks of Valentinian, Primarius and Aristarchus whereas Fredegar refers to Pompey. When these differences are taken into consideration, it is evident that there was at least more than one version of the Trojan legend when these accounts were written.[46] It is also important to note that, in the

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[44] 'Chronicarum Fredegarii', III, 2.

[45] Gerberding, *Rise of the Carolingians*, p. 16.

[46] For more information about the differences between the accounts, see Eugen Ewig, 'Le mythe troyen et l'histoire des Francs', trans. Anneliese Lecouteux, in *Clovis. Histoire & Mémoire: Clovis et son temps, l'événement*, ed. by Michel Rouche, 2 vols (Paris: Presses de l'Univérsite de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), I, 817-47; Gerberding, *Rise of the Carolingians*, pp. 11-30.

broadest outline, MS 100 follows the tradition created by the account in *Liber Historiae Francorum* instead of Fredegar's *Chronicle*, for the Trojan origins of the French.

Authors concerned with establishing other people's origins soon adopted the legend of Trojan origins. By the ninth century, British people were being derived from Brutus: the brief account comes from *Historia Brittonum* attributed to Nennius.[47] This story of British origins developed from the twelfth century onwards thanks to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*.[48] Among others, early in the eleventh century, Dudo of St Quentin traced the origins of the Normans back to Trojans.[49] From the twelfth century onwards legends of origin, especially that of the Trojans, multiply even faster; they are not only found in genealogies but also vernacular poems and romances.[50] By the thirteenth century, legends of origin are included in political documents as well.[51] Reynolds links this multiplication of the legends of origin to the fact that governments became increasingly effective by the twelfth century and so does the recording of political ideas.[52] She observes that 'in many parts of western Europe, the solidarities of supposed common descent and custom began to coincide more

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[47] 'Historia Brittonum', in *Monumenta Germaniae Histoica. Auctores Antiquissimi XIII*, ed. by T. Mommsen (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1892).

[48] *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. by Acton Griscom (London: Longman, 1929). For English translation, see Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. by Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin, 1966). For the importance and influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth's work, see Valerie I. Flint, 'The *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth: Parody and Its Purpose. A Suggestion', *Speculum*, 54 (1979), 447-68 and Francis Ingledew, 'The Book of Troy and the Genealogical Construction of History: The Case of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*', *Speculum*, 69 (1994), 665-704.

[49] Dudo of St Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by J. Lair (Caen: F. Le Blanc-Hardel, 1865), p. 130.

[50] See Beaune, 'The Political Uses of the Trojan Myth', pp. 226-33.

[51] See Nicholas Birns, 'The Trojan Myth: Postmodern Reverberations', *Exemplaria*, 5 (1993), 45-78 (p. 50); Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*', p. 378; Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, pp. 79-83.

[52] Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*', p. 381.

closely with the solidarities of kingdoms'.[53] Nicholas Birns argues that 'the Trojan myth was a secular paradigm which strengthened current political authority' and states that 'the richness of the myth lies in its apparent flaw, the utter unapproachability of the idea of "actual Trojans" '.[54] Having this argument in mind then, we can easily assume that the western Europeans, in claiming Trojan origins in a mythic heroic past, were also claiming current social or political authority.

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[53] Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*', p. 381.

[54] Birns, 'The Trojan Myth', p. 49, 51. Also see, Beaune, 'The Political Uses of the Trojan Myth', pp. 226-44.

4.3. Japhethite Trojans, Trojan Europeans

The two earliest accounts that ascribe Trojans biblical origin are the seventh-century Fredegar *Chronicle* and the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* attributed to Nennius. Fredegar's *Chronicle* recognises the tripartite division of the world by Noah's three sons and situates the Trojans among Japheth's descendants through his son Cetthin.[55] However, as we shall see below, both MS 100 and MS French 99, claims the descent from Japheth's son Gomer. *Historia Bittonum*, on the other hand, derives the British from the Trojan Brutus, and then shows the descent of the Trojans from Japheth through Alanus.[56] Susan Reynolds claims that 'the combination of biblical and Trojan myths was in fact very general' in medieval histories.[57] However, Bloch remarks in relation to the legend of Trojan origins that 'it is possible to detect a turning away from universal ecclesiastical history and a tendency to situate the origin […] within the secular context'.[58] On the other hand, in the Western Europe, the elaboration of the legend of biblical origins comes with the emergence of the consciousness of Europe and the need to explain the territorial claims within the boundaries of the Bible.[59]

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[55] 'Chronicarum Fredegarii', I, 5. This chapter as a whole deals with the 'nations' and their territories.

[56] For the genealogical table, see 'Historia Brittonum', pp. 150-53. We come across with the name 'Alanus' in the 'Frankish Table' as well. It is evident that there is an influence here but such discussion is beyond the scope of this paper. For the 'Frankish Table', see Walter Goffart, 'The Supposedly "Frankish" Tables of Nations', pp. 98-130.

[57] Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*', p. 377. However, during my research, I did not come across any study discussing the combination of these two myths.

[58] Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, p. 81.

[59] See Hay, *Europe*, especially the first chapter entitled 'Europa and Japheth', pp. 1-16.

Ernst Breisach defines those historiographical works that begin with biblical history and continue until contemporary times, to which MS 100 might be included, as 'Christian chronicles' and argues that they might be divided into three main segments: biblical-patristic, intermediate, and contemporary. He further states that 'how to link that [biblical] segment to the other two, filled with mundane events, had all along been a problem escaping an entirely satisfactory solution'.[60] This 'problem' of relating the sacred to the profane seems to be resolved by those historians who invented biblical origins for their already long celebrated Trojan ancestors. It seems highly possible that with the invention of this hybrid legend, the Christian Europeans were able to derive their origins from the Bible while enjoying the heroic past of the Trojans. This hybrid legend was the best they could achieve, since they were not able to claim descent from Shem, Noah's first son, who was already associated with Semitic people. Medieval historians tried to re-assemble and re-construct the information they have found in their authorities and it was understandable for them to search for their origins of their own peoples among the earlier peoples of whom they had record. The events of the Book of Genesis and of the Trojan war were both long time ago, and both of them had accounts recorded long time ago as well.[61] As Reynolds asserts, 'Without more archaeological and other information than they had, it was impossible to know that Japheth and the Trojans were not the ancestors of contemporary peoples: Noah, at any rate must have been'.[62]

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[60] Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval & Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 128-29.

[61] The medieval accounts for the Trojan war comes from two supposedly eye-witness accounts, see Dares Phrygius, *Excidio Troiae Historiae*, ed. by Ferdinand Meister (Leipzig: Teubner, 1873) and Dictys Cretensis, *Ephemeridos Belli Troiani*, ed. by Werner Eisenhut (Leipzig: Teubner, 1873).

[62] Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*', p. 378.

5. The Legend of Trojan Origins in MS 100

The prologue to MS 100 not only defines the contents of the roll but also introduces us from the very beginning the hybrid legend of biblical-Trojan origins for the first time in the roll. According to the prologue, the roll will narrate how three sons of Noah populated the world after the Flood and how they named the places they inhabited after their names. The narration will proceed by telling how the Trojans descended from the lineage of Japheth and how they, after the destruction of Troy, inhabited 'pais et terres' and how they, again, named the places they inhabited, and the cities they founded, such as Rome, Paris and London. The prologue also asserts that the places Trojans populated were 'romaine lombardie france et angleterre' and that the roll is going to narrate 'co[m]ment et co[m]bien ilz ont regne lun apres laultre iusques au temps et adueneme[n]t nostre seigneur ih[es]ucrist'. It is crucial to cite the whole prologue in order to realise how central the theme of the Trojans is:

Cy sensuit la genealogie de la bible qui monstre et dit combien chascun aage
a dure depuis le co[m]mancement de monde iusques a laduenement
i[he]sucrist [et] comprent en brief co[m]ment les troys filz noe peuplerent
tout le monde apres le deluge et co[m]ment ilz nommenrent les terres [et]
pais ou ilz habitoyent de leurs noms et co[m]ment les troyens desce[n]
dirent de la lignee iaphet et puis monstre par signes co[m]ment quatre
manieres de gens se partirent de troye la grant apres la destruction dicelle
lesquelx habiterent et peuplerent pais et terres et les no[m]merent de leurs

28

noms et fonderent pluseurs cites villes et chasteaulx par espicial ro[m]me

paris londres cestadire peuplerent romaine lombardie france et angleterre et

en quel temps et co[m]ment et co[m]bien ilz ont regne lun apres laultre

iusques au temps et adueneme[n]t nostre seigneur ih[es]ucrist sico[m]me il

appert par lenseigne des branches des genealogies et apres trouueres ou nouel

testema[n]t des papes qui ont este a ro[m]me depuis saint pierre iusques en

lan mil .iii^c. iii^{xx}. et des empereurs de ro[m]me iusques en lan mil .iii^c. xxviii

et des roys de france iusques en lan mil iii^c li et des roys dangleterre iusques

en lan [mil] .iii^c. iiii^{xx}. Et si trouueres des roys [crest]iens qui ont este en

ih[e]r[usa]l[e]m puis godefroy de billon. Etc. (membrane 1)

Besides the centrality of the Trojans and their descendants in the prologue, Trojan

lineage here evidently depends on Noah, or rather Japheth, and biblical history. In MS

100, the story of the descendants of Noah begins right before membrane 3. While the

descendants of Shem are narrated in the first column, those of Japheth are positioned in

the second column. The descendants of Ham are very briefly mentioned in the text.

Although we are given a full description of how Noah's three sons shared the whole

world, the manuscript also mentions a fourth son of Noah, Ionitam, who is associated

with astronomy and who is not included in the division of the world. [63] Hay states that

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[63] Scholars argue that the invention of the fourth son of Noah seems to have been produced some time between the fourth and seventh centuries. One of the accounts for the myth is the *Book of the Cave of Treasures* composed in Syriac. Another account, likely again in Syriac, is the late seventh-century work of Pseudo-Methodius. In both of these works, the fourth son of Noah, Yonton, is associated with the knowledge of astronomy, though in different contexts. Hay attributes the myths' frequent occurrence in historical works to Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* dated to twelfth century. See Stephen Gero, 'The Legend of the Fourth Son of Noah', *Harvard Theological Review*, 73 (1980), 321-30 and Hay, *Europe*, pp. 42-43, 47 and the references in them.

in general historians do not 'develop the potentialities of the fourth son'.[64] That is the case in MS 100 too, since there is nothing mentioned about Ionitam except one paragraph where his wisdom of astronomy is narrated; his name is not even included in the genealogical diagram.[65] Japheth's lineage continues to be recounted until the introduction of the Trojan history through the middle of membrane 4. Trojans are presented as Japheth's descendants through his first son Gomer's—possibly the first— son of Torgorina:

> De gomer le filz iaphet vint torgorina et de torgorina yssit friga cestuy
>
> no[m]ma la contree frige et habita premiereme[n]t ou pais qui fut no[m]me
>
> troy la grant et furent les premiers qui trouuerent la maniere de fer et en
>
> cestuy temps ot pellos le roy de grece premierement guerre aux troyens [et]
>
> fut pellos desconfit en bataille par le roy dardan[us]. Etc. (membrane 6)

After the story of the destruction of Troy, the manuscript goes on to narrate how Trojans migrated to different parts of Europe. In MS 100, the Trojan origins of Romans, French and British are acknowledged.[66] In general, the accounts in MS 100 regarding the origin of the French agree with *Liber Historia Francorum*'s account. Priam is depicted as the originator of the French, father of Franchion. There is also mention of

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[64] However, see Thomas D. Hill, 'The Myth of the Ark-Born Son of Noe and the West Saxon Royal Genealogical Tables', *Harvard Theological Review*, 80, 3 (1987), 379-83.

[65] The same passage and the name of 'Ionitim' is found in MS French 99.

[66] For the purposes of this study, I will not elaborate on the Roman history but rather concentrate on the French and British history.

Torchot, but here in MS 100 the only information given is that he reigned after Franchion:

Co[m]ment priamus le ieune fo[n]da la cite de sinca[m]bre co[m]me dient les ystoyres. Etc.

Priam[us] le ieune dessus no[m]me le partit de troye a tout xiii[a]. ho[m]mes et fut en pluseurs lieux [et] vint en europe et saisist tout le pais et fonda la cite de sinca[m]bre et furent appelles sinca[m]brie[n]s et fut entre le rin et la diuce ou mil nauoit oncques habite [et] peuplere[n]t celle terre et fut p[ri]amus roy sus eulx tant co[m]me il vesq[ui]t et puis fut roy so[n] filz franchion [et] po[ur] le nom de cestuy furent no[m]mes fra[n]cois cestuy les gouuerna moult noblement [et] leur fit clorre leur cite [et] adonc estoyent moult gra[n]t nombre de gens [et] ap[re]s franchion regna torchot bien [et] courtoisement [et] ap[re]s ces .iiii. ilz nore[n]t plus roys fors ducs [et] domorere[n]t en celle cite de sincambre puis q[ui]l orent fondee .xv[e]. ans ou environ. Etc. (membrane 12-13)

Beginning with Priam, the French lineage is presented as an unbroken line consisting of legitimate descendants. There is no controversy about the royal lineage. Furthermore, the land is called 'france' and the people 'francois' from the very beginning. The French are depicted as founders of cities, and they live 'moult longuem[en]t sans auoir nulles guerres [et] ne sauoyent rien de batailles [et] estoyent bo[n]nes gens' (membrane 14). They are not warlike people like the British, as we shall see below; instead, they fight only when they need to defend themselves or their land.

Thus, in MS 100, the Trojan origins of French are presented in such a way that it serves to firmly position the national solidarity of France within blood ties and that it displays the preservation of the unity and continuity of France. Although, even the references to Franks in the seventh century can hardly be to people of pure 'Frankish' descent, whatever people thought at the time, here the French are regarded to be the *same* nation since the reign of Franchion.[67] Moreover, including that of MS 100, few of the medieval historians are concerned with what happened to previous or conquered populations. Occasionally, there are remarks that there were intermarriages between the peoples whereas in MS 100 it is repeatedly mentioned that they *populated* the lands. More often, it was taken for granted that each people were of their own and that they, that is the population of an area or of a kingdom, were of one single descent. Reynolds argues that kingdoms should have been 'perceived as communities of common descent, and that myths about the long common history of their peoples should have been fostered, consciously or unconsciously to promote their unity'.[68] In this respect, it is obvious that the population of fifteenth-century France was not entirely descendant of the seventh century Franks. However, the *franci* of the Trojan myth were now the inhabitants of the kingdom of France.

On the other hand, regarding British origins, there are several problematic issues. The founder of Britain, Aeneas' grandson, Bruit, is a parricide and a regicide; British history itself begins with violence and murder. Moreover, Bruit's wife, Genonenne is not Trojan but Greek. British history is full of violence and consists of alternating

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[67] See Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*', p. 379-82 and Ian Wood, 'Defining the Franks: Frankish Origins in Early Medieval Historiography', in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Alan V. Murray, Leeds Texts and Monographs New Series, 14 (Leeds: University Of Leeds, 1995), 47-57.

[68] See Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*', p. 379-81, 381.

periods of destruction, both because of internal conflicts and invasion. Lee Patterson expresses very well the problem of tracing the British origins: 'the discontinuities of English political history foreclosed the attempt to trace a genuinely historical line of descent from a common origin'.[69] This is exactly what is on the foreground in the depiction of British history in MS 100.[70]

Very early in the manuscript, the difference between 'bretons' and 'angloys' is made clear: 'ceste gente qui vendrent de troye fut premierement la grant bretagne peuplee et maintenant sont nommes angloys' (membrane 12). Throughout the account of British history, Great Britain and the British are depicted as a part of history, and the fact that they are now 'English' and that the land is called 'Angleterre' is mentioned at every possible opportunity. Moreover, this change of the names of the land and of people is eventually explained as a result of the Saxon invasion: 'la gran[n]t bretaigne fut du tout destruitte par les aufricois qui la donnerent aux saxoins et la no[m]merent du tout angleterre'. The description of the destruction of Great Britain is indeed very similar to the description of the fall of Troy, but this time it is underlined that there is no continuing lineage as is the case in Troy: 'fut tout bretaigne destruitte sans iamais recouurrer'. The Trojan origins of the contemporary English people are thus almost in denial whereas the continuous lineage of the French from the Trojan stock is explicitly articulated throughout the roll. It is as if the French compiler or historian of MS 100 is

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[69] Lee Patterson, *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), p. 199.

[70] For similar comments regarding Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* see, Patterson, *Negotiating the Past*, p. 201. In relation to the British history, there is an obvious similarity between the accounts of MS 100 and Geoffrey of Monmouth (or its continuations). However, such a comparison is a paper topic by itself. For Geoffrey of Monmouth's work see especially Francis Ingledew, 'The Book of Troy and the Genealogical Construction of History: The Case of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*', *Speculum*, 69 (1994), 665-704 and Valerie I. Flint, 'The *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth: Parody and Its Purpose. A Suggestion', *Speculum*, 54 (1979), 447-68.

giving the history of Britain/England not because they are descendants of the Trojans

but because French were always in contact with that land and the people inhabiting that

land.

6. Conclusion

Colette Beaune states that 'as […] this most Christian kingdom [France] gained an eminent position among other kingdoms, it felt the need to find its superiority in the story of its national origins. In the Trojan myth, all the elements needed to justify its ennoblement were present'. Brotherton Library MS 100 is a fine example, in which the illustrious Trojan origins and the noble French lineage is narrated. However, despite the fact that both French and British are portrayed as descendants of the Trojan stock *originally*, the Trojan origins of the British are implicitly dismissed and thus the French alone are seen as the continuation of the Trojan blood. That is to say, the continued disruptions of English dynastic history, including the fourteenth-century depositions of Edward II and Richard II, with which MS 100 concludes the English history, meant that the English monarchs who succeeded Henry, unlike the Capetian kings of France, would not be looking back upon a continuous and stable ancestry but instead upon a political genealogy broken by violence and discontinuities. However, while their origins were not acclaimed on the continent, in England the legend of Trojan origins remained a powerful instrument of royal propaganda; paradoxically the Trojan narrative served English monarchs as a legitimising device.[71] The English appropriated British Trojan origins and thus claimed a single ancestry for all the inhabitants of the kingdom.[72]

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[71] Patterson, *Negotiating the Past*, p. 203; Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*', p. 377.

[72] Reynolds states that 'by the end of thirteenth century, the English had taken over the Brutus story from the British so that Edward I could, paradoxically, use the supremacy of Brutus' eldest son over his brothers as an argument for English supremacy over all Britain. The Scots, on the other hand, claimed that the threefold division of Britain between the three brothers justified Scottish independence'. 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*', p. 377.

It is evident that Brotherton Collection MS 100 is not a unique piece of work but instead belongs to a long-lasting tradition. Further research on MS 100 should be done, both in terms of its description of the events of contemporary France and England and its place in the tradition of the legend of Trojan origins, even if that is to prove that the ideas presented in MS 100 conforms to the general view and that it is not *original* at all.

7. Appendix

The following pages consist of a selection of passages from MS 100 in the Brotherton Library and MS French 99 in the John Rylands Library. At all times, the transcriptions are faithful to the manuscript layout except for those cases where the sentences do not fit in one line, as in the prologues to both works. All the abbreviations are extended in brackets. Missing words are also substituted in brackets, as is the case in the prologue of MS French 99. Most of the information regarding the passages or the illuminations are given on a separate column on the left-hand side as well as the number of the membranes and the columns. Although the membranes of MS French 99 are not numbered, for the purposes of this study, the numbers of the membranes are provided in brackets.

MEMBRANE 1

Cy sensuit la genealogie de la bible qui moustre et dit combien chascun aage a dure depuis le co[m]mancement de monde iusques a laduenement i[he]sucrist [et] comprent

en brief co[m]ment les troys filz noe peuplerent tout le monde apres le deluge et co[m]ment ilz nommerent les terres [et] pais ou ilz habitoyent de leurs noms et co[m]ment les troyens desce[n]

dirent de la lignee iaphet et puis moustre par signes co[m]ment quatre manieres de gens se partirent de troye la grant apres la destruction dicelle lesquelx habiterent et peu

plerent pais et terres et les no[m]merent de leurs noms et fonderent pluseurs cites villes et chasteaulx par espicial ro[m]me paris londres cestadire peuplerent romaine

lombardie france et angleterre et en quel temps et co[m]ment et co[m]bien ilz ont regne lun apres laultre iusques au temps et adueneme[n]t nostre seigneur ih[es]ucrist sico[m]me il

appert par lenseigne des branches des genealogies et apres trouueres ou nouel testema[n]t des papes qui ont este a ro[m]me depuis saint pierre iusques en lan mil .iii^{c}.

iii^{xx}. et des empereurs de ro[m]me iusques en lan mil .iii^{c}. xxviii et des roys de france iusques en lan mil .iii^{c} .li et des roys dangleterre iusques en lan [mil] .iii^{c}. iiii^{xx}. Et si

trouueres des roys [crest]iens qui ont este en ih[e]r[usa]l[e]m puis godefroy de billon. [Etc.]

Story of Creation

Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden

MEMBRANE 3   Descendants of Adam

<div align="center">

Illumination 11: ADAM'S LABOUR

(centred; beginning of the genealogical diagram)

</div>

Co[m]ment les troys
filz noe partire[n]t le monde
en troys parties. Etc.

Des troys filz noe yssirent troys general
les lignees qui
habitoyent
en troys
parties
du mo[n]de
lune des
parties est
appellee asie
qui contient au
tant co[m]me les deux aultres
parties lautre a nom auffrique [et]
lautre
europe dedans ces troys
parties

Cy fine le premier aage du monde qui dura de adam iusques au deluge .ii^a. ii^c .xlii. ans. Etc.

Cy sensuit de cham le ii^e filz noe et quelle contree il tint. Etc.

[Here Ham's territories are narrated.]

Cy sensuit dessoubz selon larbre la ligniee iaphet de qui vindrent les troyens. Etc.

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est le mo[n]de

tant co[m]me

il est de long et de le sans doubtance ces troys parties enuiro[n]nent tout le monde la mer qui est

appellee occeanne en lescripture et enuiro[n]ne tout le monde et nen scet

ho[m]me viuant la fin ne le termine ne la largesse ne la parfondete et ou meileu de ses

eaues est la terre compasse assise et mise et esleuee en telle mainere que la terre ne decline

ne aualle ne la terre ne se desinent point pour la grande pesenteur delle mais est

tousiours ferme et estable et de ce ne nous conuient doubter en maniere qui co[n]ques

car celuy qui fit ciel terre et mer et toutes aultres creatures a bien puissance de tout

faire a son vouloir. Etc.

Cy sensuit de sem le premier filz noe de qui yssit la lignee royale qui nostre s[eigneur]

porta. Etc

Sem le premier filz noe tint toute aise qui est assise sus la grant mer occe

ane et comprent toute la terre dorient iusques vers occident [et] de cestuy

poursuit la lignee royale que n[os]tre seigneur porta et en yssit .xxx. ge

nerations et vesquit .v^c. ans et ot vng filz qui ot nom arphazat qui

regna apres luy sico[m]me vous poues voir selon labre qui moustre

et enseigne de hoir en hoir les lignees iusques a sem et suiues la

lignee et vous trouueres toutes les generations et aages iusques a

ladueneme[n]t ihesucrist. Etc.

---

[1] In the manuscript, the two columns of Membrane 4 presented here and the following page appear side by side, however, the space here does not allow the presentation of the exact layout of the roll.

Apres le deluge .xxx. ans noe engendra vng filz qui ot nom

ionitam et luy donna moult grant auoir et la terre de amp

tonne qui est en orient iouste de le fleuue eufrate assise cestuy

ionitam fut moult grant a merueilles et moult sage [et] saches

qui touua premier lart dastrolonne et rendit premier raison du cours

des estoilles et deuisa premier lastralabre [et] esperoit a faire pour sauoir la

maniere du zodiaque par quoy les .vii. planetes queurent [et] si dist et

diuisa du souleil [et] de la lune le grant cours et des .xii signes et toute la ma

niere par quoy le soleil trespasse. Etc.

Illumination 12: NOAH'S ARK
(Centred)

Cy deuise quelle contree iaphet tint et sa lignee. Etc.

Iaphet le .iii^e. filz noe tint toute europe qui sestant a senestre par

tie oultre les mons de capios iusques en auffrique et co[m]mance au

fleuue de canais qui est pres la grant mer qui tout le monde en

vironne et sen vient iusques a la cite de theodosie [et] iusques a la mer

diixinner qui la mer de grace est appellee et sen reuient iusques aux reguars

MEMBRANE 5 CONTINUED	de constinnoble et comprent toute la terre selon la mere voisine iusques en espaigne es bonnes et es pons que hercules y mist [et] deuers septemptrion prent son nom europe de iaphet yssirent .xv. generations qui moult peuplerent le monde et fon derent maintes nobles cites et de luy vindrent ceulx de troye la grant sico[m]me on le peut voir par labre qui le demoustre et enseigne de mot a mot co[m]mancer a iaphet et puis a son filz gomer et tousiours en ensuyuant selon labre qui dure sans faillir iusques a la destruction de troye la grant. Etc.
	[Then Column 2 narrates the story of Babel and the dispersal of languages.]
MEMBRANE 6 Column 2	Cy parle de gomer premier filz iaphet. Etc.
(Column 1 tells of Abraham)	Gomer le premier filz iaphet ot .iii. filz le premier fut torgoina le second riphart le .iii^e. assenech cestuy gomer establist les gomoriens en la terre de gaze quil ot en sa partie et puis lappellerent galatee et le peuple no[m]merent gualatien. Etc.
	[Then Column 2 tells of the second and third son, the fourth con, the fifth the sixth and the seventh son of Japheth.]
	Cy parle qui co[m]menca premiereme[n]t la cite de troye la grant et co[m]ment co[m]me[n] ca la premiere guerre des grecs et des troyens. Etc.

De gomer le filz iaphet vint torgorina et de torgorina yssit friga

cestuy no[m]ma la contree frige et habita premiereme[n]t ou pais qui

fut no[m]me troy la grant et furent les premiers qui trouuerent

la maniere de fer et en cestuy temps ot pellos le roy de grece premi

erement guerre aux troyens [et] fut pellos desconfit en bataille par le roy dardan[us]. Etc.

Cy dit de qui troye print son nom et de qui et de quoy co[m]menca la droitte

hayne des grecs et des troyens. Etc.

Apres dardanus fut roy de frige et du pais de troye ampton[us] cestuy

fut pere du roy tros de qui troye print son nom cetuy tros print

la terre apres son pere et se no[m]ma roy de troye et fut moult bon che

ualier [et] puissent [et] ot .ii. filz lun ot nom ganimedes [et] laultre ylli[us]

et adonc estoit temptalus roy de missenes cestuy guerroya le roy tros [et] luy occit

son filz ganimedes dont lun et laultre souffrerent de puis grande malle aduentu

re car cy endroit co[m]menca la droitte hayne des grecs et des troyens. Etc.

Cy dit qu fit faire yllion le maistre chastel de troye la grant. Etc.

Yllius apres son per le roy tros qui fut roy de troye cestuy ferma

le maistre chastel de troye [et] luy mist nom yllion cestuy yllius

fut pere leomedon cestuy leomedon fut moult vaillant cheua

lier et en son temps fut troye destruicte et luy et sa gent fure[n]t
mis a mort fors que son filz qui auoit nom priant qui estoit alle en estra[n]
ges contrees guerroyer contre cites et gens qui se rebelloyent [et] sa seur exi
onne fille du roy leomedon fut prinse a celle destruction [et] amenee par les gre
geois et par ceste prinse vint apres la darniere destruction de troye la grant. Etc.

MEMBRANE 8

[Both columns tells of Jacob's children.]

Column 2

Co[m]ment troye la grant fut du tout destruicte et
bruie par ceulx de grece. Etc.

Quant priant sceut la malle aduenture il se[n]
vint tantost a troye et la restaura .x. fois pl[us]
belle quelle nauoit oncques mais este [et] q[ua]nt
ce fut fait il envoya en grece vng de ses filz qui
ot nom paris le quel rauit dame helaine dont il aduint
a ceulx de troye grande malle aduenture quar ilz en fu
rent destruits et la cite arce [et] bruye [et] ceulx q[ui] en escapere[n]t
sen allerent en estranges pais et contrees et orent moult de mes
chef et fortunes et tant allerent de pais en aultre quilz trouue
rent bons pais et delictables ou ilz fonderent bonnes cites
et furent long temps subgetts a lempire de ro[m]me mais a la

fin ilz furent tant par forces darmes quilz ne fure[n]t subgetts a

nully et furent seigneurs en partie de tout le monde cestuy

priant ot pluseurs enfans hardis ce furent hector paris

deiphebus troylus et helenus ces.v. furent preux et hardis

qui furent tous mors en la bataille de troye fors helenus q[ui]

estoit poethe et dura le siege deuant troye .x. ans .vi. moys .xi

iours et yot des grecs mors deuant le siege .vi^a .viii^c. [et] puis

quant la cite fut trahye .iii^c .xlviii^a. [et] ot du co[m]manceme[n]t du

monde iusques au co[m]menceme[n]t de troye mille .ii^c .xlviii. ans

et puis elle dura .ix^c .xlii. ans puis quelle fut fondee iusques

adce quelle fut du tout destruicte [et] de celle destruction ot ius

ques au co[m]manceme[n]t de rome iii^c ans et de romulus qua[n]t

a brutus .ii^c .xl. ans et de brutus iusques a la natiuite n[ost]re

seigneur que cesar auguste en fut empereur .vi^c .xii. ans ainsi

ot du co[m]mencement du monde iusques a la natiuite n[ost]re seig[neur]

ih[es]uc[h]rist .v^a .ii^c .xlii. ans sico[m]me dit orose et quant troye fut

toute destruicte et pillee ceulx de grece se imrent en mer et

menolaus en ramena dame helayne la fe[m]me mais aua[n]t

quilz peussent venir en leurs pais fortune leur courut sus

quar ilz furent prins de tempeste en mer par telle manieree

quilz furent presque tous mors et noyes et peris de fortune

de mer sico[m]me les ystoyres le dient plus aplain. Etc.

Co[m]ment troye la grant fut du tout destruicte.

Illumination 16: FALL OF TROY

Cestuy eneas	Turtuus le filz	Cestuy hele
se partir de	troylus fre	nus estoit
troye apres	re hetor de	poethe filz
la destructi	troye sen al	du roy pri
on atout mille .iiii^c. ho[m]	la luy et sa gent p[ar] mer	ant il se partit de troye
mes sans la menuege[n]t	quera[n]t ses habitations	apres la destruction do
et sans ceulx quil trou	et tant allerent quilz	lent et courroucie mil
ua des puis qui auecq[ue]s	vindrent en vne co[n]tree	ii^c ho[m]mes estonis a
luy se assemblerent et	que dieu luy auoit pro	vecques luy des exilles
puis sen alla par mer	mise qui a nom tharce	de troye sans les enfans
querant les habitatio[n]s	et demourent sus vng	et allerent en macedoyne
et en quartage [et] demora	fleuue qui a nom la do[n]	et en peuplia vne grant
auec la royne dido molt	nee et y demourere[n]t vng	partie [et] apres sen alla
longuement et puis se[n]	grant temps [et] apres	vne grant partie du
partit pour querre la	sen partirent [et] sen allere[n]t	peuple la ou est mainte
contree que les dieux luy	demourer en vne co[n]tree	nant venise et quant ilz

auoyent promise et alla
par maintes contrees et
tant singla par mer [et] par
terre quil vint en ytalie
celle contree que dieu luy
auoit promise et quant
il y fut arrive il fit fermer
vng chastel moult fort et
envoyrent par deuers le roy
latin querre paix [et] amo[ur]
et il les recent moult liee
ment pour lamour de dar
danus qui du pais aouit
este ne de la quelle lignee
ilz estoyent venus [et] apres
si ot guerre entre eulx po[ur]
ce que turtus vouloit a
uoir lanisnee fille au roy
latin et eneas la vouloit
auoir anisi orent plu
seurs batailles les vngs
contre les aultres [et] ala
fin fut turtus occis et
eneas espousa lanisnee

qui a nom facet la peti
te et y habiterent molt
longuement [et] tant se
multiplerent quil ys
sit deulx iiii manieres
de gens cestassauoir y
pothes atrogothes vua[n]
dois et normans. Etc.

furent arriues ilz regar
derent la mer et la terre
et prindrent conseil ense[m]
ble pour sauoir quilz
feroyent car de franche
lignee estoyent [et] pource
ne se voulurent mettre
en nul seruage lors fut
leur conseil quilz feroye[n]t
vne mothe en la mer qui
seroit franche et a ce con
seil se rindrent et ne im
rent gueres a faire at ain
si quilz la faisoyent ar
riua la endroit athenor
qui estoit de troye [et] le fi
rent seigneur sus eulx
et fut la cite creue et no[m]
mee venise et les gens
venissiens et esto[n]yent
vi^a. vi^c. ho[m]mes darmes
sans les fe[m]mes [et] enfans.
Etc.

fille du roy latin et ot

tout le royaulme apres

le pere de la fe[m]me [et] le gou

erna bien [et] loyaument

co[m]me bon cheuallier doibt

faire sa terre [et] fit vne cite

quil appella lanisnee

pour lamour de sa fe[m]me

et puis poya la tren de

nature [et] auoit regne

iii ans et pour la bo[n]

te et prouesse fut apelle

roy latin. Etc.

[MEMBRANE 1]

[Cy sensuit la genealogie de la] bible qui monstre et dit combien chascun aage a dure depuis le commencement de monde iusques a laduenement Ihesucrist et comprent en brief comment les trois

[fils noe peuplerent tout le mon]de apres le deluge. Et comment ilz nommerent les terres et pays ou ilz habitoient de leurs noms. Et comment les troiens descendirent de la ligniee iaphet. Et puis

[monstre par signes comment] quatre manieres de gens se partirent de troie le grant apres la destruccion dicelle lesquelz habiterent et peuplerent plusieurs pays et terres et les nommerent de leurs noms

[et fonderent plusieurs cites] villes et chasteaux. Et par especial Romme paris de Wandes. Cest a dire peuplerent plusieurs Romaine lombardie france et angleterre. Et en quel temps et comment et combien ils ont regne

[lun apres laultre iusques au temps de lad]uenement nostre seigneur ihesucrist. Sicomme il appert par lenseigne des branches des genealogies. Et apres troueres des papes et des empereurs et ausii des roys de france et

[dangleterre a iusques en lan mil quatre] cens cinquante et sept. Et des roys crestiens qui ont regne en iherusalem puis godefroy de billon. Etc.

Story of Creation

Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden

[MEMBRANE 2]

Illumination 12: ADAM'S LABOUR

(centred; beginning of the genealogical diagram)

Comment les .iii. filz noe partirent le
monde en trois parties. Etc.

Des trois filz
noe yssuent .iii.
generaux ligna
ges qui habiterent
en trois parties du monde. Lune
des parties est appellee asie qui co[n]
tient autant comme les deux p[ar]ties
autres. Lautre a nom aufrique.
Et lautre europe. Dedens ces .iii.
parties est le monde tant comme
il est de long et de le sans doubta[n]ce.
Ces trois parties enuironnere[n]t
la mer qui en le scripture est
appellee occeane et en
uironne tout le mo[n]de.
Et nen scet nul ho[m]e
viuant la fin ne le
termine ne la large[ur]
ne la paifondete. Et
ou milieu de ces eaues est

Cy fine le premier
aage du monde qui dura de ada[m]
iusques au deluge deux mille
deux cens .xlii. ans. Etc.

[Here Ham's territories are narrated.]

Cy sensuit dessoubz selon larbre la ligniee iaphet de qui vindrent les troyens. Etc.

Cy sensuit de cham le ii[e] filz noe et quelle
contree il tint. Etc.

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la terre compasse asie et mise et esceuee en telle mainere que la terre ne decline ne auale ne
la terre ne se dessinent point pour la grant pesanteur delle. Ains tous temps ferme et estable.
Et de ce ne vous couiuent point faire de doubte. Car celui qui fist ciel terre et mer et toutes aut[re]s
creatures a bien puissance de deiner la terre a son vouloir. Etc.

Cy sensuit de sem le premier filz noe de qui yssit la ligniee royale qui nostre seineur
porta. Etc

Sem le premier filz noe tint toute aise qui est assis sur la grant mer occeane. Et
comprent toute la terre dorient iusques vers occident. Et de cestui poursuit la ligniee
royale que nostre seigneur porta. Et en yssit .xxxii. generacions. Et vesquit .v^c. iii.
Et ot vng filz qui ot nom arphaxat qui regna apres luy sicomme vous poues veoir
selon larbre qui monstre et seigne doir en hoir les ligniees iusques a sem. Et suiues la ligniee et
vous trouueres toutes les generacions et aages iusques aladuenement ihesucrist. Etc.

Apres le deluge .xxx. ans noe engendra vng filz qui ot nom ionitim et luy do[n]na
moult grant auoir et la terre dautome qui est en orient iouste de eufrate assise.
Cestui ionitim fut moult grant a merueilles. Et moult saige. Et saches qui tou
ua premier lart dastronomie. Et rendit premier raison du cours des estoilles et de
uisa premier astralabre et espece a faire pour sauoir la maniere du zodiaque par quoy les .vii. planet
tes queiuient. Et si dist et deuisa du souleil et de la lune le grant cours. Et des .xii. signes. Et tou
te la maniere par quoy le souleil trespasse. Etc.

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[1] In the manuscript, the two columns presented on this page appear side by side, however, the space here does not allow the presentation of the exact layout of the roll.

Cy deuise quelle contree iaphet tint et sa ligniee.

Iaphet le iii^e filz noe tint tout europe
qui sestent a senestre partie oultre les mo[n]s
de capios iusques en aufrique. Et comme[n]
ce au fleuue de canais qui est pres de la
grant mer qui tout le monde enuironne. Et sen vient ius
ques ala cite de theodosies. Et iusques a la mer diixinee qui la
mer de grace est appellee. Et sen reuient iusques aux reguars
de constantinoble. et comprent toute la terre selon la mere voi
sine iusques en espagne es bonnes. Et es perions que hercules y
mist. Et deuers septentrion prent son europe. de iaphet yssit .xv. gene
racions qui moult peuplerent le monde. Et fonderent maintes noble
cite. Et de luy vindrent ceulx de troie la grant sicomme
on le peut veoir par larbre qui le demonstre et e[n]seigne
de mot a mot commencer a iaphet. Et puis a son
filz gomer. Et tousiours en ensuiuant selon larbre q[ui]
dure sans faillir iusques ala destruccion de troie la
grant. Etc.

[Then Column 2 narrates the story of Babel and the dispersal of languages.]

Cy parle de gomer premier filz iaphet. Etc.

Gomer le premier filz iaphet ot trois filz. le premier filz fut torgorina. le second ri
phat. le iii^e asseneth. Cestui gomer establit les gomorriens en la terre de gaze quil ot
en sa partie. Et qui lappellerent galathee. et le peuple gallatien. Etc.

[Then Column 2 narrates the second and the third son, the fourth son, the fifth, the sixth and the seventh sons of Japheth.]

Cy parle qui commenca premierement la cite de troie la grant. Et comment comme[n] ca
la premiere guerre des grecs et des troyens. Etc.

De gomer le filz de iaphet vint torgorina. Et de torgorina yssit friga. Cestui no[m]ma
la contree frige et habita premierement ou pays qui fut nomme troye la grant. Et ap[re]s
y habita dardanus. et fut roy de frige. Cestui trouua premierement la cite de troie la
grant. Et furent les premiers qui trouuerent la maniere de fer. Et en temps ot
pellos le roy de grece premierement guerre aux troyens. Et fut pellos desconfit en bataille par le roy
dardanus. Etc.

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