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**Attitudes towards Paganism in Medieval Irish
and Old Norse Texts of the Trojan War**

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The thesis compares the depictions of paganism found in the Middle Irish *Togail Troí* ('The Destruction of Troy'; first half of the twelfth century) and the Old Norse *Trójumanna saga* ('The Story of the Trojans'; first half of the thirteenth century), which are both based on Dares Phrygius's Late Antique *De excidio Troiae historia*. The two vernacular adaptations are presented in the wider context of the medieval popularity of Dares's text. The in-depth analysis of the pagan references (most of which relate to mythology and ritual), reveals *Togail Troí*'s and *Trójumanna saga*'s general source-based approach and their shared reliance on Latin mythographic scholarship, but also a different approach concerning the literary presentation of paganism. The Irish text's 'Christian' approach to the issue (as seen through authorial comments and historical contextualisation) is shown to be in contrast to the Norse text's 'classicising' approach (i.e. paganism presented as in the classical sources themselves).

The findings of this analysis are then compared with the literary attitudes towards paganism encountered in medieval Irish and Norse texts more widely (especially in those set in Ireland or Nordic countries). This comparison reveals a general sympathy for many pagan characters that finds some parallels in the Trojan texts as well, but also a different representation of pagan deities in the two traditions. Indeed, the Irish tendency to avoid depicting the gods as such and the opposite Norse tendency, to portray them in an explicit way (often from a pagan point of view), mirror the evidence furnished by *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*. The literary attitudes to paganism and particularly towards mythology, which are encountered in the two texts, are further explored from the point of view of authorship. It is shown that the Irish author is writing in a historiographical mould, while the Norse author is writing in what could be described as a mythographical mould. Two complementary lines of interpretation are sketched for this phenomenon. The first one emphasises the existence of two different cultures of dealing with paganism in Irish and Norse literature respectively. The second line of interpretation draws to the fore two different approaches to the author-text relationship, examined through the framework of medieval literary theory.

The final chapters highlight the importance of the research both for our understanding of the unique and complex literary cultures of medieval Ireland and Iceland and for the light that can be shed on the multifaceted relationship between authors and texts in medieval literature through the prism of paganism.

To forgotten quills

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List of abbreviations

Cleasby-Vigfússon = *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, ed. S. Crist *et al.*, http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~kurisuto/germanic/oi_cleasbyvigfusson_about.html.

Dares = Meister, F. (ed.), *Daretis Phrygii de excidio Troiae historia* (Leipzig, 1873).¹

Dictys = Eisenhut, W. (ed.), *Dictys Cretensis Ephemeridos Belli Troiani libri. A Lucio Septimio ex Graeco in Latinum sermonem translati; accedunt papyri Dictys Graeci in Aegypto inventae* (Leipzig, 1873).²

eDIL = eDIL – Irish Language Dictionary, ed. G. Toner *et al.*, <http://edil.qub.ac.uk/dictionary/search.php>, online edition of E.G. Quin (ed.), *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Dublin, 1913-76)

ÍF = Íslenzk fornrit, 35 vols. (Reykjavík, 1928-2014).

Ilias Latina = M. Scaffai (ed.), *Baebii Italici Ilias Latina* (Bologna, 1982).

Servius = G. Thilo, H. Hagen (eds.), *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Virgilii carmina commentarii*, 3 vols. in 4 parts (Leipzig, 1881-1902), vols. I, II and III.1.³

T.s. = J. Louis-Jensen (ed.), *Trójumanna saga* (Copenhagen, 1963).

T.Tr. = W. Stokes (ed.), *Togail Troí. The Destruction of Troy* (Calcutta, 1882).

¹ References will be by chapter.

² References will be by chapter and section.

³ References will be by lemma (e.g. ‘on *Aeneid* I, 619’), thus referencing both the original work and the commentary.

1. Introduction

1.1. Aims

This thesis is a work of comparative research dealing with two medieval texts on the Trojan War, the Middle Irish *Togail Troí* and the Old Norse *Trójumanna saga*, aiming to investigate the authorial attitudes towards paganism that can be discerned in them. At a general level, it seeks to draw from and contribute to scholarly research in two major areas, that of medieval reception of classical culture and that of comparative studies of medieval Irish and Norse literature. The research is founded on the rare opportunity provided by the existence of the aforementioned texts, namely two adaptations from the High Middle Ages, in Irish and in Norse respectively, of the same Latin text, Dares Phrygius's Late Antique *De excidio Troiae historia*.⁴ The importance of their comparative study stems first of all from the importance of classical culture in medieval Europe. It is well known that the classical heritage played an essential role in the cultural development of the Middle Ages and greatly influenced the medieval Europeans' understanding of their own place in history.⁵ Research on this matter has tended to concentrate on certain fields of study, such as philosophy, Latin poetry, grammar or rhetoric and has often ignored genres that seem more pedestrian, except of course for very specialised investigation.⁶ This is the case, among others, with vernacular adaptations of classical literature.⁷ Nevertheless, such texts, including *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*, are very important for our understanding of classical reception in the Middle Ages, especially

⁴ Referring to *De excidio Troiae historia* by the name of its pseudepigraphical author is an established practice and will be taken up in this thesis. Another, less common, practice is to refer to it as 'Pseudo-Dares'.

⁵ General studies on medieval reception of classical culture tend to be outdated. Relevant examples are E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (London, 1953) and R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge, 1954). For a study that goes down to the Modern Age, see G. Highet, *The Classical Tradition. Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature* (New York, 1957).

⁶ For examples, see the note above.

since they enable us to appreciate the extent to which Antiquity was then still perceived as meaningful beyond the confines of the highest intellectual elite (i.e. those who could read and write Latin with ease) and the often subtle ways in which it was invested with meaning in these wider circles.⁸

To the well-known story of the Trojan War, with which this thesis is concerned, great importance is attached in classical texts and it is very well reflected in the antique narrative material inherited and preserved by the medieval learned classes.⁹ During the history of this story's transmission, a major shift occurs in the Late Antique period, one that is intimately related to the ultimate literary origins of *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*: the Homeric model (fundamentally poetic, verbose and cultivating the role of the supernatural) loses favour and gives way to a new narrative model, prosaic, uninterested in the supernatural and devoted to brevity.¹⁰ The two major representatives of this new genre are *De excidio Troiae historia* and *Ephemeris belli Troiani*, attributed to Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis respectively. They purport to be the works of eyewitnesses and were understood as historically accurate accounts throughout the Middle Ages, unlike that of Homer or even Virgil.¹¹ Before discussing them in more detail, it may be noted that Dares Phrygius's text was

⁷ The general surveys mentioned in the preceding note provide good examples of this bias against narrative literature (particularly in the vernacular), as can be gleaned even from their tables of contents.

⁸ In some cases, the important role played by powerful lay patrons is clear, sometimes even celebrated in the texts themselves. See e.g. the Old French *Roman de Troie*, discussed in more detail below (pp. 11-2), written explicitly under the patronage of Alienor of Aquitaine, queen of England; E. Baumgartner, 'Romans antiques, histoires anciennes et transmission du savoir aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles', in A. Welkenhuysen *et al.* (eds.), *Mediaeval Antiquity*, Mediaevalia Lovanensia 24 (Leuven, 1995), pp. 255-76, at p. 234.

⁹ See e.g. M. Moog-Grünwald (ed.), *Mythenrezeption. Die antike Mythologie in Literatur, Musik und Kunst von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Der Neue Pauly. Supplemente 5 (Stuttgart, 2008), s.v. 'Achilleus', 'Agamemnon', 'Aias', 'Andromache', 'Hektor', 'Helena', 'Odysseus', 'Paris'.

¹⁰ M.J. Wolff, 'Der Lügner Homer', *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 20 (1932), 53-65; K. Usener, 'Dictys und Dares über den Troischen Krieg. Homer in der Rezeptionskrise?', *Erano* 92 (1994), 102-20; G. Körting, *Dictys und Dares. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Troja-Sage in ihrem Übergange aus der antiken in die romantische Form* (Halle, 1874), pp. 4-6, 116-7.

¹¹ H. Dunger, *Die Sage vom trojanischen Kriege in den Bearbeitungen des Mittelalters und ihre antiken Quellen* (Dresden, 1869), pp. 20-1. A good example of this understanding of the Trojan material can be found in the prologue of Guido de Columnis's influential *Historia destructionis Troiae*, discussed below, p. 31. Guido says that Homer wrote 'fabulosa' ('fanciful things' or 'stuff of fable') and that even Virgil did not always abstain from it, but Dares and Dictys were faithful witnesses, whose testimony he is relating; N.E. Griffin (ed.), *Guido de Columnis. Historia destructionis Troiae* (Cambridge, MA, 1936), pp. 3-5.

the most popular account of the Trojan War for most of the Middle Ages, serving as a starting point for numerous adaptations and re-workings both in Latin and in more than a few vernaculars.¹² As already mentioned, two such adaptations form the object of this thesis, the Middle Irish *Togail Troí* or ‘Destruction of Troy’ and the Old Norse *Trójumanna saga* or ‘Story of the Trojans’, using specific recensions that will be discussed below.¹³

Of the many aspects which can be used as points of comparison between *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*, the one that this thesis will focus on is the issue of paganism and authorial attitudes towards it. There is a twofold advantage in concentrating the analysis on paganism. On the one hand, paganism in the Middle Ages seems to have been regarded with a great amount of interest and to have been perceived as a necessary point of reference for the communal self-perception of the *christianitas*, by which I mean both Christianity as a religion and Christendom as a cultural-geographical (and at times even ideally political) space defined by this religion.¹⁴ Furthermore, there was a certain evolution in the attitudes towards paganism, which was paralleled by an increase in the interest showed in classical literature.¹⁵ On the other hand, the medieval literary culture of Gaelic Ireland and Iceland was interested in the issue of paganism in a context that was very often ‘local’ (i.e. Irish and Norse, respectively). The preoccupation with pre-Christian ancestors makes these two literary cultures stand out somewhat in the medieval European landscape, particularly when we consider the attention to detail, the sheer quantity of texts, characters and story lines; we may also note a certain prominence given to the period immediately preceding conversion, besides the customary interest in remote Antiquity.¹⁶ My aim is to reach as accurate an understanding as possible of the way in which the authors conceptualised non-Christian religion as a whole or any aspect thereof.¹⁷ I am interested in the authors’ views on the accuracy and value of pagan belief, on the ontology of pagan deities, on the value and nature of pagan cult and religious customs, on the spiritual status of the heathen man. Each of these aspects is of great

¹² See below, section 2.3.

¹³ See below, section 2.1.

¹⁴ For the history of medieval reception of classical paganism, the foundational study is F. von Bezold, *Das Fortleben der antiken Götter im mittelalterlichen Humanismus* (Bonn, 1922).

¹⁵ For a discussion of theological attitudes towards paganism, see pp. 139-43.

¹⁶ See sections 4.3 and 4.4.

¹⁷ In this context, I will approach the complex issue of textual transmission only very occasionally and instead I will use consistently the word ‘author’ in the sense of ‘person responsible for the entire text in the shape of a particular recension’.

interest in and of itself, but the main function of their study is, of course, to contribute to the unveiling of a wider intellectual picture. The two texts will be analysed in the context of their respective literary cultures and compared with one another. This research will thus show how Ireland and Scandinavia perceived paganism in the High Middle Ages, in particular how they understood the place to be occupied by paganism in literature, and how their perception coloured their completion of one and the same cultural project, namely writing the story of the Trojan War. The small but not negligible time span between the two texts is likely to contribute to the differences between them to some extent; this and any other relevant aspects will be duly taken into account. It is nonetheless to be expected that in this research many similarities will also surface. Analysis of these will provide a solid common ground upon which a comparison of the two texts can be built. As a result, differences can acquire true meaning and become genuinely valuable as objects of inquiry, like flowers of different colours on the same stem.¹⁸

In discussing differences and similarities, it is important to emphasise the status of classical literature in Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Indeed, a truly widespread popularity of the Classics, both in the original and in the form of Latin and vernacular adaptations and transformations is considered one of the defining traits of the ‘twelfth-century Renaissance’.¹⁹ This popularity did not come about suddenly (and *Togail Troí*, which is earlier than the twelfth century, bears testimony to this), but was in many ways the child of several centuries of increased scholarly interest, starting with the earlier, so-called ‘Carolingian Renaissance’. A special role in the latter (and in even earlier cultivation of the Classics) has been attributed to Irish scholarship.²⁰ The story of the Fall of Troy held a naturally privileged place within such classical revivals as the account of one of only a handful of great, truly defining moments in ancient extra-Biblical history.²¹ The issue of the Trojan-inspired national

¹⁸ An excellent example of a short comparative study of vernacular adaptations of the Classics (with many parallels with the research undertaken in this thesis) is H. Tristram, ‘Der insulare Alexander’, in W. Erzgräber (ed.), *Kontinuität und Transformation der Antike im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 129-55. Tristram discusses the Old English prose on Alexander (more moralising and symbolic) in comparison with the Middle Irish prose on Alexander (more literal and encyclopaedic).

¹⁹ C.H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cleveland, OH, 1957), pp. 93-192; Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage*, pp. 130-201.

²⁰ D. Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200* (London, 1995), pp. 196-232.

²¹ In my view, only the extraordinary lives of Aeneas and Alexander the Great could contend with the Trojan War in this respect.

and local origin-legends (e.g. Frankish, British, Scandinavian etc.) has been the subject of particular focus in contemporary scholarship, and rightly so, but it is only a remarkable symptom of the paramount importance of Troy, which manifested itself in many other ways, as will be seen below.²² The cultural landscape of the twelfth century is marked by noteworthy developments in many other areas as well and one that should be mentioned here in particular is theology. Indeed, we can see a development in theological thought whereby doubt seemingly spread widely and profoundly concerning the idea that the souls of pagans, ancient or contemporary, cannot enjoy salvation.²³

One thing that did not change during such classical revivals, or at any time before the late Middle Ages, was the customary preference for Dares Phrygius's text as the standard account of the Trojan War and its frequent contrast with the untrustworthy 'figmenta poetica', by which one meant Homer and Homeric-type accounts.²⁴ As mentioned above, Dares was translated into many vernaculars, including Middle Irish and Old Norse. In both these areas, the original translation was re-written and expanded, to some extent drawing on other texts, thus arriving at the enriched versions of *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* that form the object of this research.²⁵ Needless to say, every translation, adaptation or re-working is unique, but some similarities and differences are nevertheless clear. In particular, some Trojan War texts of the Middle Ages, which can be described as romances, operate a powerful transformation

²² Tyler, E., 'Trojans in Anglo-Saxon England. Precedent without Descent', *Review of English Studies* 64:263 (2013), 1-20. R. Waswo, 'Our Ancestors, the Trojans. Inventing Cultural Identity in the Middle Ages', *Exemplaria* 7:2 (1995), 269-90; s.n., *Actes du colloque Troie au Moyen Age, Université Charles-de-Gaulle - Lille III, 24 et 25 septembre 1991, Bien dire et bien apprendre* 10 (1992); F. Graus, 'Troja und trojanische Herkunftssage im Mittelalter', in W. Erzgräber (ed.), *Kontinuität und Transformation der Antike im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 25-43; H. Homeyer, 'Beobachtungen zum Weiterleben der trojanischen Abstammungs- und Gründungssagen im Mittelalter', *Res publica litterarum. Studies in the Classical Tradition* 5:2 (1982), 93-123. See also below, p. 103.

²³ M.L. Colish, 'The Virtuous Pagan. Dante and the Christian Tradition', in M.L. Colish (ed.), *The Fathers and Beyond. Church Fathers between Ancient and Medieval Thought* (Aldershot, 2008), essay XVII, pp. 1-40. For more details see below, pp. 134-8.

²⁴ See below, p. 29, for the Trojan context in which this phrase occurs in the twelfth century. It had been used often by Augustine and later in medieval literary theory; E. Poppe, 'Grammatica, grammatic, Augustine and the Táin', in J. Carey et al. (eds.), *Ildánach Ildírech. A Festschrift for Proinsias Mac Cana* (Andover, 1999), pp. 203-10, with particular reference to *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in the Book of Leinster; L. Gompf, 'Figmenta poetarum', in A. Önnarfors et al. (eds.), *Literatur und Sprache im europäischen Mittelalter. Festschrift für Karl Langosch zum 70. Geburtstag* (Darmstadt, 1973), pp. 53-62.

²⁵ For the textual history, see section 2.1.

of the matter at hand in the sense of a ‘medievalisation’ and ‘chivalrisation’; it may not be pronounced in the case of the major outline of the story, but it becomes very obvious where details are concerned.²⁶

The Trojan romance as a literary fashion starts in the mid-twelfth century with Benoît de Sainte-Maure’s *Roman de Troie*. With its 40 000 lines, the latter is a huge expansion of Dares Phrygius even in a purely quantitative sense.²⁷ Although other sources were also used, such as Dictys Cretensis, contemporary scholarship admits that the poet’s own imagination and talent are chiefly responsible for this process of expansion. As an epic poem, *Roman de Troie* is slow reading, with each episode dwelt upon at length, often accompanied by elaborate rhetoric and flowery descriptions. An aesthetic conscience takes every opportunity to express itself, mainly by dwelling on beautiful objects and places in the characters’ environment. Perhaps the most famous and widely discussed example is the digression known as the ‘Chambre de beautés’ episode.²⁸ The author’s intention is not just to please but also to stun by his depiction of the wondrous, such as inanimate objects designed to be able to talk.²⁹ The discursive style of the characters and more widely the behavioural codes present in the story reflect first and foremost the chivalric ethos and etiquette of the poet’s own time. All this so-called ‘anachronism’ is in no way specific to Benoît, but rather a defining trait of the Old

²⁶ The Spanish *Libro de Alexandre* provides perhaps the most extreme example of ‘medievalisation’. Here God and Satan appear explicitly as agents in the story, often replacing the pagan gods in the classical source, *Ilias Latina* (on which see section 2.5.1 and, for a Norse comparison, 3.2). We also encounter monasteries, saints, relics, candles, clerics etc. See I. Michael, *The Treatment of Classical Material in the Libro de Alexandre* (Manchester, 1970), esp. pp. 88-142.

²⁷ Penny Eley notes that battle-scenes of up to 2500 lines can expand a single Daretian ‘fit magna caedes’, ‘a great massacre took place’. P. Eley, ‘How Long is a Trojan War? Aspects of Time in the *Roman de Troie* and its Sources’, in K. Pratt (ed.), *Shifts and Transpositions in Medieval Narrative. A Festschrift for Dr Elspeth Kennedy* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 139-50, at p. 139. See also E. Baumgartner, ‘La très belle ville de Troie de Benoît de Sainte-Maure’, in Jean-Louis Backès et al. (eds.), *Farai chansoneta novele: hommage à Jean-Charles Payen. Essais sur la liberté creatrice au Moyen Age* (Caen, 1989), pp. 47-52.

²⁸ J.-C. Huchet, ‘La beauté littéraire dans le *Roman de Troie* de Benoît de Sainte-Maure’, in D. Buschinger (ed.), *Le roman antique au Moyen Âge. Actes du Colloque du Centre d’Études Médiévales de l’Université de Picardie, Amiens, 14-15 janvier 1989*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 549 (Göppingen, 1992), pp. 73-82; J.L. Levenson, ‘The narrative format of Benoît’s *Roman de Troie*’, *Romania* 100:1:397 (1979), 54-70, at p. 67.

²⁹ For the wondrous in twelfth-century romance, see E. Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1983), pp. 307-88. For an extensive study of the literary techniques in the ‘romans antiques’ more generally, see A. Petit, *Naissances du roman. Les techniques littéraires dans les romans antiques du XIIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1985).

French ‘Antique’ romances; the other works included in this category are *Roman de Thèbes*, *Roman d’Énéas* and sometimes the various versions of the Alexander romance.³⁰ The authors of such works still understand them essentially as reflections of historical truth, yet see themselves not as historians, but rather as poets tasked with embellishing the stories for entertainment purposes; to some extent, they also find it their duty to use the story as a base for morally instructing the audience, which they do by means of occasional commentaries and observations.³¹ It is noteworthy that these so-called ‘romans antiques’ (the Alexander romance excluded) all date from the mid-twelfth century and are considered the first works written in the medieval romance genre, which takes its name from their vernacularisation of the Classics.³² *Roman de Troie* was very influential and served as a basis for several subsequent re-writings of the Trojan story.³³

Togail Troí and *Trójumanna saga* belong to a different type of Trojan text altogether, in that they are not part of this chivalric ‘revolution’ in epic writing. In the case of *Togail Troí* (specifically, the version found in the Book of Leinster, linguistically dated to ca. 1000) there is first and foremost a question of chronological priority. By contrast, in the case of *Trójumanna saga* it could be a question of deliberate choice (we may note that, being dated to the mid-thirteenth century, it is presumably roughly contemporary with most of the Norse translations of Old French romances).³⁴ They are both characterised by a terser style than what we find in *Roman de Troie* and they rely much more on the use of classical sources. Adaptations of the subject-matter to a medieval or local setting do occur (and some will be discussed in this thesis), but they are the exception rather than the rule.³⁵ Compared with Dares, their style is admittedly expansive, as in most vernacular adaptations of *De excidio Troiae historia*, which suggests awareness of some sort of insufficiency in the latter account. Nonetheless, in *Trójumanna saga* this does not lead to free, aesthetic digression, but rather to

³⁰ For an exhaustive discussion see A. Petit, *L’anachronisme dans les romans antiques du 12e siècles. Le Roman de Thèbes, le Roman d’Énéas, le Roman de Troie, le Roman d’Alexandre* (Paris, 2002).

³¹ Baumgartner, ‘Romans antiques’, pp. 220-35; M. Gosman, ‘La matière “classique” dans la littérature française: les métacommentaires auctoriels (12e-16e siècles)’, in A. Welkenhuysen *et al.* (eds.), *Mediaeval Antiquity*, Mediaevalia Lovanensia 24 (Leuven, 1995), pp. 255-76.

³² D. Kelly, *The Art of Medieval French Romance* (Madison, WI, 1992), p. 70.

³³ See section 2.3.

³⁴ J. Glauser, ‘Romance (Translated *riddarasögur*)’, in R. McTurk (ed.), *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture* (Malden, MA, 2005), pp. 372-87, at pp. 375-6.

³⁵ See below, pp. 70, 76-9.

introduction of new episodes from other sources and moderate expansion of the narrative thread (which was, in the case of Dares, remarkably condensed). In *Togail Troí* the same style of expansion often occurs and, where aesthetic digressions can be found, their object is not arrived at in flights of fantasy (as is often the case in the *Roman de Troie*), but feature characters and events already present in the sources. Therefore, in order better to understand the wealth of medieval Trojan texts, we can employ an opposition between two notional categories of narratives. The first category would comprise narratives that are largely aesthetic- and moral-driven, chivalric, thus probably aiming chiefly to entertain and to edify, while the second one would comprise those that are largely source-driven, terse (at least in comparison with the romances), thus probably aiming chiefly at factual instruction.³⁶ Needless to say, the actual texts will exhibit a significant amount of variation with regard to this ideal pattern and often will not fall easily into one of the two categories.

The aforementioned scholarly nature of *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* is an important reason for expecting similarity in the way the two texts treat paganism. A second reason for expecting this is the development of literature on local (or ‘native’ paganism). To be more precise, in Ireland and Scandinavia (mainly Iceland) many literary narratives took shape and were transmitted in written form that featured whole casts of heathen characters in the setting of a native pagan society. This pagan society’s link, at least genealogical, but also to some extent cultural, with the society that produced the texts as we know them is clear and at least implicitly (but often even explicitly) acknowledged. Texts such as the annals in Ireland, as well as *Landnámabók* or various *Íslendingasögur* in Iceland are powerful testimonies in this sense.³⁷ In many cases, the texts exhibit clear authorial reflection on the religious question, which sometimes takes the form of various literary attempts at mitigation of spiritual status or ‘depaganisation’ (i.e. ‘good pagans’, ‘unwitting monotheists’, ‘Christians by special revelation’ etc.).³⁸ The extent of such a body of literature in Ireland and Iceland is seemingly unparalleled in medieval Europe and thus provides medieval Irish and Norse literature with a

³⁶ For *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* as examples for the second category see ch. 3, particularly section 3.6.

³⁷ E.g. S. Mac Airt (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen. MS Rawlinson B 503* (Dublin, 1951); W. Stokes (ed.), *The Annals of Tigernach*, repr. from *Revue celtique* 1895-6, 2 vols. (Felinfach, 1993), vol. I. For *Landnámabók*, which claims to record the native traditions regarding the colonisation of Iceland, see Jakob Benediktsson (ed.), *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ÍF 1 (Reykjavík, 1968-86). For the *Íslendingasögur*, see ÍF 2-12 and more details in section 4.4.

³⁸ The question of attitudes towards native ancestors in Irish and Norse literature will be discussed in more detail in sections 4.3 and 4.4.

common trait that is truly noteworthy.³⁹ We can expect this characteristic to be mirrored in the way paganism is treated in *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* and in the present thesis I endeavour to determine whether this expectation can be confirmed or not.

The general aim of the thesis is therefore to examine the authorial attitudes towards the issues surrounding paganism in *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* and in so doing to throw light on the intellectual cultures of medieval Ireland and Scandinavia at the time in which both texts were adapted. Parallels and contrasts will be drawn between the two texts with no prejudice for either form of comparison. With regard to the intellectual cultures of medieval Ireland and Scandinavia, both their unique features and their participation in the wider European culture of the time will be considered. The thesis will hopefully contribute to a better understanding of the richness of literary approaches available to the medieval narrator of the Trojan story and of the crucial part that paganism, a notion much heavier in meaning then than in modern times, could sometimes play in this richness. In so doing, it will illuminate and underscore the interplay of various intellectual ingredients that came together in the medieval writer's conscience: historical accuracy, theological truth, the prestige of the Classics, the treasure that is the past, the uses of ancestry or the aesthetic imperatives.

1.2. Methods and structure

As set out in the preceding paragraphs, the research question on which this research is built is "What are the attitudes towards paganism in the two texts?" My approach will be to identify and analyse all the references to paganism (i.e. non-Christian religion) found in the two texts. These references will be presented according to their interpretative value, meaning

³⁹ E. Poppe, 'Reconstructing Medieval Irish Literary Theory. The Lesson of *Airec Menman Uraird maic Coise*', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 37 (1999), 33-54, at pp. 51-2. It could be argued in this context that in some areas of Europe classical history also provided an interface between medieval Christians and their pagan ancestors, real or imagined. Nonetheless, as far as non-classical (and, furthermore, vernacular) material is concerned, the paramount importance of Irish and Icelandic literature is clear. See Homeyer, 'Beobachtungen zum Weiterleben'.

that references which shed much light on the research question will be explored as thoroughly as possible, whereas those that imply little in the way of authorial attitudes will be treated more briefly. By and large, this interpretative value can be expected to stem from two main sources. The first source is, of course, direct authorial comment on the subject, which requires no further explanation. The second is innovation with reference to the textual source. Unfortunately, identifying this innovation, unlike in the case of authorial comment, is in no way an exact science. With many types of works it is much more a question of trying to describe what the sources looked like or contained than one of identifying them among the wealth of surviving texts. Indeed, the problem of manuscript survival poses many thorny difficulties to the *Quellenforscher*, such as the one of determining whether all the innovation present in a given text with reference to known sources can be attributed to the text's author or whether some of it was already present in a lost intermediate source. Nevertheless, source criticism often produces truly useful results, as is also the case with this research.⁴⁰

Before analysing the references to paganism, I will provide in chapter 2 some necessary background for understanding the context in which *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* were produced. I will discuss not only the texts' own history (2.1), but also that of their parent-text, Dares Phrygius (2.2), the literary field of medieval adaptations of Dares (2.3) and medieval Irish and Norse adaptations of the Classics in general (2.4). In order to make source study clearer, section 2.5 will offer a cursory look at some of the important texts and categories of texts mentioned later on in the thesis; they are mostly classical and mythographical.

Chapter 3 will be devoted to the analysis of pagan references itself. For convenience, the mythological prologues will be treated separately (section 3.1), while the other references will be divided up into divine-human interaction (3.2), interaction between deities (3.3), pagan cult (3.4) and a case study of the Judgment of Paris (3.5), as the most important example of mythological digression. The findings of this analysis of *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* will then be used for a general comparison of the two texts, which will result in a preliminary conclusion about the authors' understanding and presentation of paganism (2.6). I will show

⁴⁰ Concerning *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* and more widely the literary genres to which they belong, an excellent example of a successful in-depth source study is Brent Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic in Medieval Ireland*, Studies in Celtic History 30 (Cambridge, 2011), to which I am greatly indebted. For the Old Norse area, Stefanie Würth in her *Der 'Antikenroman' in der isländischen Literatur des Mittelalters. Eine Untersuchung zur Übersetzung und Rezeption lateinischer Literatur im Norden*, Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie 26 (Basel, 1998) moves in the general direction of source criticism, but the depth of her research is somewhat hampered by its sheer breadth.

that what distinguishes the two texts from one another is not a different understanding of paganism as such, but different literary attitudes to it, namely one that seems to treat it from an explicitly Christian point of view (in *Togail Troí*) and one that does so from a more or less classicising point of view (in *Trójumanna saga*). The investigation of pagan references in *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* will be refined through a comparison with paganism as depicted in medieval Irish and Norse literature in general (chapter 4). Its focus will be on texts that feature Irish or Scandinavian characters and are set in Ireland or Scandinavia, as they are more numerous than those featuring foreign (usually classical) characters and they are much less dependent on classical works. This discussion will be divided into one on pagan deities in Norse and Irish literature (4.1 and 4.2) and one on pagan religion in a social setting (4.3 and 4.4). I will then show how this study of paganism in literature in general can corroborate the findings of the main analysis, but also suggest that the inquiry can be opened up to another research area, that of medieval literary theory (5.1). Section 5.2 will conclude the thesis by presenting its wider relevance for scholarship.

2. *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* in their literary context

In this chapter, I will briefly present the two texts on the Trojan War with which this research deals, but also other texts to which they are intimately related. This will serve to make visible to the reader the place that the two texts occupy in medieval literature, both on a local and on a European level. Section 2.1 will deal with *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* themselves, while the remaining sections will deal respectively with Dares Phrygius's work (2.2), with its medieval adaptations in general (2.3), with Irish and Norse adaptations of classical material in general (2.4) and with texts other than Dares Phrygius that have influenced *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* (2.5).

2.1. Works, recensions, manuscripts

In a discussion of the Trojan War texts themselves, as found in medieval Irish and Norse literature, it is necessary first of all to bear in mind their textual history. With regard to Ireland, several medieval Irish manuscripts contain vernacular narratives of the Trojan War and the deep similarity in structure, content and style between them has prompted scholars to consider them as simple variants of a single text, indicated as *Togail Troí* ('The Destruction of Troy'). Assessing the differences between these versions, they group them into three prose recensions, to which a closely related poetic version might be added.⁴¹ The first recension comprises the text in Trinity College Dublin, MS 1319 (H.2 17, a manuscript from the fourteenth or fifteenth century) and the one in a sixteenth-century addition to Trinity College Dublin, MS 1339 (H.2 18, 'the Book of Leinster'), both fragmentary.⁴² Gearóid Mac Eoin,

⁴¹ G. Mac Eoin, 'Das Verbalssystem von *Togail Troí*', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 28 (1960-1), 73-136, 149-223, at p. 76; G. Mac Eoin, 'Dán ar Coghadh na Troí', *Studia Hibernica* 1 (1961), 19-55.

⁴² W. Stokes (ed.) 'The Destruction of Troy, aus H.2.17, mit englischer Übersetzung', in W. Stokes and E. Windisch (eds.), *Irische Texte mit Übersetzungen und Wörterbuch*, 4 vols., vol. II.1 (Leipzig, 1884), 1-142; Mac

who has treated the matter in particular detail, assigns this first recension to the eleventh century, based on his detailed comparison between the state of the verbal system in this text and the state in which it is to be found in two other texts, *Saltair na Rann* and *Táin Bó Cúailnge*; the former he dates (by means of a colophon) to 988, while for the latter he seems to assume a date around 1100.⁴³ He also posits the existence of an earlier linguistic stratum in this recension, suggested to him by a few older forms, found in MS University College Dublin, Franciscan A 11 (of the second recension) at a particular point in the text, and by comparing them with the same *Saltair na Rann* he concludes that *Togail Troí* probably already existed in some form in the tenth century (as a direct translation of Dares Phrygius' *De excidio Troiae historia*).⁴⁴ Other scholars have expressed doubt on the relevance for dating of the few archaisms in MS University College Dublin, Franciscan A 11 (variously suggested to be the result of contamination or instances of deliberate archaism) or have further refined the dating of this first recension (e.g. to ca. 1050, but the exemplar of the two manuscripts itself was not older than 1200).⁴⁵

The second recension is extant in the mid-twelfth century Book of Leinster (Trinity College Dublin, MS 1339, cat. H.2 18) and three other manuscripts. The latter, namely the Book of Ballymote (Royal Irish Academy 23 P 12), National Library of Scotland 72.1.15 and University College Dublin, Franciscan A 11, are all from the fifteenth century (or the late fourteenth century at the earliest) and contain very similar incarnations of the text.⁴⁶ Significantly, they contain the so-called Portrait Catalogue (portraits of Greek and Trojan warriors), which is absent in both textual witnesses for the first recension, as well as in the twelfth-century text of the Book of Leinster. The common exemplar of the three may have been older than the one used by the scribe of the Book of Leinster,⁴⁷ but Thurneysen found that the language of Recension II is later than that of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in the Book of Leinster, while Mac Eoin cites Campion's unpublished research that sets the linguistic Eoin, 'Das Verbalsystem', p. 76.

⁴³ G. Mac Eoin, 'The Date and Authorship of *Saltair na Rann*', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 28 (1960-1), 51-68; Mac Eoin, 'Das Verbalsystem', p. 202. L.D. Myrick, *From the De excidio Troiae historia to the Togail Troí. Literary-Cultural Synthesis in a Medieval Irish Adaptation of Dares' Troy Tale*, Anglistische Forschungen 223 (Heidelberg, 1993), p. 85.

⁴⁴ Mac Eoin, 'Das Verbalsystem', p. 201.

⁴⁵ M. Clarke, 'An Irish Achilles and a Greek Cú Chulainn', in R. Ó hUiginn and B. Ó Catháin (eds.), *Ulidia 2. Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales, National University of Ireland Maynooth, 24-27 June 2005* (Maynooth, 2009), pp. 238-51, at pp. 242-3; U. Mac Gearailt, 'Change and Innovation in Eleventh-Century Prose Narrative in Irish', in H. Tristram (ed.), *(Re)Oralisierung* (Tübingen, 1996), pp. 443-96, esp. at p. 453; G. Mac Eoin, 'Ein Text von *Togail Troí*', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 30 (1967), 42-70, at p. 44; Myrick, *From the De Excidio Troiae*, p. 87.

⁴⁶ Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic*, p. 53; Myrick, *From the De Excidio Troiae*, p. 87.

⁴⁷ Myrick, *From the De Excidio Troiae*, p. 87.

terminus ante quem around 1140.⁴⁸ Recension II was thus probably produced at some point in the first half of the twelfth century, on the basis of a manuscript of Recension I that was close to the two that are extant, but more complete (i.e. with the Portrait Catalogue, which the latter's exemplar and the Book of Leinster's dropped independently). The text of *Togail Troí* was copied in the Book of Leinster at some point between the mid-twelfth century or so and the late 1180s.⁴⁹ It is noteworthy that Brent Miles thinks these two recensions should be considered as parallel re-workings of the original translation of Dares, based on readings in the second that are better (i.e. closer to Dares) than their counterparts in the first one, but he does not provide more detailed analysis.⁵⁰

Recension III is the latest and the longest of the three. Indeed, to the chronological sequence of the three recensions corresponds an increase in length and an accretion of classical material. The first stage in this process of expansion seems to have been the production of Recension I on the basis of a simple translation of *De excidio Troiae historia* (the additions were probably to some degree inspired by works such as Virgil's *Aeneid*, Statius' *Thebaid*, medieval commentaries etc.). Recension II lengthens the text by adding verbose descriptions and by importing material from various sources.⁵¹ The addition of Statius's unfinished *Achilleid* in Recension III represents the last stage of expansion.⁵² Recension III is known from two manuscripts, Royal Irish Academy D.4.2 and King's Inn (Dublin) 12.⁵³ They both contain the Portrait Catalogue and it is thought the original exemplar used in producing this recension was a manuscript of Recension II from the group of three mentioned above, or another one very similar to them.⁵⁴ This thesis focuses exclusively on Recension II in its Book of Leinster version (as edited by Whitley Stokes) and all plain references to '*Togail Troí*' (or, in the footnotes, '*T.Tr.*') should be read accordingly. The Book of Leinster is the oldest textual witness for any of the recensions and provides us with precious knowledge about the text's twelfth-century intellectual context.⁵⁵ In a few cases other versions will be mentioned, but reference will be explicit.

Trójumanna saga is extant in a limited number of medieval and early modern manuscripts and our understanding of them is overwhelmingly indebted to their editor, Jonna Louis-Jensen. She classifies the different textual versions present in these manuscripts into two

⁴⁸ Mac Eoin, 'Das Verbalssystem', p. 77.

⁴⁹ W. O'Sullivan, 'Notes on the Scripts and Make-up of the Book of Leinster', *Celtica* 7 (1966), 1-31, at pp. 27-8.

⁵⁰ Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic*, p. 54.

⁵¹ Chapter 3 will provide various examples of such use of sources.

⁵² Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic*, pp. 51-144; Myrick, *From the De Excidio Troiae*, p. 87.

⁵³ Myrick, *From the De Excidio Troiae*, p. 87.

⁵⁴ Myrick, *From the De Excidio Troiae*, p. 87.

⁵⁵ See also p. 151.

recensions, α and β . She considers them both to be based on the same Old Norse translation of Dares Phrygius' *De excidio Troiae historia*, but notices that α seems to be much closer to this original translation in terms of content, whereas the redactor of recension β added much material, especially from the so-called *Ilias Latina*.⁵⁶ Recension α is represented by four manuscripts: one fragmentary vellum manuscript from around 1500 (AM 598 IIa, sigla **Fr**) and three paper copies of the seventeenth (AM 176a fol., sigla **B**) and eighteenth (AM 176b fol., sigla **A**, and ÍB 184 4to, sigla **C**) centuries.⁵⁷ B and C are very close to one another, being low-quality copies of A or of a manuscript fairly close to A; the common exemplar of this branch was not earlier than the Reformation. Fr has better readings and its exemplar is likely to have dated from before the mid-fourteenth century.⁵⁸

Recension β of *Trójumanna saga* is found in two versions. One of them, which better represents the original recension, can be found in AM 573 4to, a fourteenth-century manuscript, and in the late paper copies of a now lost manuscript of the same century, known as Ormsbók. The other version, much shorter, is known only from Hauksbók, a famous manuscript of encyclopaedic scope produced by the Icelandic lawspeaker Haukr Erlendsson for his own use, in the last years of the thirteenth century and the first years of the fourteenth.⁵⁹ The general pattern of Haukr's treatment of his texts suggests that it was he who abridged the original *Trójumanna saga* β and not the scribe of the other manuscripts' common exemplar who expanded it.⁶⁰

The dating of the two recensions can hardly be precise, but they were almost certainly produced in the thirteenth century. The date of Hauksbók is an easy *terminus ante quem*, while attempts at linguistic analysis have suggested that the first incarnation of *Trójumanna saga* β could have been produced shortly before the middle of that century at the very earliest.⁶¹ Snorri Sturluson's (d. 1241) likely use of some version of this recension speaks in favour of a slightly earlier dating.⁶² The saga has sometimes been associated with other adaptations of foreign texts and placed at the court of King Hákon IV of Norway, but this remains in the realm of speculation.⁶³ An acquaintance with a medieval Latin adaptation of

⁵⁶ J. Louis-Jensen (ed.), *Trójumanna saga. The Dares Phrygius Version*, Editiones Arnarnagæanæ, Series A, vol. 9 (Copenhagen, 1981), pp. xii, xvi, xviii.

⁵⁷ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga. The Dares Phrygius Version*, pp. lix-lxiv.

⁵⁸ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga. The Dares Phrygius Version*, pp. lxxv-lxxvii.

⁵⁹ S. Würth, 'Intention oder Inkompetenz. Die Bearbeitungen der *Trójumanna saga*', *Skandinavistik* 22 (1992), 1-26, p. 2.

⁶⁰ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga. The Dares Phrygius Version*, p. xvi.

⁶¹ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga. The Dares Phrygius Version*, pp. li-lvi.

⁶² See below, p. 106

⁶³ E.F. Halvorsen, *The Norse Version of the Chanson de Roland*, Bibliotheca Arnarnagæana 19 (Copenhagen, 1959), pp. 22-3.

Dares Phrygius, that by Guido de columnis, has been posited (not in the sense of a serious influence), although it seems far from certain and, furthermore, the *terminus post quem* would thus be 1287 if not a bit later, leaving too little space for the production of not just one, but two recensions.⁶⁴ This thesis focuses exclusively on Recension β , mostly in its longer version but without ignoring the Hauksbók version; this is due to the fact that Recension α is heavily dependent on the Daretian text, which means that paganism (and, in particular, mythology) does not play an important role there. Plain references to ‘*Trójumanna saga*’ (or, in the footnotes, ‘*T.s.*’) should be read as relating to the longer version of β , while the Hauksbók version will be referred to explicitly.

2.2. Dares Phrygius’s *De excidio Troiae historia*

2.2.1. Origins and date

The common ancestor of *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*, the text known as *De excidio Troiae historia* first appears in manuscripts of the Carolingian Age and is formally divided into two sections. The main section is simply an account of the Trojan War, from its remote causes to the last acts of pillaging during the Fall of Troy. To this narrative is appended a text which claims to be a letter from the Roman writer Cornelius Nepos to his friend, the famous historian Sallust (both lived in the first century AD). In it, ‘Cornelius Nepos’ claims to have found the narrative of the Trojan War in a library in Athens and to have translated it from Greek into Latin. He also claims that the text’s author was none other than Dares the Phrygian (‘Dares Phrygius’), a minor participant in the war on the Trojan side. He argues in favour of the fundamental reliability of this eyewitness to the events, especially in comparison with Homer, who lived centuries later.⁶⁵

While the two sections are unanimously considered to be a single, unified, pseudepigraphical text, its exact origins have been the subject of some debate. Two key questions have been raised and discussed with respect to this, namely the date of the extant Latin text and the possibility of the actual existence of a Greek exemplar. Since knowledge of

⁶⁴ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga. The Dares Phrygius Version*, pp. 1-li.

⁶⁵ F. Meister (ed.), *Daretis Phrygii De excidio Troiae historia* (Leipzig, 1873), p. 1.

Greek in early and high medieval Western Europe is otherwise considered to have been scarce and to have had little or no influence on the vast majority of the texts produced in that time, the latter of the two questions has little bearing on this present research and I will only treat it briefly.⁶⁶ The most interesting aspect of this issue is the fact that the debate has been linked to what has occurred in the case of a different but similar text, known as *Ephemeris belli Troiani*. Like Dares Phrygius, it is first known from Carolingian manuscripts and it consists of a narrative and an introductory text.⁶⁷ One version of the latter takes the form of a preface in which it is claimed that the text was originally written by Dictys the Cretan ('Dictys Cretensis'), a participant in the Trojan War. It was allegedly found in Knossos, during an earthquake, when Dictys's tomb broke open, in the times of Emperor Nero (first century AD). It was then allegedly disseminated and reached the Emperor himself, who ordered a certain Septimius to have it translated into Latin.⁶⁸ The other version of the introduction, found in different manuscripts than the ones where the preface is found, is a letter allegedly from this translator Septimius to his dedicatee Aradius and in which the same story is told. There used to be a heated debate among scholars whether a Greek original of Dictys did really exist or whether the appended introduction really was completely fictional.⁶⁹ This debate came to a natural end when a papyrus was published in the early years of the twentieth century which contained a fragmentary Greek text of which the *Ephemeris* is now unanimously considered to be a translation.⁷⁰ In matters of dating however, no credence is given in scholarship to either version of the appended text and the Latin *Ephemeris* is usually dated to Late Antiquity. Using mainly the names of Septimius and Aradius and prosopographical evidence, scholars

⁶⁶ On knowledge and uses of Greek, see M. Herren (ed.), *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks. The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1988), p. v.

⁶⁷ For transmission see W. Eisenhut (ed.), *Ephemeridos belli Troiani libri* (Leipzig, 1973), Introduction, pp. xi-xlvii.

⁶⁸ Eisenhut, *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, pp. 1-3.

⁶⁹ The case for a Latin original was best argued by H. Dunger, *Dictys-Septimius. Über die ursprüngliche Fassung und die Quellen der Ephemeris belli Troiani* (Dresden, 1878); conclusion at pp. 52-3. The same conclusion is arrived at by: E. Collilieux, *Étude sur Dictys de Crète et Darès de Phrygie* (Grenoble, 1886), pp. 80-2; Körting, *Dictys und Dares*. For the less favoured theory of a Greek exemplar see F. Noack, 'Der griechische Dictys', *Philologus. Supplementband* 6 (1891-3), 401-500, and E. Patzig, 'Dictys Cretensis', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 1 (1892), 131-52.

⁷⁰ N.E. Griffin, 'The Greek Dictys', *American Journal of Philology* 29 (1908), 329-35; E. Patzig, 'Das griechische Dictysfragment', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 17 (1908), 382-8. A second fragment was later discovered, see W. Eisenhut, 'Zum neuen Dictys-Papyrus', *Rheinisches Museum* 112 (1969), 114-9.

have dated the text to the fourth century, but there is a recent trend to see it as a product of the Severan age (late second or early third century).⁷¹ Unlike in the case of Dictys Cretensis, the question of a Greek exemplar for Dares Phrygius has not been settled.⁷² Support for the existence of such an exemplar seems to be more popular in modern (and especially recent) scholarship, highlighting various circumstantial hints (aside from the encouraging example set by the *Ephemeris*), such as mentions of a pre-Homeric and pro-Trojan epic ascribed to Dares in a few Greek texts (first- and second-century AD) or the probable Greek model used in a handful of episodes.⁷³ Nonetheless, the camp that rejects the existence of a Greek exemplar is also strongly represented in scholarship.⁷⁴

The question of dating has curiously received less attention than the possible Greek origin of the text. An important early point of reference in modern scholarship is Otmar Schissel von Fleschenberg's 1908 monograph, where he argues for a date in the first half of the fifth century (510s to 530s), based on his belief that Dares used Dracontius and the First Vatican Mythographer, since he thinks the latter to have flourished roughly in that same period and the

⁷¹ For the earlier dating see A. Cameron, 'Poetae Novelli', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 84 (1980), 127-75, at pp. 172-5; E. Champlin, 'Serenus Sammonicus', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 85 (1981), 189-212, at pp. 194-219. For the later dating see M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk Kaisers Justinian*, 4 vols., vol. IV.1 *Die Literatur des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1959), pp. 85-90; Körting, *Dictys und Dares*, pp. 60-87, where a date after 478 is argued.

⁷² Neither has the related question been settled of whether the text is an epitome. The most important analysis of this issue in recent times is W. Schetter, 'Beobachtungen zum Dares Latinus', *Hermes* 116 (1988), 94-109, at pp. 100-7. By studying the various unclear or even (in his opinion) unintelligible passages in Dares, Schetter comes to the conclusion that a process of abridgement is almost certain to have taken place and suggests a few different scenarios for how this may have come about. These include the one where the Latin text is a translation of an already abridged Greek text.

⁷³ Körting, *Dictys und Dares*, pp. 110-1; O. Schissel von Fleschenberg, *Dares-Studien* (Halle, 1908); W. Schetter, 'Dares und Dracontius über die Vorgeschichte des Trojanischen Krieges', *Hermes* 115 (1987), 211-31, at p. 213 n. 4; A. Pavano, 'Le redazioni latine e il presunto originale greco dell'opera di Darete Frigio', *Sileno* 24 (1998), 207-18. G. Bretzigheimer, 'Dares Phrygius: Historia ficta. Die Präliminarien zum Trojanischen Krieg', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 151:4 (2008), 365-99, at pp. 392-7, gives an excellent summary of the discussion and leans towards the same conclusion.

⁷⁴ Dunger, *Die Sage vom trojanischen Kriege*, pp. 12-5; Meister, *Daretis Phrygii De excidio Troiae historia*, Introduction, pp. xiii-xvi; C. Wagener, 'Beitrag zu Dares Phrygius', *Philologus* 38 (1879), 91-125, at pp. 91-6, which is a direct and detailed response to Körting's theses; Collilieux, *Étude sur Dictys de Crète*, pp. 91-3. A. Beschoner, *Untersuchungen zu Dares Phrygius*, *Classica Monacensia* 4 (Tübingen, 1992), pp. 231-43, does not support either of the two theories more than the other.

former in the 490s.⁷⁵ Establishing Dracontius as a *terminus post quem* had already been envisaged by some scholars, such as Eugène Collilieux, who also thought Dictys Cretensis himself was a source.⁷⁶ This last point was contentious, since Gustav Körting and Carl Wagener had argued that knowledge of Dictys in Dares was unlikely, Körting arguing, for example, that there were blatant discrepancies in the ultimate fate of the main characters.⁷⁷ With the revival of Dares-scholarship in the late twentieth century after a certain lull we also see a revival of the old questions, Gerlinde Bretzigheimer for example suggesting that the pseudepigraphical introduction to Dares's text (i.e. Cornelius Nepos's letter) is not only similar to the preface in Dictys, but also intentionally provides the former text with a more prestigious origin than what the latter could enjoy, probably intentionally.⁷⁸ This is due to the fact that Dares was supposedly an actual eyewitness and the time of purported discovery was the Augustan, not Neronian Age. Using Dictys for dating Dares may not be very helpful, since Dictys's own date has proved hard to establish, but Willy Schetter and David Bright have considerably improved our understanding of the issue in their works by clarifying the problem of Dracontius. The two scholars analysed episodes of the Trojan War's prehistory found both in Dares and Dracontius's *De raptu Helenae* (nowadays more securely dated than in Schissel's time, namely to the second half of the fifth century) and came to the conclusion that it is Dracontius who must have read Dares, especially because he seems to misunderstand him.⁷⁹ Schetter, although not explicitly discussing the question of a *terminus post quem*, implicitly suggests one by positing Servian influence upon Dares.⁸⁰ It would thus seem that for the most important contemporary scholar of the so-called Dares Phrygius, the latter's work can be placed firmly in the fifth century.

⁷⁵ Schissel von Fleschenberg, *Dares-Studien*, pp. 128-33.

⁷⁶ Collilieux, *Étude sur Dictys de Crète*, pp. 17, 94-101.

⁷⁷ Körting, *Dictys und Dares*, pp. 117-8; Wagener, 'Beitrag zu Dares Phrygius', pp. 96-114 (where he investigates and rejects usage of various other ancient authors in Dares), especially pp. 112-4.

⁷⁸ Bretzigheimer, 'Dares Phrygius', pp. 368-9.

⁷⁹ Schetter, 'Dares und Dracontius', p. 231, *passim*; D.F. Bright, *The Miniature Epic in Vandal Africa* (Norman, OK, 1987), pp. 104-7. Dares's independence from Dracontius was already envisaged by Wagener, 'Beitrag zu Dares Phrygius', pp. 123-4, but he did not really support it with arguments.

⁸⁰ Schetter, 'Dares und Dracontius', pp. 218-9. For Servius, see below, section 2.5.2.

2.2.2. Transmission in the Middle Ages

As far as modern scholarship can tell, there is no clear evidence regarding knowledge and use of Dares Phrygius in the Middle Ages before the Carolingian Renaissance, unless one wishes to consider MS Parisinus latinus 7906, dated to the late eighth century, as pre-Carolingian.⁸¹ Beginning with the ninth century, usage of Dares demonstrably became extremely widespread, as evidenced by the number of extant manuscripts. Indeed, there are around 190 complete and fragmentary manuscripts from before 1500, which includes six complete manuscripts from before 1000.⁸²

No manuscript produced in Ireland seems to be extant, although there are two manuscripts of Dares in Ireland, which seem to have arrived there from England in the later Middle Ages or early modern period.⁸³ That does not mean that there are no indications of connections with pre-Norman Ireland in the manuscript evidence. A product of the Columbanian foundation of St Gall (Sankt-Gallen Stiftsbibliothek 197) binds together several ninth- and tenth-century quires containing among others Dares and Dictys.⁸⁴ Also, in a library catalogue from the late ninth century from Bobbio, also of the Columbanian family, a manuscript containing Dares and Dictys is mentioned.⁸⁵ Two other manuscripts from the ninth century containing these two texts together are no longer extant: one is only mentioned in a catalogue from Saint-Riquier and the other one, from Metz, was destroyed in 1944.⁸⁶ Aside from an eleventh-century manuscript from Strasbourg, all the other combinations of Dares and Dictys are late medieval.⁸⁷ The St Gall manuscript may have been influential, as it is the patriarch of the branch where it is placed in the transmission of both texts. It is related to five of the six other early manuscripts of Dictys.⁸⁸ Three manuscripts of Dares, similar to one another, are closely related to it, all from twelfth-century Flanders (Anchin, Marchiennes, Tournai).⁸⁹ Another manuscript, related to these and to the Sangallensis, at least towards the end of the text, is a

⁸¹ L. Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe. La circulation des manuscrits du De excidio Troiae de Darès le Phrygien (VIII^e-XV^e siècles)* (Paris, 2006), pp. 67-8.

⁸² Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe*, pp. 360, 33-110 (list of all extant manuscripts).

⁸³ Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe*, pp. 42-3.

⁸⁴ Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe*, pp. 48, 232-3; G. Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen* (Halle, 1875), pp. 72-4.

⁸⁵ Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe*, p. 233.

⁸⁶ Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe*, p. 233.

⁸⁷ Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe*, pp. 149 and 89.

⁸⁸ Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe*, p. 361.

⁸⁹ Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe*, pp. 42, 73-4.

ninth-century product of Montecassino.⁹⁰ It clearly descends, directly or indirectly, from Picardy and it includes a hymn to Saint Patrick, which has led scholars to suppose its origins should be traced to the Irish foundation in Péronne, which is possible, but not proven.⁹¹ Louis Faivre d’Arcier, the preeminent contemporary scholar of Dares’s manuscripts, considers the possibility of an Irish origin for this early branch of the transmission, although he admits that this suggestion must remain tentative.⁹² Nonetheless, Leslie Myrick tries to show in her own study of *Togail Troí* that the Irish narrative may be based on a manuscript closer to another important early witness, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 601, as they share some details and readings.⁹³

There is only one extant manuscript of Dares produced in Scandinavia, but unfortunately for the study of *Trójumanna saga* it is Danish (fourteenth-century, from the Cistercian house of Løgumkloster), not West Norse.⁹⁴ The saga’s editor, Jonna Louis-Jensen, has tried to provide details about the kind of Daretian exemplar used by the author of the original translation and by that of recension β respectively.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, at the time (1981), she was hampered by the lack of a proper exhaustive study of the text’s transmission. Such a study was finally published in 2006, namely Faivre d’Arcier’s work. In it, he tries to examine the evidence provided by the Latin and vernacular adaptations of Dares as well, referring to the works of previous scholars and at the same time trying to verify their results. Nonetheless, he is of course hampered, as he himself admits, by his incompetence in some of the relevant languages, namely Old Norse and Medieval Irish precisely.⁹⁶ All that Louis-Jensen could do in 1981 was to study the manuscripts of Dares that she could find in London and Paris (admittedly very numerous). Her preliminary conclusions on the original translation are rather vague, but Faivre d’Arcier interprets them to mean that the Latin exemplar was more or less close to what in his system is called ‘the Vulgate’, i.e. the vast majority of the French and English manuscripts.⁹⁷ Her research on recension β’s exemplar, on the other hand, was more

⁹⁰ Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d’un mythe*, pp. 223, 256-7.

⁹¹ Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d’un mythe*, p. 339.

⁹² Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d’un mythe*, pp. 339-40.

⁹³ Myrick, *From the De Excidio Troiae*, pp. 108-22; Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d’un mythe*, pp. 57-8, 232-3.

⁹⁴ Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d’un mythe*, pp. 106 and 344.

⁹⁵ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga. The Dares Phrygius Version*, pp. xix-xxviii.

⁹⁶ Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d’un mythe*, pp. 273-315, esp. p. 276.

⁹⁷ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga. The Dares Phrygius Version*, p. xxiii; Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d’un mythe*, p. 344.

fruitful. Of all the manuscripts she studied, one in particular, BL Sloane 1619 (English, early thirteenth-century), struck her as very close to that exemplar.⁹⁸ In Faivre d’Arcier’s scheme, this witness is part of a small but quite distinct branch, showing affinities to both the Vulgate and what he calls the ‘seconde rédaction’, but also standing out with innovations of its own. In fact there is only one other manuscript in this branch, Paris, BN fr. 1623 (fifteenth-century), and there is another manuscript produced under the influence of this branch (Yorkshire, mid-fourteenth-century, with French ancestry).⁹⁹ Nevertheless, he considers the examples provided by Louis-Jensen to be inconclusive, as she unwittingly used readings that were common to this branch and to the ‘seconde rédaction’.¹⁰⁰ This leads him to accept only provisionally her postulated connection between recension β ’s archetype and BL Sloane 1619 (or the wider branch as established by him). I have compared the saga with the Sloane 1619 branch and with the ‘seconde rédaction’, by using Faivre d’Arcier’s compact but very useful scheme of major textual variants broken down by manuscript branch.¹⁰¹ My own conclusion is only tentative, as I have used the restricted sample of the Catalogue of Ships, which consists almost exclusively of proper names and thus lends itself to a very easy (but in my opinion also very pertinent) type of analysis. According to this limited analysis, recension β ’s exemplar is in line with BL Sloane 1619 and against the ‘seconde rédaction’ wherever they diverge. The possible English origin of this exemplar is further substantiated by the consistent association (including physical adjacency) between this Norse text and the Norse version of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia regum Britanniae* (i.e. *Breta sögur*) in all the extant witnesses.¹⁰² The great majority of the extant English manuscripts of Dares also contain Geoffrey’s text, although Sloane 1619 and the English manuscript that was only influenced by the former’s branch are not among them. Of the eight extant manuscripts of the First Variant version of Geoffrey’s work (i.e. the version on which *Breta sögur* is apparently based), seven also contain Dares.¹⁰³ I will thus suggest that recension β was based on an English manuscript of Dares from the early thirteenth century, close to British Library, MS Sloane 1619 and that also included Geoffrey’s text.

⁹⁸ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga. The Dares Phrygius Version*, pp. xxiii-xxv.

⁹⁹ Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d’un mythe*, pp. 262-5, 54-5, 69-70 and 73.

¹⁰⁰ Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d’un mythe*, pp. 264, 344 n.35, 410 (and n.26).

¹⁰¹ Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d’un mythe*, pp. 200-24.

¹⁰² See below, p. 34.

¹⁰³ Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d’un mythe*, pp. 151-3, 360-1, 418-9.

Where the evidence of other texts and authors is concerned, Dares is used directly and often explicitly only after ca. 1000, which is also the time when the first recension of *Togail Troí* came into being.¹⁰⁴ In fact, although it is used in the eleventh century by Manegold of Lautenbach, it is with the so-called ‘twelfth-century Renaissance’ that we find an outburst of quotations and direct echoes, with Dares used by Rainer of Liège, Bernardus Silvestris, Lambert of Saint-Omer (*Liber floridus*), Otto of Freising, Godfrey of Viterbo, Lambert of Ardres, Orderic Vitalis and Guido of Pisa.¹⁰⁵ This list of authors shows that the interest in the work was fundamentally of a historiographical nature. Nonetheless, the most important literary products of the High Middle Ages based on Dares Phrygius are of course the narratives of the Trojan War, on which a slightly detailed discussion will now be useful.

2.3. Medieval adaptations of Dares Phrygius

The primary function of the following survey is to put *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* into a fuller context by showing how their deeper roots lie in a wide-reaching need felt after 1000 or so throughout various European intellectual milieux to retell the Trojan story according to the tastes and preferences of the time. The phenomenon of re-writing classical texts in either Latin or the vernacular was of course widespread in the Middle Ages, at least after ca. 1000. Unfortunately, modern scholarship has tended to neglect this very important topic, at least at a general level. Histories of medieval reception of the Classics focus, sometimes almost exclusively, on issues such as manuscript transmission of classical texts or their influence upon Latin poetry and prose of the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, studies of vernacular literature rarely treat the classically-inspired works extensively as a category of their own.¹⁰⁷ In this context, I hope this survey can also serve as an illuminating example of

¹⁰⁴ See above, section 2.1.

¹⁰⁵ M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1911-31), vol. III, pp. 169, 178, 209, 243, 378, 394, 500, 523, 616 and 891.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* and Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage*.

¹⁰⁷ For a rare example, see C. Baswell, ‘Marvels of Translation and Crises of Transition in the Romances of Antiquity’, in R.L. Krueger (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 29-

the richness and literary flexibility of this wider European phenomenon of classical adaptations. Because of the great number of Trojan texts available for the Middle Ages, the survey will be limited according both to temporal and to geographical criteria. Thus, only texts produced before 1400 will be covered, as no text produced after this date is really relevant in the context of this research. From a geographical point of view, the survey will be limited to the four most productive and influential areas, namely France, Germany, Italy and England.

The first known full re-writing (as opposed to mere use) of Dares before ca. 1100 occurs in a version of the originally seventh-century *Chronicle of (Pseudo-)Fredegar* that itself dates from the second half of the eighth century and is entitled *Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum*. This very innovative text is inserted in abridged form in the universal history of Fréculf of Lisieux (mid-ninth-century).¹⁰⁸ Dares's 'renaissance' on the Continent in the twelfth century is distinct from the emergence of Trojan texts in Ireland, since the first recension of *Togail Troí* dates from the eleventh century, making it the second Daretian re-writing, but the first to be produced in the vernacular. As for the Continental renaissance, it seems to have come about as a secondary development within a revival of interest in the Troy story, which is itself of course part of the classically-minded 'twelfth-century Renaissance'.¹⁰⁹ This is evidenced by the fact that throughout this century poetry on Trojan subject-matter is produced more abundantly, but drawing inspiration from the great poets (Virgil, Ovid, *Ilias Latina*).¹¹⁰ It is only after the middle of the century that Daretian poems start to appear, and in rapid succession: the anonymous *Historia Troyana Daretis Frigii*, Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* and Joseph of Exeter's *Frigii Daretis Ilias*. Nonetheless, a divergence in approach is already noticeable, e.g. between the more historiographical anonymous author, who follows Dares in claiming that 'historiam Troye figmenta poetica turbant', and Benoît, who writes an imaginative Old French romance that much expands Dares's story (ca. 1160).¹¹¹

44.

¹⁰⁸ M.-R. Jung, 'L'histoire grecque. Darès et les suites', in E. Baumgartner and L. Harf-Lancner (eds.), *Entre fiction et histoire. Troie et Rome au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1997), pp. 185-206, at pp. 190-1.

¹⁰⁹ Haskins, *The Renaissance*, pp. 93-192; Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage*, pp. 130-201.

¹¹⁰ Jung, 'L'histoire grecque', p. 194.

¹¹¹ 'poetic fabrications muddle the story of Troy'; M.-R. Jung, *La légende de Troie en France au moyen âge. Analyse des versions françaises et bibliographie raisonnée des manuscrits* (Basel, 1996), p. 333. For *Roman de Troie*, see above, pp. 11-2.

The remarkable afterlife of Benoît's poem begins no later than ca. 1200, when it is already re-worked by Herbort of Fritzlar as the Middle High German epic *Liet von Troye*, which could be after *Togail Troí* the first 'Daretian' text produced outside France.¹¹² Around the same time, Hélinand of Froidmont inserts in his chronicle a summary of Dares that would later on indirectly enjoy wide popularity by being taken up by Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum historiale*.¹¹³ A very important full translation of Dares is undertaken in the early thirteenth century by the author of the so-called *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*. It is interesting to note that this universal history that emphasises pagan events so much is written in this way at the express behest of the lay patron, châtelain Roger IV of Lille, the author himself implying in the work that he would have preferred to have written some sort of Biblical history.¹¹⁴ The subsequent importance of his work can be deduced from the fact that it is found in some seventy manuscripts altogether and that it was included in abridged form in chronicles.¹¹⁵ Two more translations of Dares into Old French prose are known from the second half of the thirteenth century, but they are isolated projects without lasting influence (between them they are extant in only three manuscripts). One was produced in Corbie by Jean of Flixencourt (who explains that he had been motivated to do it after reading Benoît and noticing the expansion) and the other in Ireland itself by the Dominican Jofroi of Waterford (who seems to have translated Dares together with Eutropius and the Alexander text known as *Secretum secretorum*).¹¹⁶ Another text produced in the first half of the thirteenth century is, of course, *Trójumanna saga* (both recensions), which thus contributes to the image of an age preoccupied with adapting and re-writing Dares, but often still not by means of Benoît's romance.

The second half of the thirteenth century (and in particular the 1280s) is the period that saw the production of by far the most influential re-workings of *Roman de Troie*, by Guido de columnis and Konrad of Würzburg respectively. It is important to take note of the wide range of uses to which Benoît's account was put at the time. Konrad is noteworthy for creating *Der*

¹¹² K. Alfén, P. Fochler, E. Lienert, 'Deutsche Trojatexte des 12. bis 16. Jahrhunderts. Repertorium', in H. Brunner (ed.), *Die deutsche Trojaliteratur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit. Materialien und Untersuchungen*, Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter. Schriften des Sonderforschungsbereichs 226 Würzburg / Eichstätt 3 (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 7-196, at pp. 10-3.

¹¹³ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 333-4.

¹¹⁴ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 332-6.

¹¹⁵ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 340-58, 431.

¹¹⁶ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 436-8.

Trojanerkrieg, Germany's own Trojan romance, in which he manages to use his poetic originality while at the same time preserving *Roman de Troie*'s romance style.¹¹⁷ The popularity of Konrad's poem is proven by the fact that it was used (together with Dares himself and a few other authors) shortly afterwards in another Middle High German romance produced in Switzerland and known as '*Gottweiger Trojanerkrieg*' after the only manuscript in which a complete text is extant.¹¹⁸ Both poems were taken over in abridged form in a succession of German chronicles produced in the first half of the fourteenth century.¹¹⁹ Guido de columnis or Guido delle colonne (thus called because he was from Messina) wrote *Historia destructionis Troiae*, a rationalised re-working of *Roman de Troie* in Latin prose. His somewhat shorter account, which lacks the kind of ornamentation and fantastic elements cultivated by Benoît, aims much more than the latter to instruct the audience, both in a scholarly (he includes erudite references to the Classics) and in a moral sense (reflections, sermons).¹²⁰

The second half of the thirteenth century (and the early fourteenth century) is also the period when several rewritings of Benoît's work into Old French prose were produced. They are noteworthy in that they are extant mostly in fifteenth-century manuscripts, at a time when Benoît's verse romance itself was falling out of fashion.¹²¹ Although the manuscripts are from France, the texts themselves tend not to be. Two of them enjoyed popularity: the so-called *Prose 1*, written in Latin Morea and filled with details pertaining to the Crusader states, and *Prose 5*, written at the Angevin court in Naples and subsequently inserted into *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* in place of the Dares translation (the so-called 'second redaction' of this text). Of the three texts extant in very few manuscripts, *Prose 2* and *Prose 3* were produced in northern and central Italy respectively, while *Prose 4* is from northern France.¹²² The latter is perhaps the most original, in that it is extant in a single manuscript of the Arthurian cycle; more precisely, it is attributed to Merlin, who dictates this story of the Trojan War to his scribe Blaise together with the one of Arthur's coronation.¹²³ The late thirteenth and

¹¹⁷ Alfén *et al.*, 'Deutsche Trojatexte', pp. 15-7.

¹¹⁸ Alfén *et al.*, 'Deutsche Trojatexte', pp. 26-31.

¹¹⁹ Alfén *et al.*, 'Deutsche Trojatexte', pp. 36-46.

¹²⁰ E. Gorra, *Testi inediti di storia trojana preceduti da uno studio sulla leggenda trojana in Italia* (Turin, 1887), pp. 121-35.

¹²¹ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 440.

¹²² Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 440.

¹²³ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 503-4. Another intersection of these literary cycles occurs within this very rewriting of Benoît, in that Hector's horse, called Galatea, is said to be a gift from Morgan le fay, just as in a few

early fourteenth centuries are the time when even more prose re-workings of *Roman de Troie* are being produced in Italy, after the very successful work by Guido.¹²⁴ The Latin summary known as *Istorietta trojana* and the vernacular translation by the Sieneese Binduccio dello Scelto date from this period, but they are known in single manuscripts.¹²⁵ The first Middle English re-working, *The Seege and Batayle of Troy*, is also from the early fourteenth century; based primarily on Benoît, it also uses Dares himself and extraneous material related to the *Excidium Troiae*, blending them in a very much original creation.¹²⁶

A novel development in this time is that Guido's history itself becomes the object of summarisation and vernacular re-writing. The first adaptation is unsurprisingly Italian, the 'vulgarisation' by Mazzeo Bellebuoni; later comes the anonymous so-called 'Venetian version'.¹²⁷ From the second half of the fourteenth century, various translations of Guido into Old French (the very language of the latter's source, ironically) start appearing.¹²⁸ It is also the time of the so-called *Buch von Troja I*; this Middle High German compilation, widely disseminated in southern Germany, uses both Konrad's romance and Guido's Latin history (as well as Dares himself, briefly), but it juxtaposes these sources, rather than blending them.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, the clear trend during this period and the subsequent waning of the Middle Ages is the eclipse of romance and the growing importance attached to Guido's 'historical' work; its translations become even more widespread in the fifteenth century, either free-standing or embedded in other works, especially universal histories. We are dealing in many cases, not unlike often before, with seemingly isolated projects extant in single manuscripts.¹³⁰ This does not exclude influential works, such as John Lydgate's *Troy Book*.¹³¹ It thus appears more clearly to what extent *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* were part of a powerful European

manuscripts of Benoît; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 515.

¹²⁴ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 565.

¹²⁵ Gorra, *Testi inediti di storia trojana*, pp. 152-69.

¹²⁶ M.E. Barnicle (ed.), *The Seege or Batayle of Troy. A Middle English Metrical Romance Edited from MSS Lincoln's Inn 150, Egerton 2862, Arundel XXII, with Harley 525 Included in the Appendix*, Early English Text Society 172 (London, 1927), pp. xxx, xxxvii-lxxiv. For *Excidium Troiae*, see below, pp. 85-9.

¹²⁷ Gorra, *Testi inediti di storia trojana*, pp. 173-4, 184-92.

¹²⁸ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 567-613.

¹²⁹ Alfén *et al.*, 'Deutsche Trojatexte', pp. 47-55.

¹³⁰ Alfén *et al.*, 'Deutsche Trojatexte', pp. 61-196; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 567-613; Gorra, *Testi inediti di storia trojana*, pp. 169-73, 193-202.

¹³¹ C.D. Benson, *The History of Troy in Middle English Literature. Guido delle Colonne's Historia destructionis Troiae in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1980), p. 35.

phenomenon, but also how they stand out as Daretian adaptations running parallel and not converging with some of the European trends, particularly the Benoît-Guido stream.¹³²

2.4. Irish and Norse classical adaptations

We have seen that *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* must be seen against the backdrop of their close relatives, other medieval European adaptations of Dares Phrygius's text. Another set of close relatives, also vital for our understanding of the two Trojan texts, consists of other classical adaptations from Ireland and Scandinavia. Indeed, medieval Irish and Norse literature produced a considerable number of such adaptations of classical texts, many of them roughly contemporary with *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*. Research on the depiction of paganism in all these texts is desirable and even necessary, although it is beyond the scope of this thesis. Its topic, the Trojan War texts, can serve as a case study, meant to show what can or cannot be achieved in this general line of inquiry.

A short overview of these other classical adaptations will try to give some sense of the intense activity undertaken by medieval writers in this field. In Ireland, *Imtheachta Aeniasa* ('The Wanderings of Aeneas'), an adaptation of the *Aeneid*, was produced roughly in the same period as the first recension of *Togail Troí* (the eleventh century).¹³³ Adaptations of three other Latin epics, Lucan's *Pharsalia* (*In Cath Catharda*, 'The Civil Battle'), Statius's *Thebaid* (*Togail na Tebe*, 'The Destruction of Thebes') and *Achilleid* (appended to the third recension of *Togail Troí*) were produced in the twelfth century.¹³⁴ Also from the eleventh or twelfth century, but possibly influenced by *Togail Troí* itself, comes *Scéla Alexandair meic Philip* ('The Stories of Alexander, son of Philip'), relating the story of Alexander the Great. Perhaps

¹³² This does not mean that they were unique in this sense. For another example of more or less scholarly adaptation of Dares, see the Middle Welsh *Ystoria Daret*.

¹³³ For a general overview of Classical adaptations in Ireland, see R. O'Connor (ed.), *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative* (Woodbridge, 2014).

¹³⁴ M. Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Classical Compositions in Medieval Ireland. The Literary Context', in K. Murray (ed.), *Translations from Classical Literature. Imtheachta Aeniasa and Stair Ercail ocus a Bás*, Irish Texts Society Subsidiary Series 17 (London, 2006), 1-20, at pp. 1-2.

slightly later (twelfth- or thirteenth-century) are the very innovative *Merugud Uilix meic Leirtis* ('The Wandering of Ulysses, son of Laertes') and *Sgél in Minaduir* ('The Story of the Minotaur').¹³⁵ There are also Irish classical adaptations from the later Middle Ages. In Iceland (or, possibly, Norway), a few other classically-inspired texts were produced between the mid-twelfth and the mid-thirteenth century.¹³⁶ *Rómverja saga* ('The Story of the Romans'), which tells the story of the Roman civil wars and is based on Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum* and *Coniuratio Catilinae*, as well as Lucan's *Pharsalia*, can be dated to ca. 1180.¹³⁷ *Alexanders saga*, a Norse version of Walter of Chatillon's poem *Alexandreis*, is perhaps contemporary with *Trójumanna saga*. *Breta sögur* ('The Stories of the Britons') are a thirteenth-century adaptation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*. Classical material can also be found in works of universal history, such as *Veraldar saga* ('The Story of the World') or *Gyðinga saga* ('The Story of the Jews'). The former is an original Norse universal history based on the model of Isidore and Bede and dated to the second half of the twelfth century (seemingly dependent on *Rómverja saga*), whereas the latter uses the Biblical Books of the Maccabees and Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica* to tell the story of the Maccabean Revolt.¹³⁸

Among all the aforementioned texts, *Breta sögur* claims particular attention. Its medieval textual witnesses are exactly the same as those of *Trójumanna saga*'s Recension β and, moreover, the two texts are always adjacent to one another.¹³⁹ The end of *Trójumanna saga* β is based on the Fall of Troy in Virgil's *Aeneid* and the first sections of *Breta sögur* are a summary of the Latin epic.¹⁴⁰ It thus appears as more than a distinct possibility that Recension

¹³⁵ Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Classical Compositions', pp. 1-2.

¹³⁶ S. Würth, 'Historiography and Pseudo-History', in R. McTurk (ed.), *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture* (Malden, MA, 2005), pp. 155-72, at p. 163.

¹³⁷ Würth, 'Historiography and Pseudo-History', p. 164.

¹³⁸ D. Hofmann, 'Accessus ad Lucanum. Zur Neubestimmung des Verhältnisses zwischen *Rómverja saga* und *Veraldar saga*', in R. Simek et al. (eds.), *Sagnaskemmtun. Studies in Honour of Hermann Pálsson on His 65th Birthday, 26th May 1986* (Vienna, 1986), pp. 121-52; Würth, 'Historiography and Pseudo-History', pp. 166-7.

¹³⁹ *T.s.*, pp. xi-xxxvii. The exception provided by Hauksbók, where the two texts are separated by two small tracts, is deceptive: the tracts are written on a folium that was inserted into the quire a bit later; see E.A. Rowe, 'Literary, Codicological and Political Perspectives on Hauksbók', *Gripla* 19 (2008), 51-76, at p. 64.

¹⁴⁰ For details on *Breta sögur*, see the H. Tétrel, 'Trojan Origins and the Use of the *Aeneid* and Related Sources in the Old Icelandic Brut', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 109:4 (2010), 490-514; H. Tétrel, 'La Saga des Bretons. Naissance et exploitation du mythe arthurien dans les compilations pseudo-historiques de Scandinavie', in C. Ferlampin-Acher and D. Hüe (eds.), *Enfances Arthuriennes* (Orléans, 2006), pp. 299-311; A.G. van Hamel, 'The Old-Norse Version of the *Historia regum Britanniae* and the Text of Geoffrey of

β of *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta sögur* were produced at the same time by the same author, probably using one of the many manuscripts that had Dares and Geoffrey together.¹⁴¹ Treatment of *Trójumanna saga* in the present thesis as a text distinct from *Breta sögur* is thus based on a mere convention (and on the unfortunate lack of a proper edition of *Breta sögur*). It is, nonetheless, noteworthy that this conventional division does have a medieval basis, since the end of the story of Troy and the beginning of the story of Æneas and the Britons are marked in the texts.¹⁴²

2.5. Latin sources

There is another group of texts that is also indispensable for a nuanced understanding of *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*, and it consists of Latin works, both classical and post-classical, on which the authors of the two Trojan texts relied in various ways as sources. Chapter 3 of this thesis, which consists of an analysis of references to paganism in *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*, will make numerous references to such texts. Among them, an important role will be played not so much by the Classics (e.g. Virgil), but by later works that are based on them or that were meant to accompany them in some way (e.g. the Virgilian commentaries). While a more extensive study of these later sources and of their impact in the Middle Ages, particularly in Ireland and the North, is not possible here, this section will provide information that is necessary for their proper understanding in the context of chapter 3.

2.5.1. *Ilias Latina*

The text known as *Ilias Latina* or the Latin *Iliad* is a Latin Antique text known from manuscripts dating from the Carolingian period onward and which influenced profoundly and directly *Trójumanna saga*'s recension β, as chapter 3 will prove. It can easily be read as an

Monmouth', *Études celtiques* 1 (1936), 197-247.

¹⁴¹ See above, p. 27.

¹⁴² *T.s.*, p. 238.

abridgement of Homer's *Iliad*, but there are also significant differences between the two texts and *Ilias Latina* is perhaps as frequently studied for its originality as it is for its derivative nature.¹⁴³ With regard to origin, the poem contains a double acrostic, which reads 'ITALIC(U)S SCRIPSIT', but the identity of this Italicus has not been convincingly established. In most cases (including the earliest cases) where medieval manuscripts mention an author for the text, this is Homer.¹⁴⁴ Beginning with the eleventh century it was also occasionally ascribed to Pindarus Thebanus.¹⁴⁵ In modern times, the theory regarding a certain Roman senator and provincial governor of the first century AD named Publius Baebius Italicus has gained a certain prominence, notably by being adopted by the most important editor of the text, Marco Saffai; nonetheless, this attribution is highly speculative.¹⁴⁶ References to Nero in the text have sometimes been suggested and the Neronian *Laus Pisonis* (before 65 AD) has been put forward as a possible *terminus ante quem*.¹⁴⁷ This has not prevented other scholars from suggesting that the poem was composed as late as the second century.¹⁴⁸

The text's popularity in the Middle Ages is well attested, at least starting with the Carolingian Renaissance, and the evidence comes first and foremost from the numerous manuscripts in which the text was copied. It is important to note that until approximately the eleventh-century *Ilias Latina* seems to have travelled together with the two other major narratives of the Trojan War, the prose texts attributed to Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis, which is particularly important in the context of *Trójumanna saga*'s use of this Latin epic.¹⁴⁹ There are two extant manuscripts where both Dares and *Ilias Latina* are found, one dated to the eleventh century and localised in central France, the other dated to the tenth or eleventh century and localised in Flanders.¹⁵⁰ A particularly interesting textual collation is that where

¹⁴³ For a detailed comparison between the two texts see G. Broccia, *Prolegomeni all'Omero latino* (Macerata, 1992), pp. 81-134.

¹⁴⁴ G.A. Kennedy, *The Latin Iliad. Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes* (Fort Collins, CO, 1998), p. 9.

¹⁴⁵ M. Saffai, 'Pindarus seu Homerus. Un'ipotesi sul titolo dell'*Ilias Latina*', *Latomus* 38 (1979), 932-9.

¹⁴⁶ M. Saffai (ed.), *Baebii Italici Ilias Latina* (Bologna, 1982), Introduction, pp. 11-29.

¹⁴⁷ G. Scheda, 'Zur Datierung der *Ilias latina*', *Gymnasium* 72 (1965), 303-7; E. Courtney, 'The Dating of the *Ilias Latina*', *Prometheus* 27 (2001), 149-52.

¹⁴⁸ Broccia, *Prolegomeni*, p. 77.

¹⁴⁹ See above, p. 20, and, for examples, sections 3.2 and 3.3. M. Saffai, 'Tradizione manoscritta dell'*Ilias Latina*', in P. Serra Zanetti (ed.), *In verbis verum amare. Miscellanea dell'Istituto di Filologia latina e Medioevale Università di Bologna* (Florence, 1980), pp. 205-78, at p. 252.

¹⁵⁰ Saffai, 'Tradizione manoscritta', pp. 210-1, 219-20.

Ilias Latina is followed by the last chapter of Dares. It is found in five manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh (and in one case twelfth) centuries, localised in central France and the Low Countries. These five include the two mentioned above and in one of them the aforementioned last chapter precedes the complete text of Dares.¹⁵¹ This shows that these two kinds of association between Dares and *Ilias Latina* are independent of each other and it has been argued indeed that, given the genealogical remoteness between some of these five manuscripts, the custom of appending the last chapter of Dares to the end of *Ilias Latina* arose perhaps as early as the archetype of all extant manuscripts, in the ninth or even eighth century.¹⁵² The earliest mention of a manuscript of *Ilias Latina* is in a library catalogue from Saint-Riquier (northern France), dated to 831 and here referring to a manuscript already a few decades old.¹⁵³ The wording implies some sort of collation with Dares as early as this period: ‘Historia Homeri ubi dicit et Dares Phrygius’.¹⁵⁴ If in the Carolingian Renaissance *Ilias Latina*’s preferred travelling companions seem to have been other narratives of the Trojan War, after circa 1000 it became part of another type of textual collection, the so-called *Liber Catonianus*. This was one of the schoolbooks known as *libri manuales*, namely the one designed to introduce pupils to the study of classical literature by providing them with simple, basic examples of the various literary genres. *Ilias Latina* was thus the *liber epicus*, whereas its most frequent travelling companions in manuscripts from the eleventh to at least the thirteenth century were *Disticha Catonis* (the *liber ethicus*) and Avianus’s *Fables* (the *liber fabularis*).¹⁵⁵

2.5.2. Commentaries on the works of Virgil

Moving on from classical works to medieval derivative texts, it is convenient to speak of two major groups of commentaries that were used by the author of *Togail Troí* and they are the two groups of Virgilian scholia most used throughout the Middle Ages in general: the Servian corpus and the Filargirian corpus. Servius or Maurus Servius Honoratus, who lived at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, is the author of the largest extant scholiastic commentary on Virgil, a work in which he deals with the entire Virgilian canon

¹⁵¹ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, pp. 210-1, 213-4, 219-20, 225-6, 240.

¹⁵² Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, p. 253.

¹⁵³ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, pp. 252, 254.

¹⁵⁴ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, p. 252. Scaffai thinks ‘dicit’ should be amended to ‘Dictys’.

¹⁵⁵ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, pp. 255-6.

(*Eclogues*, *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*) and which was highly influential in medieval transmission and reception of the Roman poet.¹⁵⁶ Although this commentary is preserved in almost 150 manuscripts, testimony to its enduring popularity, a peculiarity of this transmission has meant that scholars have not always agreed on the exact form of the original Servian commentary.¹⁵⁷ The problems arise from Pierre Daniel's 1600 edition, in which the text was based on a handful of previously little-known manuscripts and was considerably longer than in previous editions.¹⁵⁸ Daniel and all subsequent scholars until the mid-nineteenth century supported the view that this was the original version of Servius's commentary (known as *Servius Danielis* or *Servius auctus*) and that what most medieval manuscripts contained was simply an abridgement (known as *Servius Vulgatae*). In the nineteenth century, scholars such as Thilo established that the 'Scholia Danielis' (i.e. whatever was in *Servius Danielis* and was not in *Servius Vulgatae*) were not of Servian origin, due primarily to doublings of material, contradictions and mentions of Servius's name.¹⁵⁹ As for the date of this augmented Servian commentary, it is placed in Late Antiquity or the early Middle Ages, at some point after the time of Servius but before the *terminus ante quem*, 636 (i.e. the death of Isidore, who seemingly uses it), although there are several theories about how exactly it came about.¹⁶⁰ Research on the origins of Servius Danielis is hampered by one of the salient characteristics of ancient and medieval scholiastic literature, namely its cumulative aspect.¹⁶¹ Indeed, authors of commentaries often relied on earlier similar works as much as on their own creativity, but what makes the issue particularly thorny is that they did not always cite their sources explicitly; even Servius himself (i.e. *Vulgata*) is an excellent example of this phenomenon.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶ H. Nettleship, 'The Ancient Commentators on Virgil', in J. Conington and H. Nettleship (eds.), *The Works of Virgil*, 3 vols., vol. I (Hildesheim, 1963), pp. liv-c, at pp. xcv-xcviii; D. Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E.F.M. Benecke (London, 1966), p. 128.

¹⁵⁷ E.K. Rand, 'Une nouvelle édition de Servius', *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 82:4 (1938), 311-24, at p. 318.

¹⁵⁸ Rand, 'Une nouvelle édition de Servius', pp. 312-3.

¹⁵⁹ Rand, 'Une nouvelle édition de Servius', pp. 312-3.

¹⁶⁰ É. Thomas, *Essai sur Servius et son commentaire sur Virgile d'après les manuscrits de Paris et les publications les plus récentes* (Paris, 1880); G.B. Waldrop, 'Donatus, the Interpreter of Vergil and Terence', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 38 (1927), 75-142; N. Marinone, *Elio Donato, Macrobio e Servio. Commentatori di Vergilio* (Vercelli, 1946); K. Barwick, 'Zur Serviusfrage', *Philologus* 70 (1911), 106-145.

¹⁶¹ D. Daintree, M. Geymonat, 'Scholia non serviana', in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, vol. IV (Rome, 1988), pp. 706-20, at pp. 706-7.

¹⁶² Nettleship, 'The Ancient Commentators on Virgil', pp. liv-c.

Servius's commentary was a major source for *Togail Troí* and probably a source of some importance for *Trójumanna saga* as well; various passages analysed in chapter 3 will provide evidence of this. A special connection has sometimes been made in scholarship between Servius and Ireland, often on a very speculative basis.¹⁶³ Nonetheless, we may note that there is one extant Servian manuscript that can reasonably be called 'Irish', namely Bern, Burgerbibliothek 363 (from the third quarter of the ninth century), also important as one of the earliest witnesses of the *Vulgata* version. It is written in an Insular script that John Joseph Savage considers to be more narrowly Irish, it has twelve glosses in Old Irish and fifteen Irish proper names and abbreviations associated with Irish scribes.¹⁶⁴ Besides Servius's commentary, it also includes Fortunatianus's *Ars rhetorica*, Augustine's *De dialectica* and *De rhetorica*, Clodianus's *Ars rhetorica*, excerpts from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and from Bede's *Eclesiastical History* as well as various Latin *carmina*, including those by Horace; all these texts, when taken together, seem to point to an educational use for this manuscript. It shows a clear and keen interest in classical rhetoric and may well have been produced or at least used early on on the Continent in Sedulius Scotus's circle, to judge from some of the glosses.¹⁶⁵ Two more Irish glosses are found in a large number of manuscripts, which is probably indicative of their early insertion into the stream of Servian transmission.¹⁶⁶ As for Irish use of Servius in later centuries, it is clear that Servius was at least in High Medieval Ireland a widely-read and influential author. The shadow of his commentary has been detected not only in *Togail Troí*, but in several other classical texts such as *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, *Sgél in Minaduir*, *Riss in Mundtuirc* and *Don Tres Troí*.¹⁶⁷ The latter text even seems to mention him explicitly ('Ferb') among its sources, something unique in medieval Irish classical tales.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³ C.H. Beeson, 'Insular Symptoms in the Commentaries on Virgil', *Studi medievali* n.s. 5 (1932), 81-100, pp. 99-100.

¹⁶⁴ J.J. Savage, 'The Manuscripts of Servius's Commentary on Virgil', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 45 (1934), 157-204, at pp. 190-3.

¹⁶⁵ Savage, 'The Manuscripts of Servius', pp. 190-3. Michael Herren on the other hand simply assumes it was written in Ireland; see M.W. Herren, 'Literary and Glossarial Evidence for the Study of Classical Mythology in Ireland AD 600-800', in H. Conrad O'Briain *et al.* (eds.), *Text and Gloss. Studies in Insular Learning and Literature Presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer* (Dublin, 1999), pp. 49-67, at p. 51 n.12.

¹⁶⁶ P.-Y. Lambert, 'Les gloses celtiques aux commentaires de Virgile', *Études celtiques* 23 (1986), 81-128, at pp. 91-2; Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic*, pp. 24-5.

¹⁶⁷ Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic*, pp. 57, 60; B. Miles, 'Riss in Mundtuirc. The Tale of Harmonia's Necklace and the Study of the Theban Cycle in Medieval Ireland', *Ériu* 57 (2007), 67-112, at pp. 72-5.

¹⁶⁸ Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic*, pp. 60-2.

The other strand of Virgilian scholiastic activity that is highly relevant for *Togail Troí* and for the Middle Ages in general is the one we call ‘Filargirian’ for lack of a better term. The history of the Servian corpus of scholia is still not completely clear to modern scholars, but the same applies even more to the Filargirian scholia.¹⁶⁹ Properly speaking, these are a mass of interrelated scholia, which it has been suggested should be classified into two recensions.¹⁷⁰ Recension A consists of four manuscripts. Three of these contain, one after another, two versions, both fragmentary, of a commentary on Virgil’s *Eclogues*; they are known as (*Iunii Philargyrii*) *Explanationes in Bucolica*, the title given by their modern editor and based on the colophon in one of the manuscripts, although ‘Ph’ and ‘y’ are restored from ‘F’ and ‘i’. The fourth manuscript, as well as two of the ones already mentioned, contain an anonymous collection of scholia on Virgil’s *Georgics* I and II, known as *Brevis expositio Virgilii Georgicorum*. This is not a running commentary on the text, but something akin to a collation of extracts from some source, which is assumed to have been the same Filargirius, based on similarity of style and common transmission.

Recension B is represented solely by the Bern Scholia, which are extant in four manuscripts and cover both the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*.¹⁷¹ They seem to rely heavily on the *Explanatio* (or *Explanationes* I and II) and the *Brevis expositio*, but include much additional material as well. While this has led scholars such as Daintree to put the Scholia into a recension or branch of their own, other classification schemes are possible. In particular, it should be noted that for the *Georgics* I and II, the Bern Scholia use the *Brevis expositio* almost exclusively and very faithfully.¹⁷² They often name their sources, including in a colophon, and these are three, ‘Iunilius Flagrus’ (identified with the same Filargirius) and the even more obscure Gallus and Gaudentius. The Filargirian corpus as a whole has strong connections with Ireland, stronger than in the case of the Servian one. For example, the *Explanationes* are accompanied in the different manuscripts by numerous Old Irish glosses, ca. 160 in total.¹⁷³ The Bern Scholia lack them, but the shadowy Gaudentius is also cited in

¹⁶⁹ It should be pointed out perhaps that the importance of Servius as a commentator in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages was such that he was used more or less, in one way or another, in virtually all Virgilian commentaries, whether of the Servian or of the Filargirian strand.

¹⁷⁰ The following treatment of this extremely complex textual issue relies on Daintree, ‘Scholia non Serviana’.

¹⁷¹ Two of the manuscripts also include *Servius Danielis*, one as excerpts and the other as full-length commentary on the first books of the *Aeneid*.

¹⁷² Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic*, pp. 29-30.

¹⁷³ Daintree, ‘Scholia non Serviana’.

clearly Irish productions, namely the glosses in the St Gall Priscian and the commentary on Orosius, both from the ninth century and having (in the case of the latter in particular) many similarities with the Bern Scholia.¹⁷⁴ A clue which used to be considered significant was the name ‘Adannanus’, mentioned as a source in *Explanatio* I (on *Bucolica* III, 90) and identified with Adamnán of Iona. It has been argued that this is nothing but a scribal corruption,¹⁷⁵ but it is still relevant for the Hibernian milieu of the transmission. Another possible clue is the presence of a colophon at the end of *Expositio* I (in all manuscripts), in which the name ‘Fatosus’ appears. This is usually taken as Latinisation of an Irish name such as ‘Toicthech’, but scholars have not agreed whether behind this name we should see the author of the text, a compiler of some sort or merely a scribe, as the colophon itself is hardly explicit.¹⁷⁶ The theory that he was indeed the author is based on the less common word ‘glosiola’, used both in this colophon and in the best manuscript of the *Brevis expositio*.¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the current opinion among scholars is that Filargirius was probably a commentator from the fifth or sixth century and is unlikely to have been Irish.¹⁷⁸ The *terminus post quem* is provided by the Christian references in the texts attributed to him, while the *terminus ante quem* by the very likely use of these texts by Isidore.¹⁷⁹

2.5.3. The Vatican Mythographers

One of the most important genres to have grown out of the commentary tradition is mythography, and here we must mention the First and Second Vatican Mythographers, two collections of classical mythological stories preserved, among others, in manuscripts of the Vatican Library. The First Mythographer is only extant in a twelfth-century manuscript from the Vatican Library, whereas the complete text of the Second is extant in eleven manuscripts from various parts of Europe, including the sole manuscript of the First Mythographer.¹⁸⁰ Most of these manuscripts are from the later Middle Ages and none of them is older than the

¹⁷⁴ Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic*, p. 29; Herren, ‘Literary and Glossarial Evidence’, p. 56.

¹⁷⁵ Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic*, pp. 28-9; Herren, ‘Literary and Glossarial Evidence’, pp. 57-9. Lambert, ‘Les gloses celtiques’, p. 88 n.25.

¹⁷⁶ Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic*, p. 28.

¹⁷⁷ Lambert, ‘Les gloses celtiques’, pp. 87-8.

¹⁷⁸ Nettleship, ‘The Ancient Commentators on Virgil’, pp. xciii-xcv.

¹⁷⁹ Nettleship, ‘The Ancient Commentators on Virgil’, pp. xciii-xcv; K.N. MacFarlane, ‘Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods’, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society New Series* 70:3 (1980), 1-40, at pp. 8, 34.

twelfth century. As with most mythographic and scholiastic texts of the early and high Middle Ages, authorship, date and use of sources are intimately intertwined and hard to establish with any certainty, but the importance of presenting the most important results arrived at in research on this topic will become clear in chapter 3, in which the First and Second Mythographers will be mentioned frequently as possible sources for both *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*.

The essential study on the First Vatican Mythographer was for a long time the one by Schulz, the first thorough and in-depth analysis of its sources.¹⁸¹ There are only three extant authors whom he accepts as direct sources and they have remained unchallenged: Servius, Lactantius Placidus with his commentary on Statius's *Thebaid* and his scholia on the *Achilleid* and the author of the *Narrationes fabularum Ovidianarum*; he assigns a lot of importance to conjectured lost texts.¹⁸² Schulz prefers a date somewhere in the eighth or ninth century, as he considers that there are several hints of a pre-Carolingian origin in the general tone and structure of the work and a reference to Orosius gives the fifth century as a *terminus post quem*. He advances the hypothesis of Irish authorship, because of the similarities with Scholia Bernensia.¹⁸³ After the publication of Schulz's analysis no other extensive study on the matter was undertaken for a long time. Our understanding of the First Mythographer was changed by Nevio Zorzetti, who has shown, most influentially in the introduction to his Belles Lettres edition, that the Mythographer must have used some of Remigius of Auxerre's works, thus giving the work a date well into the Carolingian period (Remigius lived in the second half of the ninth century).¹⁸⁴ While it is true that he does not study the stories in an exhaustive way, he does furnish some examples that leave little room for doubt. For example, in one particular place the story in the Mythographer is made up of two parts, the first re-working the corresponding passages in Servius and Fulgentius and the second copying Servius verbatim. Remigius in his commentary on Boethius only has the first part and Schulz assumes that he borrowed it from the Mythographer. Nonetheless, since the parts are woven together seamlessly, it is improbable that he should have stopped in the exact same place where the

¹⁸⁰ P. Kulcsár (ed.), *Mythographi Vaticani I et II*, Corpus Christianorum. Series latina 91C (Turnhout, 1987), pp. vi-xi.

¹⁸¹ R. Schulz, *De Mythographi Vaticani primi fontibus* (Halle, 1905).

¹⁸² Schulz, *De Mythographi Vaticani*, pp. 54-69.

¹⁸³ Schulz, *De Mythographi Vaticani*, p. 74.

¹⁸⁴ N. Zorzetti, *Premier mythographe du Vatican* (Paris, 1995), pp. xii-xliv.

Mythographer was changing sources.¹⁸⁵ Rather, it is much more natural to think that Remigius re-worked Fulgentius and Servius and that the Mythographer borrowed his scholium and added the Servian scholium verbatim. Since Remigius was a source and since a *terminus ante quem* for the Mythographer is furnished by *Ecloga Theoduli*, which is dependent upon him and was composed at some point between the ninth century and the eleventh but most likely in the tenth,¹⁸⁶ it seems quite plausible that the First Vatican Mythographer lived in the tenth century as well. It has been suggested that the author of the *Ecloga Theoduli* was working in the same milieu or that they even were one and the same person.¹⁸⁷

The Second Mythographer's work is longer and more elaborated than the First's, especially because the stories here follow a general scheme.¹⁸⁸ The seminal study for this text is Keseling's, conceived as a twin companion to Schulz's book on the First Mythographer.¹⁸⁹ No other extensive or even more perfunctory study seems to have been attempted since. Keseling would place this text in the ninth or tenth century and attributes it to Irish scholarship.¹⁹⁰ He identifies the Mythographer's sources as the First Mythographer, Servius, scholia on Statius and on Horace, Isidore, Fulgentius and other scholiastic sources.¹⁹¹ Manitius strengthened contemporary understanding of the Mythographer as a Carolingian author by suggesting it was Remigius himself.¹⁹² The question whether the Second Mythographer was dependent upon the First has sometimes been left open.¹⁹³ Zorzetti is convinced that he was and that Bernard of Utrecht, the commentator of *Ecloga Theoduli*, was in his turn dependent upon him (or perhaps even the same person).¹⁹⁴ This would mean that the Second Mythographer would

¹⁸⁵ Zorzetti, *Premier mythographe du Vatican*, p. xxxi.

¹⁸⁶ W. Bühler, 'Theodulus' "Ecloga" and Mythographus Vaticanus 1', *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 1 (1968), 65-71.

¹⁸⁷ Zorzetti, *Premier mythographe du Vatican*, pp. xliii-xliv.

¹⁸⁸ K.O. Elliott, J.P. Elder, 'A Critical Edition of the Vatican Mythographers', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 78 (1947), 189-207, pp. 199-200.

¹⁸⁹ F. Keseling, *De mythographi Vaticani secundi fontibus* (Halle, 1907).

¹⁹⁰ Keseling, *De mythographi Vaticani*, pp. 145-7. He considers the oldest manuscript, the one in which the First Mythographer's text is also found, to be from the tenth century, but nowadays it is dated to the twelfth; Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, p. vi.

¹⁹¹ Keseling, *De mythographi Vaticani*, pp. 116-130.

¹⁹² Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur* I, p. 509.

¹⁹³ E.g. Elliott and Elder suggest that the Second Mythographer probably knew the First, without necessarily having used him in any way; see Elliott and Elder, 'A Critical Edition', pp. 200-1.

¹⁹⁴ Zorzetti, *Premier mythographe du Vatican*, pp. xi-xii, xlv.

have written at any point starting in the early tenth century and before the end of the eleventh century (Bernard's floruit is in the late eleventh century).¹⁹⁵

2.5.4. Commentaries on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

Ovidian commentaries were in general a later development within the scholiastic tradition, when compared to commentaries on Virgil and works based on them (such as the Vatican Mythographers). The first extant commentary on the *Metamorphoses* comes from Late Antiquity, the so-called *Narrationes fabularum Ovidianarum*, but it was for a long time also the only one.¹⁹⁶ Scholiastic activity on the *Metamorphoses* (and on Ovid in general) seems to pick up again only after the turn of the millennium and, as far as I have been able to study the matter, its influence can only be felt in *Trójumanna saga*, not in *Togail Troí* as well. There are many manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with comments and glosses of varying degrees of complexity, but unfortunately they have hardly ever been studied as a whole; nonetheless, some attention has been paid to the more interesting of these. In an early twelfth-century manuscript some of the moral-allegorical commentaries are referenced to a certain 'Manogaldus'; this has led scholars to assume that someone of this name had written a fairly influential set of comments and annotations in that period and that he is perhaps identifiable with Manegold of Lautenbach, dean of Raitenbuch in the late eleventh century.¹⁹⁷ Ralph of Beauvais, who was apparently an Englishman teaching grammar in northern France in the mid-twelfth century, wrote a unified grammatical commentary on the *Metamorphoses* and Lucan's *Pharsalia* known as *Liber Tytan* and extant complete in two manuscripts and as excerpts in a third, all written within a century or so after composition.¹⁹⁸ The commentary is not exhaustive, instead Ralph, who was largely faithful to the older grammatical tradition of Priscian by then falling out of fashion, seems to have had two aims: to explain the more complicated passages and words and to find suitable classical quotations to use as examples in

¹⁹⁵ G.L. Hamilton, 'Theodulus. A Medieval Textbook', *Modern Philology* 7:2 (1909), 169-85, p. 5.

¹⁹⁶ See B. Otis, 'The *Argumenta* of the so-called Lactantius', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 47 (1936), 132-63.

¹⁹⁷ K. Meiser, 'Über einen Commentar zu den *Metamorphosen* des Ovid', *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der k.b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, Jahrgang 1885* (Munich, 1886), 47-89, at pp. 48, 71-72; J. Chance, *Medieval Mythography*, 3 vols., vol. II *From the School of Chartres to the Court at Avignon, 1177-1350* (Gainesville, FLA, 2000), pp. 50-1, 388-9.

¹⁹⁸ C.H. Kneepkens (ed.), *Ralph of Beauvais. Liber Tytan* (Nijmegen, 1991), pp. xi-xiv, xxi-xxxiii.

his presentation of grammatical theory.¹⁹⁹ Ralph seems to have enjoyed a certain fame as a grammarian in his time and his old-fashioned works (more akin to Servius's, for example, than to contemporary developments in literary commentary) seem to have had a wider influence than what the manuscript situation might suggest (as deduced from attestations in other sources).²⁰⁰

Another influential figure in the development of Ovidian commentary seems to have been Arnulf of Orléans, writing in the late twelfth and/or early thirteenth century. He is known for his bitter rivalry with another famous scholar of the time, Matthew of Vendôme, which to some extent mirrors the tensions between the philological tendency in education, harkening back to the classical poets and pursued in places like Chartres and Orléans, and the logical and philosophical tendency, the fruit of the Aristotelian revolution and represented above all by the University of Paris.²⁰¹ Glosses on the *Metamorphoses* attributed to Arnulf appear in a few manuscripts, but the complete version is found in a single manuscript, dated to the twelfth century, in which an authorial notice appears; another manuscript gives a few variant readings in a fragment.²⁰² The text is divided into glosses on individual passages, simple and literal, and allegorical interpretations provided for each book at the end of it. These interpretations seem to have taken on a life of their own, as they are found in other manuscripts as well, sometimes combined with the *Integumenta* (see below).²⁰³ Arnulf did not quote his sources, although he, like most contemporary glossators of classical mythology, used Servius, Fulgentius and the Vatican Mythographers.²⁰⁴ The same period witnesses another significant use of Ovid's text in the Digby Mythographer, unfortunately preserved in a single manuscript and incomplete. Although this is a late-twelfth-century allegorising mythographic compilation in the style of the Third Vatican Mythographer, much of it seems to read like a re-telling of the *Metamorphoses*.²⁰⁵

¹⁹⁹ Kneepkens, *Liber Tytan* pp. xiv-xvi.

²⁰⁰ Chance, *Medieval Mythography* II, pp. 54-6; Kneepkens, *Liber Tytan*, pp. xii-xiv.

²⁰¹ For Arnulf's biography and this rivalry see F. Ghisalberti, 'Arnolfo d'Orléans. Un cultore di Ovidio nel secolo XII', *Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere* 24 (1939), 155-234, at pp. 155-61.

²⁰² Ghisalberti, 'Arnolfo d'Orléans', pp. 176-80.

²⁰³ Ghisalberti, 'Arnolfo d'Orléans', pp. 189-92; for a more detailed treatment, see Chance, *Medieval Mythography* II, pp. 56-81.

²⁰⁴ Ghisalberti, 'Arnolfo d'Orléans', p. 193.

²⁰⁵ J.B. Allen, 'An Anonymous Twelfth-Century "De natura deorum" in the Bodleian Library', *Traditio* 26 (1970), 352-64, at pp. 352-4.

Since an allegorical re-telling of the poem is in a way a form of commentary, another such text needs to be mentioned here, namely John of Garland's *Integumenta Ovidii*. John, who was an Englishman but spent most of his life in France as a teacher in the Universities of Toulouse and Paris, seems to have written this allegorical summary of the *Metamorphoses* in the 1230s or 1240s and to have used Arnulf's own poetic summary as a base.²⁰⁶ His Parisian career is reflected in the occasional Aristotelian approach found therein.²⁰⁷ There are relatively many manuscripts of the *Integumenta* and the work seems to have been influential down to the late Middle Ages.²⁰⁸ One of the works composed soon after John's poem and in which he is often cited is the so-called Vulgate commentary, one of the many versions of commentary on the *Metamorphoses* extant in thirteenth-century manuscripts.²⁰⁹ It was produced in central France, probably Orléans, in the mid-thirteenth century and is extant in no less than seventeen manuscripts, most of them from that same century, proof of the influence it exerted in France at least; usage of the Vulgate's glosses in fourteenth-century manuscripts is further proof thereof.²¹⁰ The commentary is extremely compilatory, relying heavily on the work of previous commentators, among which not only John of Garland, but also Arnulf of Orléans is prominent. The glossator's interests are relatively modest in scope, but allegory does occur, as do comments of a more literary-critical nature.²¹¹ Another commentary text, also modest in scope, is the compilation of Ovidian verse known as *Bursarii Ovidianorum*, of the early thirteenth century.²¹² The relevance borne by this whole class of texts, unfortunately too seldom studied, to the present research will become clear in the following chapter.

²⁰⁶ Chance, *Medieval Mythography* II, pp. 234-5; F. Ghisalberti (ed.), *Giovanni di Garlandia. Integumenta Ovidii. Poemetto inedito del secolo XIII* (Messina, 1933), pp. 15-6.

²⁰⁷ For an analysis, see Chance, *Medieval Mythography* II, pp. 233-52.

²⁰⁸ L.K. Born, 'Manuscripts of the *Integumenta* on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid by John of Garland', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 60 (1929), 179-99, at pp. 182-99; Ghisalberti, *Integumenta Ovidii*, pp. 1-2.

²⁰⁹ F.T. Coulson, 'The Vulgate Commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', *Mediaevalia* 13 (1989), 29-61, at p. 30; F.T. Coulson, *The Vulgate Commentary on Ovid's Metamorphoses. The Creation Myth and the Story of Orpheus, Edited from Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste, MS 92* (Toronto, 1991), pp. 4-5.

²¹⁰ Coulson, *The Vulgate Commentary*, p. 14; Coulson, 'The Vulgate Commentary', p. 33.

²¹¹ Coulson, *The Vulgate Commentary*, pp. 7, 10.

²¹² H.-V. Shooner, 'Les *Bursarii Ovidianorum* de Guillaume d'Orléans', *Mediaeval Studies* 43 (1981), 405-24.

3. Paganism in *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*

Having presented in chapter 2 the contextual information regarding *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*, I will devote this following chapter to the analysis of pagan references itself. The chapter is divided into six sections. Sections 3.2 to 3.5 are devoted to the analysis of most of the references to paganism found in *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*. These are divided by the aspect of paganism with which they deal: divine-human interaction (3.2), interactions between deities (3.3), pagan ritual (3.4) and the Judgment of Paris as a special episode (3.5). Needless to say, these categories are employed for purposes of coherent organisation of the research; sometimes they will reflect actual differences between pagan references, but sometimes they will not. Mythological prologues, having the special function of introducing the reader to the narrative material treated in the main body of the medieval works, will form a category of their own; they will be analysed in section 3.1. I will draw preliminary conclusions concerning the research topic, based on this analysis of pagan references, in section 3.6.

3.1. The prologues

The second recension of *Togail Troí* begins with a genealogical section, which traces the ancestry of the Trojan dynasty as far back as Saturn, which is not found in the first recension or based on Dares Phrygius. The divine origin of the dynasty is euhemerised, Saturn being presented as a mortal sovereign, albeit of ‘rigi in domain’.²¹³ The same is not true of recension β of *Trójumanna saga*, as the Ormsbók version, usually considered more faithful to the original, begins directly with material based on the first chapter of Dares Phrygius. Nevertheless,

²¹³ *T.Tr.*, pp. 1; ‘the kingdom of the World’; p. 57. All translations in the thesis are my own.

the Hauksbók version does have a lengthy mythological introduction, also with pagan gods subjected to a euhemeristic interpretation, but without providing any link with the Trojan dynasty.²¹⁴

The introduction to *Togail Troí* can be divided roughly in two: the first part relates the human reigns of Saturn and Jupiter and the second comprises the genealogy of Laomedon. The story of the human Saturn begins with the latter's own genealogy, traced back to Noah. The details of this genealogy are not wholly clear, since it contains a few name forms that are difficult to interpret (e.g. 'Phéil') or obviously corrupted (e.g. 'Esrom' for Cham's son, Mesraim), as well as some surprising relationships. For example, Tros is illogically placed among Saturn's forebears, especially since he also appears soon thereafter in the text as an ancestor of the Trojan dynasty and descendant of the self-same Saturn.²¹⁵ 'Phic', by which Picus is most likely referred to, is in a similar situation, since he usually appears as Saturn's son, not (as here) grandfather, in the synthetic historical tradition.²¹⁶ In this tradition, pagan gods are re-interpreted as mortals and together with their heroic descendants form a pagan chronology, which is placed side by side or even fused together with the chronology of the Old and New Testament, the latter also attracting naturally the succession of empires of the Ancient Near East, with their rulers. Although such a synthetic genealogy for Saturn is not forthcoming in the otherwise very influential works of the Latin Fathers, examples start appearing in the early Middle Ages. A particularly relevant one is provided by the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum*, which shows important similarities with the Irish *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* ('the Book of the Conquest of Ireland', commonly known as 'the Book of Invasions', a major work of legendary historiography), and by its late-eleventh-century Irish translation, *Lebor Bretnach* ('the Book of the Britons').²¹⁷ Nevertheless, these versions are still close to the Eusebian version of the genealogy and lack the atypical features of the *Togail Troí* version. The only similar (indeed identical if one allows again for scribal corruption) version I am aware of is found in *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, which emphasises the kinship between these two classical adaptations.²¹⁸ It has been argued that one of the names in the genealogy, that of Ham, son of Noah, may carry particular weight, the author thereby avoiding to give the pagan

²¹⁴ *T.s.*, pp. 1-5.

²¹⁵ *T.Tr.*, p. 1.

²¹⁶ E.g. in the Chronicle of Eusebius-Jerome, in *Patrologia Latina* XXVII, pp.98 and 273.

²¹⁷ A.G. van Hamel (ed.), *Lebor Bretnach. The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum ascribed to Nennius* (Dublin, s.a.), pp. 16-7. On *Lebor Gabála* see below, pp. 113-4.

(false) god a Noahic ancestry through Japheth, who features in Irish royal genealogies.²¹⁹ In this context, it is important to note that the picture offered by these genealogies is actually somewhat varied. For example, of all the genealogies edited in O'Brien's corpus, only five go back to Noah and, of these, four do so via Japheth and one via Ham, which greatly undermines the aforementioned interpretation.²²⁰ Saturn's reign is briefly described in glowing terms that seem to go back to the traditional motif of the good kingship as found in many Old and Middle Irish texts (particularly the imagery of natural fertility, e.g. 'uair nachured in talam a torad tren tromadbul di cen frithgnam trebaire').²²¹

The account of Saturn's enmity towards his sons is the one truly striking feature of this mythological introduction. Although versions of this story usually have the young Jupiter sent away by his mother to be reared in secret on the island of Crete,²²² the Irish author gives a very different version:

'rafoilged Ioib fair, 7 racured i curach oenseiched for sruth Níl, 7 gabur blicht cengalta isin churuch conid ed sain ras-bethait. Co fuaratar iascaireda srotha Níl hé cona thlacht rí immi'.

'Jupiter was hidden from him, and was put into a coracle of one hide on the river Nile, and in the coracle a milch-goat tethered in such wise that it fed him. And fishermen of the river Nile found him with his royal raiment about him'.²²³

²¹⁸ G. Calder (ed.), *Imtheachta Aeniasa. The Irish Aeneid*, Irish Texts Society 6 (London, 1907), pp. 92-4. See above, p. 33.

²¹⁹ Myrick, *From the De excidio Troiae*, pp. 164-72.

²²⁰ M.A. O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus genealogiarum Hiberniae*, vol. I (Dublin, 1962), pp. 4, 7, 17, 201, 330.

²²¹ *T.Tr.*, p. 1; 'for the earth used to put forth her strong, exceeding heavy fruit, without a husbandman's care'. See for comparison, including the motif of lack of human labour, passages in *Tesmolad Cormaic* and *Coimpert Cormaic*, in S.H. O'Grady (ed.), *Silva Gadelica*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1892), vol. I, pp. 90 and 255, as well as *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (on which see R. O'Connor, *The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel. Kingship and Narrative Artistry in a Mediaeval Irish Saga* [Oxford, 2013], pp. 193-9).

²²² Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, p. 43.

²²³ *T.Tr.*, p. 1.

It does not require a great deal of conjecture to say that this unusual passage is a direct reflection of the Biblical narrative of Moses's origins and childhood,²²⁴ although the imagery of someone in a coracle drifting on water towards no particular destination at the mercy of fate may owe something to the Irish literary tradition of the *navigatio*.²²⁵ Although Moses's name does not appear anywhere in the Irish narrative, it seems very likely that we are not dealing simply with a silent motif-loan. This is due to the fact that Moses's story is a well-known one, which makes the parallel implicit. It looks as though the author is suggesting that Jupiter and Moses are one and the same character, or at least that their stories reflect a single historical event.

It is useful to divide the second half of the mythological introduction, the Trojan genealogy, into four smaller sections, as will be clear when we consider their different origins. Firstly, the divine (but still euhemerised) beginnings of the dynasty are explained as follows: 'Bátar da rígain aconn Ioibsin .i. Maia 7 Electra. Ruc Maia mac dó .i. Mercúir. Ruc dana Electra mac aile .i. Dardán'.²²⁶ Although Maia and Electra were two of the Pleiades and thus sisters, there are few places in Latin literature where they actually appear side-by-side. The most important of these is in Virgil's *Aeneid*, when Aeneas meets King Evandrus and recalls their remote kinship.²²⁷ Servius's commentary on these lines considers this supposed kinship the result of confusion (i.e. Maia and Electra are in fact daughters of two different characters named Atlas) and this is copied verbatim by the Second Vatican Mythographer.²²⁸ A second mention is found in the *Fasti*, where Ovid enumerates the partners of various Pleiades, bringing Maia and Electra side by side as lovers of Jupiter; however, their sons are not

²²⁴ *Biblia sacra juxta Vulgatam versionem*, Exodus 2.1-9. Latin texts, whether ancient or medieval, as well as the Bible, unless explicitly stated otherwise, are cited throughout the thesis by chapter, book, verse and/or other divisions, using the editions found in LLT-A (Library of Latin Texts – Series A), <http://libsta28.lib.cam.ac.uk:2127/llta/pages/Toc.aspx>.

²²⁵ For comparison, see W. Stokes (ed.), 'The Voyage of the Húi Corra', *Revue celtique* 14 (1893), 22-69, at pp. 38 and 40, no earlier than the mid-twelfth century (C. Breatnach, 'The Transmission and Structure of *Immram Curaig Úa Corra*', *Ériu* 53 [2003], 91-107); and W. Stokes (ed.), 'The Voyage of Snedgus and Mac Riagla', *Revue celtique* 9 (1888), 14-25, at pp. 17 and 19, of the twelfth century. Also, M.E. Byrne, 'On the Punishment of Sending Adrift', *Ériu* 11 (1932), 97-102.

²²⁶ *T.Tr.*, p. 1; 'Two queens had that Jupiter, namely Maia and Electra. Maia bore him a son, to wit, Mercury. Then Electra bore him another son, i.e. Dardanus'.

²²⁷ P. Vergilius Maro, *Aeneis* VIII, 134-41; also, Calder, *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, p. 116, with no difference.

²²⁸ Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, p. 137.

mentioned.²²⁹ Thus, the author of *Togail Troí* could have used Virgil directly or Servius's commentary or the Second Vatican Mythographer's account. The fact that in the Irish account the two are not mentioned as sisters could help us eliminate Virgil as a source (but see further below).

The rest of the genealogy too, the sequence Dardanus-Erichthonius-Tros-Ilus-Laomedon, has a very limited number of texts as potential sources.²³⁰ Several texts do indeed go as far as Tros and then veer towards Aeneas, i.e. Tros-Assaracus-Capys-Anchises-Aeneas,²³¹ and in others we find alternative variants,²³² but the sequence of Trojan kings we know from *Togail Troí* can only be found in the first two Vatican Mythographers, with negligible difference between these two Latin accounts.²³³ Both of them also add to this the information that Dardanus moved to Phrygia, which is also found in *Togail Troí*.²³⁴ Another common feature is that the story of the building of Troy's walls follows immediately after this genealogical sequence. *Togail Troí* begins the story with a negative description of King Laomedon, who then 'rafell for Neptuin 7 for Appaill im log cumtaig na Troí'.²³⁵ The Vatican Mythographers describe the same event in more detail.²³⁶ The gods then punish Laomedon by sending a disease over the city (Apollo) and destroying the walls (Neptune) in *Togail Troí*, whereas the First Vatican Mythographer has Neptune send over a marine monster and the Second mentions the same but does not highlight the disease.²³⁷ The *Togail Troí* text continues to abridge the episode by omitting Apollo's prophecy and Laomedon's decision to sacrifice his own daughter Hesione to the sea-monster.²³⁸ It simply mentions Hercules as the one who

²²⁹ Publius Ovidius Naso, *Fasti* IV, 174.

²³⁰ For the second half of the genealogy see *T.Tr.*, pp. 1-2.

²³¹ Dictys Cretensis IV, 22; Servius on *Aeneid* VIII, 130; Publius Ovidius Naso, *Fasti* IV, 30-40, where the connection with gens Iulia is brought into play.

²³² -Ilus-Assaracus-Capys in Silius Italicus, *Punica* XI, 293-7; -Tros-Assaracus-Laomedon and -Assaracus-Capys-Aeneas in Servius' commentary on Virgil's *Georgics* III, 35.

²³³ Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, pp. 55, 258. The sequence of kings is also embedded in the great list of genealogies towards the end of the First Mythographer, p. 79.

²³⁴ *T.Tr.*, p.1.

²³⁵ 'deceived Neptune and Apollo regarding the reward for building Troy'; *T.Tr.*, p. 2.

²³⁶ Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, pp. 55, 259.

²³⁷ Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, p. 259.

²³⁸ *T.Tr.*, p. 2.

saved the girl from an unexplained sea-monster and Laomedon as denying him the proper reward for it.

In the Second Vatican Mythographer's account, the narrative after Apollo's prophecy follows a different path; the same does not happen in the First Mythographer's account, whose story closely resembles the *Togail Troí* version. The chief difference is that the former has Hercules destroy the walls of Troy and kidnap Hesione in revenge. If we see the Irish author remaining silent on Hercules' revenge, this is most likely because he fully understood that he had to harmonise this account with the rest of the text, which is based on Dares Phrygius and thus substitutes for this revenge the Argonauts' (but chief among them Hercules's) retribution later on for Laomedon's aggression.²³⁹ The Irish author does not give up this detail completely, since we can probably see its reflection in Neptune destroying the walls of the city (instead of sending the 'coetus', as the Vatican Mythographers have it). It is important to note in this connection that the author did not try to re-work the narrative he found in his source from a doctrinal point of view: Apollo's revenge, whereby he sends a plague over the city, is thus allowed to undermine the euhemeristic reading developed thus far. Finally, the last element of the mythological introduction before the Daretian material is the mention of the kinship between Trojans and Greeks: 'Mercur mac Ioib brathair Dardain meic Ioib. Is uad ragenatar Gréic. O Dardán immoro ragenatar Troianai'.²⁴⁰ Although this could be in theory an independent development, it is probably based on a passage in Servius (on *Aeneid* VIII, 130) where this piece of information is given, with the only difference that Servius's 'Arcades' is broadened to 'Gréic' ('Greeks'). Mercury and Dardanus are not mentioned explicitly as sons of two sisters in *Togail Troí* (unlike in the Servian scholium), just as Jupiter's two queens were not mentioned as sisters. Nonetheless, Mercury and Dardanus as half-brothers and first cousins would still, of course, accord very well with the general point, i.e. the close kinship between the two warring camps, which weakens the second Servian scholium (i.e. on *Aeneid* VIII 134-141, the scholium in which it is claimed that the two Pleiads were not sisters and which was taken over by the Vatican Mythographer).

To conclude, the Irish author prefaced his Daretian narrative with an introduction made up of two parts. The first, dealing with Saturn and Jupiter, while probably also underpinned by a genealogical concern, serves primarily to introduce the reader to classical mythology and

²³⁹ *T.Tr.*, pp. 14-8.

²⁴⁰ 'Mercury son of Jupiter, brother of Dardanus son of Jupiter. It is from him the Greeks were born. From Dardanus, however, were born the Trojans'; *T.Tr.*, p. 2.

expresses a euhemeristic view of it. The ‘good kingship’ passage (or even the highly unusual typological reference to Moses) could indicate that it is the product of an Irish intellectual, probably the very author of this recension of *Togail Troí*. The second part, with its lack of euhemeristic interpretation, is much less original and aims to provide more narrative background to the story of Troy, including a full genealogy. The two short passages about the brothers Mercury and Dardanus, at its beginning and end, are likely based on Servius’s commentary on *Aeneid* VIII, 130, whereas the genealogy itself and the story of the building of Troy’s walls are probably based on the Vatican Mythographers or a text closely related to theirs. The latter option is made more likely by the fact that the genealogy accords better with the First Mythographer and the story of Troy’s walls with the Second.

The mythological introduction to *Trójumanna saga* mentioned above can be divided into two separate sections as well. The first section seems to have largely the same purpose as its Irish counterpart, namely to provide mythological background for the pagan references encountered later on in the narrative, but without the genealogical concern.²⁴¹ Instead, this section seems to be forcefully driven, much more than *Togail Troí*, by the desire to explain classical pagan mythology within the framework of euhemerism. Just as in *Togail Troí*, this section gives only a brief account of the reigns of the mortal kings Saturn and Jupiter, although there is certainly much more detail here than in the aforementioned text. If *Togail Troí* euhemerises Saturn as king of the world with no further explanations, *Trójumanna saga* offers a somewhat lengthy account of his career: an ingenious but explicitly common Cretan, he realises how he can improve his fellow countrymen’s lot and brings from the Jews the craft of gold metallurgy and coin minting, which turns him into king of Crete. We are told that, because of his success, his subjects ‘kolluðu hann upphaf ok guð þers landz’; he started believing this and went on to think he was ruling the whole world and even the whole universe.²⁴² The synthetic-historical dimension is not developed in comparable depth, but it is given pride of place at the very beginning of the section:

‘A dogum Josue er hofðingi var a Jorsala landi yfir Gyðinga luð eftir Moyises at til skipan sjalfs guðs var sa maðr upp fœddr i ey þeiri j Jorsala hafi er Krit heitir er Saturnus var kallaðr en ver kollum Frey’.

²⁴¹ *T.s.*, pp. 1-3.

²⁴² *T.s.*, p. 1; ‘called him the origin and god of that country’.

‘In the days of Joshua, when he was chieftain in the land of Jerusalem over the people of the Jews after Moses, by God’s own disposition, the man who was called Saturn and whom we call Freyr was raised up on that island in the Jerusalem sea which is called Crete’.²⁴³

The classical-Norse mythological equation was an established technique in Old Norse texts by the time Hauksbók was written; it seems to have been particularly favoured by the author of the additions in the Hauksbók version, who, of course, also found examples of such equations in his source.²⁴⁴ The kind of synthetic history we see here, with chronological juxtaposition of historicised pagan gods and Old Testament characters, seems to take us back to the tradition started by Eusebius of Caesarea and his Latin translator, Jerome, which I will discuss presently.²⁴⁵ While it would be difficult or perhaps impossible to identify a precise origin for this reference, it does not seem to be particularly original, as I could establish even without in-depth research, by taking the example of a major European twelfth-century chronicle, Otto of Freising’s *Chronica de duabus civitatibus*. In this work, the reign of Picus, son of Saturn, as king of Italy is given in the same entry as Joshua’s death.²⁴⁶ The story of the transfer of power between Saturn and his sons has a few original features, discussed below, as does the war between Jupiter and the Titans.

The second section of the introduction is a series of narratives with Jupiter at their centre, but with no obvious common thread. The narratives treat, in order: Io, Lycaon, Europa (and Cadmus), Apollo, Salmoneus and Alcmena. The first four of these can be found in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* spread over a relatively small amount of text (books I and II and beginning of book III). The highly original narrative of Apollo has him as a son of Jupiter and Europa, whose magic powers make his father become jealous and kill him with a lightning bolt; my interpretation of this short, unclear story is that it is a reflection of Phaeton’s myth.²⁴⁷ The narrative of Alcmena is also highly original, in that it silently combines the story of Amphytrion’s wife with that of Danae, Perseus’s mother, probably under the influence of the more or less fortuitous juxtaposition in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* VI, 112-3. Nonetheless, it is important to note that Salmoneus is not in Ovid, nor is Danae’s myth actually narrated there as such. The Second Vatican Mythographer has most of these narratives, or more precisely all the canonical ones, more or less close together: Salmoneus (fabula 74 in Kulcsár’s edition),

²⁴³ *T.s.*, p. 1.

²⁴⁴ For mythological equations, see below pp. 108-9.

²⁴⁵ See below, p. 57.

²⁴⁶ A. Hofmeister (ed.), *Chronica, sive historia de duabus civitatibus* (Hannover, 1912), p. 56.

²⁴⁷ See e.g. Publius Ovidius Naso, *Metamorphoses* I, 747-79.

Phaethon (75), Lycaon (76 and especially 78), Europa and Cadmus (96-9), Io (111).²⁴⁸ Of course, their proximity in Ovid makes the association of the last three perhaps normal, especially in light of the fact that the Mythographer used the *Narrationes fabularum Ovidianarum* extensively, including for Europa.²⁴⁹ It is the presence of Salmoneus which is crucial here, suggesting as it does that a text close to the Mythographer's was used by the saga author. Also in the Mythographer's text, Salmoneus's fable has in common with the one before it and the one afterwards (Phaethon) the motif of being killed by Jupiter with a lightning bolt. These three lightning bolt narratives in the Mythographer's account are part of a wider grouping revolving around mortals who are killed by gods for their *hybris* (e.g. Lycaon, Icarus etc.).²⁵⁰ It thus seems likely that the source used by the saga author contained a cluster of narratives on this topic that was more or less the same as the one found in the Second Vatican Mythographer.

The narrative of Alcmene and Danae fused together is helpful for us in that it proves that the source cannot have been the Mythographer himself, where the two characters are present, but in no connection with one another. It is of course theoretically possible that the author used more than one source for this introduction, but the reduced number of narratives and the lack of an overarching structure (the theme of the *hybris* is present, as mentioned above, but is certainly not stressed) do not encourage one to think of an encyclopaedic endeavour. Instead, we are much more likely to be confronted here with a decorative use of individual mythological narratives, ignoring harmonisation but working towards the goal of producing a mythological section that would provide the Trojan story with a rather general and unfocused background. These individual mythological narratives were probably taken from a single source that happened to be available. I have isolated above one component of this source, closely related to the Vatican Mythographers, and the passage from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, illuminating as it does the fusion of Alcmene and Danae as the misreading of a juxtaposition, strongly suggests that one of the many Ovidian commentaries circulating in the thirteenth century was another component.

In this context, it is necessary to mention the passage where Jupiter is said to have sailed the seas in a ship with a bull's head at the prow, which is found at the end of the first half of the prologue. The idea that Jupiter did not turn himself into a bull in order to kidnap Europa but was merely sailing in a ship adorned with the image of a bull is found in the Second Vatican Mythographer,²⁵¹ but that does not mean that the latter is the only possible source here. The popularity of this text means that the same interpretation can be found verbatim in

²⁴⁸ Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, pp. 152-5, 169-73, 183.

²⁴⁹ See above, pp. 41-4.

²⁵⁰ Roughly fabulae 73-94; Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, pp. 152-68.

²⁵¹ Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, p. 263.

the Third Vatican Mythographer.²⁵² The latter in turn was a seminal text for mythographic allegory in the High Middle Ages and later and we thus see the information reproduced in Arnulf of Orléans' allegorical commentaries on the *Metamorphoses* (late-twelfth- or early-thirteenth-century).²⁵³

It seems impossible to determine through what kind of text the Ovidian commentary was transmitted into *Trójumanna saga*'s source, but there may be other clues that can help such an inquiry. In particular, the sequence of events formed in the saga by the division of Saturn's kingdom and Jupiter's war with the Titans / Giants is found to my knowledge in only one mythographic text, namely the late-twelfth-century so-called 'Digby Mythographer'; the story of Io is also found in both texts and could be seen as a third element of the sequence.²⁵⁴ The Digby Mythographer combines Ovidian material with material from the Vatican Mythographers, which means that it fits the description of the Hauksbók source particularly well.²⁵⁵ It is preserved in a single manuscript, but similar mythographic texts are likely to have been produced in the same circumstances (twelfth- and thirteenth-century England, which also saw the allegorical Ovidian commentaries of John of Garland), perhaps even in the vernacular, and one such text may have been used by the *Trójumanna saga* author.²⁵⁶ The vernacular may be of relevance here if one notices certain linguistic oddities in the Old Norse text, such as 'undir stendr' for 'understood', which strikes one as a possible calque from English. Nonetheless, it must be borne in mind that the world of high medieval mythography, of Ovidian commentaries in particular, is a vast and still poorly mapped territory, with many texts still awaiting publication.²⁵⁷ Whatever the case may be, it is important to note that a doctrinal choice has been made: rationalism or euhemerism is not the dominating outlook that we encounter either in the Vatican Mythographers or in Arnulf or other Ovidian commentators, including Digby. Whoever chose to re-work this particular passage must have ignored in some way or other many more passages, containing either literal or allegorical interpretations.

If we thus try to understand the role played by these prologues in the economy of their respective narratives, we will soon discover that the two authors seem to have had the same

²⁵² G.H. Bode (ed.), *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini tres Romae nuper reperti* (Celle, 1834), pp. 140 and 162.

²⁵³ Ghisalberti, 'Arnolfo d'Orléans', pp. 95 and 108. See above, p. 45.

²⁵⁴ V. Brown, 'An Anonymous *Liber de natura deorum*', *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972), 1-70, at pp. 11-2, 15. It needs to be emphasised that knowledge of medieval mythography in general must remain qualified while there are still many texts and recensions that have not been edited.

²⁵⁵ See above, p. 45. Chance, *Medieval Mythography*, vol. I (Gainesville, FLA, 1994), pp. 115-37.

²⁵⁶ For John of Garland, see above, p. 46.

²⁵⁷ See above, section 2.5.4.

conceptions about the classical literary material furnished by Dares Phrygius, even if the elements each of them favoured at the expense of others were different. Both authors clearly understood that the Trojan story, set as it is in the classical pagan past, requires at least some background information on the origins of the gods involved in the Trojan War; this is obviously at least the general function of the prologues. The narrative sequence and structure, moving from Saturn to his sons and the transfer of power, is common and shared with all or nearly all the mythographies of the Middle Ages, probably inspired by the fifth-century Fulgentius.²⁵⁸ Significantly, both prologues begin by simply setting the scene from a historical point of view. They are written in the Patristic tradition, whereby classical pagan gods had been mortal kings whose lives and reigns had run parallel with those of other known rulers. The Bible offered the obvious framework for integrating these pagan rulers into the wider history of the world, and this is what the Church Fathers did, starting with Eusebius. His chronological tables of Hebrew, pagan Middle Eastern and classical history, as translated into Latin by Jerome, proved foundational for the entire medieval approach to these most remote of historical periods; this phenomenon took place largely through the agency of very influential early users of the chronicle of Eusebius and Jerome, particularly Isidore and Bede.²⁵⁹

This is not to say that there was no significant room for variation within the synthetic historical tradition, as exemplified by the two prologues: while in *Togail Troí* Saturn is only seven generations removed from Noah, in *Trójumanna saga* he is contemporary with Joshua. In neither case is the synthetic historical interest expressed in more than a single sentence, but the silent equation between Jupiter and Moses in *Togail Troí* indicates perhaps some further desire to fuse together pagan and Biblical history, even though the chronology is here faulty. In considering the synthetic-historical aspects in *Togail Troí*, one must cite another passage, much later in the narrative and of a rather disruptive nature: ‘Is ceist ic na senchaidib cia fot rabái etir thogail Hercoil 7 Iasóin for in Troí 7 togail Agmemnoin 7 na nGréc co coitchend. Acus cata ríg robatar isin domun in tan daringnit in da thogail. Ni anse. [...]’.²⁶⁰ In this

²⁵⁸ Fulgentius Mythographus, *Mythologiarum libri tres*.

²⁵⁹ For general studies on the writing of universal history, see A.D. von den Brincken, *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik bis in das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising* (Düsseldorf, 1957); R. Sprandel, ‘World Historiography in the Late Middle Ages’, in D.M. Deliyannis (ed.), *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 157-80.

²⁶⁰ ‘It is a question with the *senchaide* (“historians”), how long it was between the destruction of Troy by Hercules and Jason and the destruction by Agamemnon and the Greeks in general, and which kings lived in the

passage, we feel much more clearly the presence of a historical scholar and more precisely of an Irish historical scholar (with the typical medieval Irish scholarly formula ‘Ní anse’, ‘Not difficult’). Not everything in this passage is clear, but whatever is so is also chronologically consistent, e.g. the Israelite judges Tola and Samson are mentioned later in the passage and they are close enough to each other to be contemporary with Laomedon and Priam; it is also consistent with the Jupiter-Moses equation, if we consider that relevant. The same issue of the two destructions of Troy and of their chronology appears in three different passages in *Lebor Gabála*, a work I will discuss later in more detail; there are similarities between this text and *Togail Troí* in the way this question is handled (including the fact that some names appear in both), which reinforces their connection within the framework of synthetic history.²⁶¹

All of this is evidence of *Togail Troí* having been transmitted in an intellectual environment very much concerned with historical writing, with the production of scholarly sound accounts of the past, which of course comes as no surprise. It is in complete harmony with the medieval understanding of Dares Phrygius as an eyewitness-historian of the Trojan War.²⁶² It is also in harmony with the synthetic historical interests of the wider learned culture of eleventh- and twelfth-century Ireland. These are evidenced by the bold inclusion of native history into the universal framework (seen especially in the annals, in the section known as ‘the Irish World Chronicle’), with Irish-Biblical parallelism sometimes becoming the central point of heroic narratives, such as *Aided Chonchubuir* (‘The Death of Conchobar’).²⁶³

world when the two destructions were done. Not difficult. [...]’; *T.Tr.*, p. 18.

²⁶¹ See below, pp. 113-4. R.A.S. Macalister (ed.), *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, 5 vols., Irish Texts Society 34-35, 39, 41, 44 (London, 1938-1956), vol. III, pp. 34, 158, vol. V, p. 196. The first and second references can be found in all the manuscripts of Recension II and in the Book of Ballymote, which belongs to Recension III; they appear in what Macalister calls the synchronisms at the end of the Partholón and Nemed sections respectively. The third reference can be found in the second text of *Lebor Gabála* in the Book of Lecan, which belongs to Recension III; it appears in the section labelled by Macalister ‘The Roll of the Kings’. For a more recent reassessment of the text’s transmission, see R.M. Scowcroft, ‘*Leabhar Gabhála*. Part I: The Growth of the Text’, *Ériu* 38 (1987), 81-142.

²⁶² See above, p. 7.

²⁶³ Regarding the annals, synthetic historiography is particularly evident in the Annals of Inisfallen, Mac Airt, *The Annals of Inisfallen*, pp. 1-45, and the Annals of Tigernach, Stokes, *The Annals of Tigernach* I, pp. 4-33. E.g. ‘Dáire mac Forggo regnauit in Emain annis .lxxi. Demetrius regnauit in Siria et minore simul Asia annis .xii.’ (‘Dáire mac Forggo reigned in Emain for 71 years. Demetrius reigned in Syria and at the same time in Asia Minor for 12 years.’), Stokes, *Annals of Tigernach* I, p. 30. For the ‘Irish World Chronicle’ see D. McCarthy, ‘The Status of the pre-Patrician Irish Annals’, *Peritia* 12 (1998), 98-152. For *Aided Chonchubuir*, see below, pp.

The situation is somewhat different in the *Trójumanna saga* prologue. Once Saturn has been made contemporary with Joshua, the narrative leaves the universal scene never to return. Saturn's dealings with the Jews are really too vague and unusual to merit the label 'synthetic history'. The driving intellectual interest in the Norse prologue seems to be euhemerism, as a rationalist explanation of pagan religion. The account of how the mortal commoner Saturn came to be considered a god is detailed and refined, taking the form of a steady progression to great wealth, local kingship and world domination.²⁶⁴ This is surely to be understood in the wider context of the manuscript, since Hauksbók contains two other euhemeristic accounts of paganism as a whole, one of them being Ælfric's *De falsis diis* and the other being from Honorius Augustodunensis' famous *Elucidarius*; the latter even appears twice, once as part of the *Elucidarius* text and once on its own.²⁶⁵

In general, euhemeristic speculation features in more than one Old Norse narrative²⁶⁶ and the similarities between *Trójumanna saga* and one of these, the additions in the Codex Wormianus version of the prologue to *Snorra Edda* (mid-fourteenth-century) are arresting, suggesting an extremely close connection.²⁶⁷ This similarity extends not only to the euhemeristic story of Saturn in general (e.g. the motif of the gold coinage), but even to the same linguistic detail mentioned above, usage of 'understæði' with the sense of 'understood'.²⁶⁸ It is important to note here that the scribe of Wormianus is thought to have had access to Hauksbók, since palaeographical research has shown that he copied the text of the eddic poem *Völuspá* in Hauksbók towards the mid-fourteenth century, a few decades after most of the other texts (including *Trójumanna saga*) were copied; not all scholars agree on the attribution of this manuscript hand.²⁶⁹ This raises the question whether some of the innovative

132-3, 139.

²⁶⁴ *T.s.*, pp. 1-2.

²⁶⁵ Rowe, 'Perspectives on Hauksbók', pp. 55, 62.

²⁶⁶ A. Faulkes, 'Descent from the gods', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 11 (1978-9), 92-125, at pp. 106-10.

²⁶⁷ Finnur Jónsson *et al.* (eds.), *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar. Codex Wormianus, AM 242 fol.* (Copenhagen, 1924), pp. 2-8. For *Snorra Edda* and its transmission see below, pp. 98-9.

²⁶⁸ Finnur Jónsson, *Codex Wormianus*, p. 3.

²⁶⁹ Rowe, 'Perspectives on Hauksbók', pp. 57-66; Jakob Benediktsson (ed.), *Catilina and Jugurtha by Sallust and Pharsalia by Lucan in Old Norse. Rómverjasaga, AM 595 a-b 4to*, Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile 13 (Copenhagen, 1980), pp. 10-2; K.G. Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus. Skrifttradition och avskriftsverksamhet vid ett isländskt skriptorium under 1300-talet*, Nordistica Gothoburgensia 20 (Göteborg, 1997), pp. 159-81.

elements in the Prologue of the Wormianus Edda could be based directly on Hauksbók, as it has sometimes been assumed.²⁷⁰ The fact that the first interpolation (roughly the second half of paragraph 1 in the edition) is almost certainly based on Ælfric's *De falsis diis* (e.g. the number of the Tower of Babel's builders, given in both texts as 72) is a strong argument in favour of such an interpretation, because, as already mentioned, this Old English sermon is preserved in Hauksbók as well, in an Old Norse translation.²⁷¹ To this we may add the echoes from the original parts of the prologue found in these interpolations and the very skilful way in which the author joins everything into a coherent whole. This becomes remarkable when he synchronises the departure for the North of Óðinn and all the *æsir* from Asia with Pompey's campaigns in the East, thereby improving upon Snorri's own harmonisation of Norse and classical legendary history.²⁷² There is thus a distinct possibility that the author of these interpolations was drawing inspiration from two texts found in Hauksbók, *Trójumanna saga* and Ælfric's homily, as well as from the very exemplar he was copying. Nevertheless, I am inclined to think otherwise. First of all, the interpolations contain much information (sometimes of a very unusual type) not found in any of the aforementioned three texts; this is the case with many mythological elements in the second interpolation (paragraphs 3-5 in the edition).²⁷³ From the point of view of quantity of material, it is the story of Saturn in Hauksbók that almost reads like an abridgement of the one in Wormianus, not the opposite. Since another, unknown source was probably used for writing about mythological characters such as Venus, it may well be that that source also contained the Saturn material which is presented (with some differences) in both texts. The same can be said, for example, about the short conflated narrative of Europa and Io (i.e. the events associated with both are related, but they are attributed here solely to Europa), in which the wording is so similar to the one in Hauksbók as to be at times identical.²⁷⁴ This would, of course, support the theory of Wormianus's dependence on Hauksbók, but the presence of an original (with regard to Hauksbók) and 'canonical' (with regard to classical sources) element in the middle of this passage clearly proves that there is no direct influence and that the two texts must be collateral relatives. Indeed, Europa is not only turned into a cow by Juno, but also sent 'i Elfar

²⁷⁰ Faulkes, 'Descent from the Gods', pp. 108, 121.

²⁷¹ Eiríkur Jónsson and Finnur Jónsson (eds.), *Hauksbók* (Copenhagen, 1892-6), pp. 156-64, at p. 157.

²⁷² Finnur Jónsson, *Codex Wormianus*, p. 6. See below, p. 103.

²⁷³ Finnur Jónsson, *Codex Wormianus*, pp. 4-7.

²⁷⁴ Finnur Jónsson, *Codex Wormianus*, p. 5, paragraph 4.

kuisler' (a clear reference to the Nile delta, adapted to Northern European geography).²⁷⁵ Of course, both elements relate in fact to Io and even Io's story is creatively abridged, in that in classical sources she is freed by Mercury and then flees to Egypt, but what is important is that this detail is classical and cannot be found in Hauksbók. If there had been more significant variation from Hauksbók in this passage, we would have been justified in thinking of a second source, but a single different and 'correct' detail in the middle of a section that would otherwise have seemed wholly dependent on Hauksbók must mean that the two scribes used the same source, each of them including elements that the other did not. I have speculated above on the possibility of this source being English and vernacular.²⁷⁶ Admittedly, the verb 'undirstanda', although borrowed from English or Low German, does seem to have had a certain independent (albeit limited) currency in Old Norse.²⁷⁷ Nonetheless, its separate occurrence in separate contexts in both the Hauksbók text and the Wormianus text does make an English exemplar more likely, as does the presence of at least one other loanword from English, 'list' ('craft'), which is used extensively throughout the interpolations in the Wormianus prologue, where the native word 'lþrott' might perhaps have been expected.²⁷⁸ Learned Latinisms are also present in this text, for example 'planta' ('to plant') or 'phitonsanda' (an obscure formation or perhaps a scribal error, but clearly referring to the concept of 'pythonism', i.e. prophetic divination).²⁷⁹ It thus appears clear that a mythographic source, which I would characterise as rich and detailed, close to the Vatican Mythographers, but also relying on Ovidian commentary, was used directly both by the author of *Trójumanna saga*'s prologue in Hauksbók and by the author of *Snorra Edda*'s prologue in Codex Wormianus, at least for the second interpolation. The first interpolation, based on Ælfric, could have used the Norse *De falsis diis* in Hauksbók directly as a source, but the presence there of a few learned elements absent in Ælfric means that usage of the mythographic source

²⁷⁵ 'into the branches of the Elf', where 'Elf' can stand for either the Elbe, Göta in Sweden or Glomma in Norway; Cleasby-Vigfússon, p. 126, where the phrase in Wormianus is interpreted as referring to the Göta (based on another occurrence), although the larger Elbe is perhaps more likely. For the presence of the Egypt element in classical versions of Io's myth, see e.g. the Vatican Mythographers, Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, pp. 9, 183.

²⁷⁶ See above, pp. 58-9.

²⁷⁷ Cleasby-Vigfússon, p. 653.

²⁷⁸ Cleasby-Vigfússon, p. 390.

²⁷⁹ Finnur Jónsson, *Codex Wormianus*, pp. 6, 4.

is possible in this case as well. Arguing in favour of the first possibility is the fact that the scribe of Wormianus is known to have had contact with Hauksbók.

The most important drawback in this analysis is the difficulty involved in finding relevant parallels for this kind of English influence on Old Norse texts, although some instances are known. There are, of course, Old Norse adaptations of Old French texts, dated to the thirteenth century, when French was still a living language in England, as well as Norse versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* and *Prophetiae Merlini*, but, more importantly, there are English-language texts known to have been translated into Old Norse. The Norse version of Ælfric's *De falsis diis* is found in Hauksbók, in a section of the manuscript that is likely to have been produced in Norway at some point between 1302 and 1310.²⁸⁰ The Norwegian Homily Book (ca. 1200) also shows signs of English influence, from homiletic texts that probably reached Norway at some point in the twelfth century.²⁸¹ Scholars of Old Norse script have shown that the Norwegian script of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was a mixture of Carolingian and Insular and can be traced back to eleventh-century England, which means that in that period the main source of books for the newly-Christianised Norway was England.²⁸² The Norse Ælfric, the homilies and the mythographic source could have reached Norway as part of this poorly documented book trade that seems to have been undertaken for more than a century after Conversion. *Trójumanna saga* itself was copied in Hauksbók in a different section, one dated to between 1302 and 1310 as well (but more likely between 1306 and 1308) and probably produced in Iceland; there is no particular reason to suppose Wormianus itself was not produced in Iceland as well.²⁸³ This would suggest that the mythographic source was known in Iceland by the end of the thirteenth century. Turning again to palaeographic evidence, we may note that the Carolingian-Insular script used in Norway was imported to Iceland, roughly in the second half of the twelfth

²⁸⁰ Rowe, 'Perspectives on Hauksbók', 64.

²⁸¹ C. Abram, 'Anglo-Saxon Influence in the Old Norwegian Homily Book', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 14 (2004), 1-35.

²⁸² Odd Einar Haugen, 'The development of Latin Script I: in Norway', in O. Bandle *et al.* (eds.), *The Nordic Languages. An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 2002-5), vol. I, pp. 824-32.

²⁸³ Rowe, 'Perspectives on Hauksbók', 64; Finnur Jónsson, *Codex Wormianus*, pp. i-ix.

century; it is possible that this also reflects a trend in book trade and that the mythographic source (perhaps already translated) was part of this book trade.²⁸⁴

A recurring motif in all the Norse texts mentioned in the foregoing discussion is euhemerism. The latter is not, of course, opposed to the synthetic-historical integration of pagan gods that we see in *Togail Troí*, in fact it is even presupposed by the latter. Nonetheless, as an object of specific intellectual research, the deification of mortals takes an author into a different direction than the one to which historical standardisation leads. At least the prologues of the two Trojan texts seem to support this opposition very well. The one in *Togail Troí* is very much harmonised from a narrative point of view with the main body of the text, which it more or less supplements from a chronological and historical point of view, chiefly by using the efficient tool of genealogy. The prologue to *Trójumanna saga*, on the other hand, is much less to the point. We are confronted here (and in the second half in particular) with a general, unfocused interest in mythology for its own sake, something to be understood perhaps as a doctrinal by-product of the specialised inquiry into euhemerism, as practised by the Norse author in the first half. With the risk of over-generalisation, we can perhaps say that rationalisation values mythology as a whole (even while radically transforming it), as a manifestation of the human religious intellect, whereas synthetic history as practised in *Togail Troí* selects only that which is chronologically quantifiable in order to serialise it.

The difference in function between the two prologues also mirrors a difference in the overall conception of the narrative. *Togail Troí* conceives the Trojan War as an historical event, to be understood in the light of other, earlier historical events and in the light of genealogy (a prominent feature within the Book of Leinster as a textual compilation).²⁸⁵ Indeed, it may even have conceived it in the context of subsequent historical events as well, considering the very possible connection with *Imtheachta Aeniasa*.²⁸⁶ It is perhaps significant that the latter text lacks a mythological prologue that would link Aeneas with the gods, although on the other hand the introductory passages do show some overlap with the prologue to *Togail Troí*. Erich Poppe has argued convincingly in favour of the historiographic intent

²⁸⁴ Stefán Karlsson, 'The development of Latin Script I: in Iceland', in O. Bandle *et al.* (eds.), *The Nordic Languages. An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 2002-5), vol. I, pp. 832-9.

²⁸⁵ D. Schlüter, *History or Fable? The Book of Leinster as a Document of Cultural Memory in Twelfth-Century Ireland*, Studien und Texte zur Keltologie 9 (Münster, 2009), pp. 59-60, 197-201, 225.

²⁸⁶ See above and below, pp. 48, 79-80.

behind *Imtheachta Aeniasa*.²⁸⁷ The author of the Hauksbók version of *Trójumanna saga*, probably Haukr Erlendsson himself, understands the Trojan War first and foremost as a classical story. This is why he allows himself to abridge it severely, since he is not interested in the historiographic value of Dares's account, or at least not to the level of minute detail. What he is interested in is the narrative's potential as a gateway to pagan mythology. It is also an occasion for him to indulge in an investigation of paganism, which he does by appending a quite original narrative prologue which the audience was probably expected to understand as exemplary and theologically illuminating, rather than historically accurate (see, for example, the apocryphal way in which it briefly treats Biblical material).²⁸⁸ We must note again that the characteristics of the prologue to *Trójumanna saga* as presented here are admirably shared with the one to *Snorra Edda* (the additions in Codex Wormianus) and that in fact the tone and nuance of the two narratives can be recognised as (quasi-)identical by any reader.

Finally, after dwelling a bit on the differences, it is perhaps surprising to note that both authors seem to have had an eye for more sophisticated, non-literal readings of classical mythology, although none of them is a practitioner of true allegory in the style of Fulgentius. In *Togail Troí*, we are struck by the conflation of Jupiter and Moses. As already mentioned, it looks as though the author is suggesting that Jupiter and Moses are one and the same character, or at least that their stories reflect a single historical event. As far as I have been able to investigate, no parallel for this particular equation seems to occur anywhere in medieval literature and such a treatment of pagan mythology in general is anything but usual in the intellectual history of the early Middle Ages. Its closest parallel among the more well-established practices of textual interpretation seems to be the typological exegesis of the Bible, where characters and events of the Old Testament are explained as prefiguration of characters and events of the New Testament. It seems to me at least highly possible that the origin of this passage is to be found in some kind of commentary or scholium where, discussing a reference to the pagan god Jupiter, it was claimed that the latter was a type of Moses, explaining the parallelism. Later on, this typological comparison would have been turned into a conflation of the two characters, perhaps by the very author of the original Irish translation of Dares Phrygius. It is unfortunate that lack of evidence cannot move this scenario beyond the realm of speculation. It may be that the translator, or whoever was responsible for this conflation, really did mean to say that Jupiter and Moses were the same

²⁸⁷ Poppe, *A New Introduction*, passim.

²⁸⁸ *T.s.*, p. 1.

person and that the story of Jupiter's rescue was a corrupted reflection of the true story of Moses's abandonment on the Nile. Nonetheless, other explanations are also possible, such as the conflation being a literary technique designed to emphasise the typological parallel. Needless to say, important elements from the classical story are retained, such as the goat and the stone which Saturn is unwittingly fed.

This type of treatment of the pagan material which focuses on typological exegesis is clearly not unique to this passage in *Togail Troí*, although it is infrequent in medieval literature. Perhaps the most famous and influential example is furnished by Pierre Bersuire's *Ovidius moralizatus* and its re-workings, but this literary tradition begins in the fourteenth century.²⁸⁹ Closer to the date of *Togail Troí*, Arnulf of Orléans sometimes employs the same technique in his own commentary on Ovid.²⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the most relevant work of this type, indeed (to my knowledge) the closest chronologically relevant parallel to the passage in *Togail Troí*, is *Ecloga Theoduli*, which appears to have been closely linked with the First and Second Vatican Mythographers (its author was even suggested to be the Second Mythographer) and which is thus likely to have been composed in the tenth century.²⁹¹ These associations are important, because the first two Vatican Mythographers probably constituted a source or were themselves closely related (collaterally) to a source used throughout *Togail Troí*, as will be emphasised at various points in this research. The *Ecloga*, which despite its established name is actually anonymous, consists of a dialogue between Pseustis and Alithia ('Falsehood' and 'Truth'), in which the former mentions a succession of pagan myths, for each of which the latter gives the Biblical parallel; the exact nature of the relationship between these two types of narrative subject-matter is not established.²⁹² The *Ecloga* was popular throughout the Middle Ages, even becoming a school text in later centuries; this

²⁸⁹ *Ovidius moralizatus* is a fourteenth-century prose commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* which offers Biblical parallels, both from the Old and the New Testament, to many passages in this classical poem. It was re-worked in Old French verse and in this version it is known as *Ovide moralisé*. This version in its turn was re-worked back into prose in the early fifteenth century and in this version one can even find a Biblical parallel for Jupiter's rescue, although seemingly less apt, involving Abraham and his wife in Egypt. See W.D. Reynolds, 'Sources, Nature, and Influence of the Ovidius Moralizatus of Pierre Bersuire', in J. Chance (ed.), *The Mythographic Art. Classical Fable and the Rise of the Vernacular in Early France and England* (Gainesville, FLA, 1990), pp. 83-99.

²⁹⁰ See above, p. 45.

²⁹¹ See above, section 2.5.3.

²⁹² J. Osternacher (ed.), *Theoduli Eclogam* (Linz, 1902).

popularity is proven by the fact that it was the object of an extensive commentary as early as the late eleventh century (i.e. Bernard of Utrecht's).²⁹³

In *Trójumanna saga*, an instance of limited Christian allegory is probably noticeable in the account of Saturn's division of his kingdom among his sons, where each of them receives a tripartite token, namely three thunderbolts, the trident and Cerberus.²⁹⁴ By and large, this account originates in Servius's commentary on the *Aeneid* and is then taken up by various medieval mythographers, but none of these texts seem to exhibit the Christian undertone present in the prologue.²⁹⁵ Indeed, the word used here, 'þrenning', is the one also normally used in Old Norse and Modern Icelandic for the Holy Trinity.²⁹⁶ It thus seems likely that this Christian nuance is young and perhaps even Norse, possibly a neutral element Christianised as part of the author's rationalistic design.²⁹⁷

3.2. Divine-human interaction

After investigating the mythological prologues as a special section of the two texts, we now move to major aspects of paganism, as depicted in *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*, first of all to direct interaction between gods and humans. The latter seems to have been a staple feature of classical epics, but is extremely limited in *Togail Troí*. There are only four clear examples that I have been able to identify. One of them is the Judgment of Paris which I will discuss below, another one is the story of Juno's sending the snakes to kill the baby

²⁹³ R.B.C. Huygens (ed.), *Bernard d'Utrecht. Commentum in Theodolum (1076-1099)*, Biblioteca degli 'Studi Medievali' 8 (Spoleto, 1977). For the *Ecloga*'s origins and posterity, see G.L. Hamilton, 'Theodulus. A Medieval Textbook', *Modern Philology* 7:2 (1909), 169-85.

²⁹⁴ *T.s.*, pp. 1-2.

²⁹⁵ Servius on *Aeneid* I, 133.

²⁹⁶ Cleasby-Vigfússon, p. 744.

²⁹⁷ It is in particular Servius's speculation that each of the three gods was connected with a specific domain but maintained full sovereignty over the entire kingdom that probably provided fertile ground for a Christian trinitarian interpretation.

Hercules, while the other two refer to oracles.²⁹⁸ The first of these references to oracles is to the sailing off of the Argonauts' expedition, when 'na dei [...] triana n-athesclocaib' promise fame and success.²⁹⁹ The second one is in fact a whole episode where, before the war, the Greek and Trojan envoys go separately to Apollo to inquire about the outcome of the coming conflict; the idea of oracle does not appear explicitly and, as the text stands, with verbs of speaking having the god as their subject, one could imagine that the envoys converse with him (even called explicitly 'dea', for 'día') face to face.³⁰⁰ This amplification of the divine element becomes even more pronounced if we take into account the fact that the whole episode is based on Dares, where the rationalistic author uses a verb of speaking impersonally, with the clear intention of rendering the religious aspect ambiguous: 'ex adyto respondetur'.³⁰¹ It is thus legitimate to suggest that the Irish author may have found oracles to be more or less the only instances of divine-human interaction with which he was comfortable and that in this respect he was willing to augment references he found in his sources or even to introduce references where there were none. A nameless goddess who tells the whole world about the expedition is also mentioned in connection with the first reference. The editor of the text, Whitley Stokes, suggests in the translation that she is to be identified with Fama, an allegorical-type deity that is not necessarily relevant for theological implications.³⁰² It seems to be one of the passages where the author complements the story independently, without drawing on any source.

To these we might add two cases that more or less resemble instances of divine-human interaction. One of them is the sentence 'atrachtatar badba bána béllethna osa cennaib', appearing within a long, ornate battle description devoid of any names, which is thus likely to

²⁹⁸ For the Judgment of Paris see below, section 3.5. *T.Tr.*, p. 10. It is interesting to note that the episode of Juno's sending the snakes features the precocious hero motif ('he who did such things when only a child, it is no wonder that ...'), famously encountered in *Táin Bó Cúailnge*; see C. O'Rahilly (ed.), *Táin Bó Cúailnge. Recension I* (Dublin, 1976), pp. 23, 25, 33.

²⁹⁹ 'the gods [...] through their oracles'; *T.Tr.*, p. 5.

³⁰⁰ 'god'; *T.Tr.*, pp. 30-1. For the form 'dea', see J. Carey, 'Dee "Pagan Deity"', *Ériu* 62 (2012), 33-42.

³⁰¹ 'it is answered from the sanctuary'; Dares Phrygius XXV. A third reference occurs in the sixteenth-century additions to the Book of Leinster as published in Stokes's edition. It is more oblique, since there it is Calchas ('Calcus') who speaks 'a faistine Apaill' ('from Apollo's prophecy', pp. 56, 124), a translation of Dares's 'ex augurio respondit' ('answers from the augury', Dares Phrygius XXX), with the same automatic relationship between divination and Apollo as in the preceding example.

³⁰² *T.Tr.*, p. 62.

be very much an independent divagation.³⁰³ This sentence uses the native motif of the ‘badb’, but this could well be a natural topos in a descriptive pattern and not necessarily a pagan reference, since the word can also mean ‘scald-crow’. The Dictionary of the Irish Language notes that ‘in translation literature [it is] usually equated with the Furies’, citing clear examples from *In Cath Catharda* (where it corresponds to ‘Erinys’ in Lucan’s *Pharsalia*) and *Togail na Tebe* (‘an badb [...] .i. Tisipone’); as already mentioned, the context in *Togail Troí* is different, one of independent expansion.³⁰⁴ The second case is that of an allusion to divine influence which I will discuss presently in comparison with its Norse counterpart.

In *Trójumanna saga*, on the other hand, such instances of direct interaction are significantly more numerous and detailed than in *Togail Troí*. It needs to be emphasised that their presence is in most cases part of the wider phenomenon of Homeric additions to the saga, drawn from *Ilias Latina*.³⁰⁵ The latter text does not seem to have been available to the Irish author, something that possibly conditioned his depiction of mythology and made it more jejune. By contrast, *Trójumanna saga*’s rich display of divine-human interactions inspired by this Homeric source deserves to be treated as a unit. The first interaction passage is also a very long one, namely the episode of the rape of Chryses’s daughter.³⁰⁶ This well-known episode begins with Agamemnon’s kidnapping of ‘Criseida’, daughter of ‘Kriseus’, Apollo’s priest. Kriseus goes before his god in the temple wearing ‘helgum blod dukum’ or, in another manuscript, ‘helgum blodreglum’ (by which some sort of priestly vestments are presumably meant) and cries out his woe.³⁰⁷ This sequence of events is not in *Ilias Latina* and could well be based entirely on the author’s imagination. Kriseus subsequently goes to Agamemnon himself, taking a lot of gold with him, and begs unsuccessfully to have his daughter returned to him. This is clearly an adaptation of the corresponding episode in *Ilias Latina*, but there is significant expansion in *Trójumanna saga*, as well as the re-writing of indirect speech as direct speech.³⁰⁸ This is followed by another, much more charged encounter between the priest and the god he serves. Incidentally, throughout this whole episode, the god

³⁰³ ‘white, broad-lipped battle goddesses rose above their heads’. *T.Tr.*, pp. 42, 109.

³⁰⁴ eDIL, s.v. ‘badb’ (viewed 29 November 2014); G. Calder (ed.), *Togail na Tebe. The Thebaid of Statius* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 278.

³⁰⁵ See above, section 2.5.1.

³⁰⁶ *T.s.*, pp. 74-84.

³⁰⁷ *T.s.*, pp. 75-6.

³⁰⁸ *Ilias Latina*, ll. 19-26; *T.s.*, pp. 76-7.

is referred to as ‘Delphus’, never as ‘Apollo’, although the latter does occur several times throughout the rest of the saga, whereas only ‘Delphus’ occurs in this episode.³⁰⁹ This is almost certainly a case of confusion, which is explained by the fact that the text of *Ilias Latina* does not have ‘Apollo’, but the god is once addressed as ‘Delphice’.³¹⁰ It proves that the Norse author used the antique poem directly, since in a commentary the name ‘Apollo’ is likely to have been mentioned; all the other comparisons between the two texts that I will discuss here support this idea. The priest’s words, through their boldness, had presumably been designed by the Latin author to suggest the character’s despair, but the Norse author subtly enhances their boldness. Thus, ‘Quid coluisse mihi tua numina, Delphice, prodest’ becomes ‘Heyr þu Delphe huat stodar þu mier nu firir þat er ek gofgada þina guddoma’.³¹¹ The change to a more direct and personal kind of reproach may be designed to emphasise the character’s sense of the futility of his pagan worship. The humble ‘Si gratus tibi sum, sim te sub vindice tutus’ is replaced by a more assertive ‘Doem nu rettan dom á milli min oc Agamemnon konungs Girkia’.³¹² Chryses’s request to have any divine wrath diverted towards himself is treated somewhat differently in *Trójumanna saga* when compared with *Ilias Latina*. Again, we have the bold ‘Heyr þu Delphe’ which does not correspond to anything in the classical text. In the latter, the priest duly acknowledges the possibility of personal guilt: ‘Aut si qua, ut luerem sub acerbo crimine poenas, / Inscius admisi [...]’.³¹³ The saga author tones this down considerably: ‘Ef ek em ecki makligr at þiggia böen mina’.³¹⁴ An even clearer demonstration of humility is omitted: ‘Ecce, merentem / fige patrem. Cur nata luit peccata parentis?’.³¹⁵ Therefore, it would seem that the Norse version of this soliloquy deliberately tries to portray the speaker as more righteous and self-confident, making his fate look even more unjust than in the classical exemplar, to which the adaptation remains nonetheless fairly

³⁰⁹ *T.s.*, Index, pp. 249, 251.

³¹⁰ *Ilias Latina*, l. 32. ‘Phoebe’ occurs at l. 68, but is not picked up by the Norse author.

³¹¹ *Ilias Latina*, ll. 32-3; ‘What profit is there for me in having taken care of your divine wishes’. *T.s.*, p. 78; ‘Listen, Delphus! How do you help me now for having worshipped your divinity’.

³¹² *Ilias Latina*, p. 37; ‘If I am agreeable to you, may I be safe by your defence’. *T.s.*, p. 79; ‘Pronounce now a correct judgment between me and Agamemnon, the king of the Greeks’.

³¹³ *Ilias Latina*, ll. 38-39; ‘Or else, if unwittingly I have perhaps been guilty, so that I should atone with punishment for a grievous crime [...]’.

³¹⁴ *T.s.*, p. 79, ll. 7-8; ‘If I am not worthy that you receive my request’.

³¹⁵ *Ilias Latina*, ll. 41-2; ‘Behold! Shoot the father who deserves (it). Why does the daughter atone for the sins of the parent?’.

close. I would like to suggest that, through this subtle transformation, the author may be seen as bringing the character of Chryses closer to the ‘good pagan’ motif as found in Old Norse texts on native subject-matter.³¹⁶ As I will show, the ‘good pagan’ is there a character who has abandoned heathen worship, sometimes because of disappointment with the gods. In *Trójumanna saga*, in the end, the god is portrayed in an active role, reacting to the prayer by sending a plague into the Greek camp.³¹⁷ This is the point that offers a very useful comparison with *Togail Troí*. The latter contains a very condensed version of this specifically Homeric episode.³¹⁸ Because of various details in the story, it is highly unlikely that the immediate source was also *Ilias Latina*. The main difference resides in the fact that the Irish author does not state that the plague was sent by Apollo as revenge for Chryseis’s kidnapping, instead he simply continues the account of the kidnapping with the note ‘tanic teidm galair ársain i scorain na nGréc’.³¹⁹ Although we do not know what the author’s source was, we may still notice that this oblique and ambiguous way of relating the role played by a pagan deity in human affairs accords very well with the author’s general reluctance to portray the gods. We may also note two interesting word-choices made by the Norse author, although it is hard to draw far-reaching implications from them. Apollo’s temple is called ‘musteri’, a term which originates in the Latin *monasterium* and is not at all usual in a pagan context; perhaps we can see it as a rare example in *Trójumanna saga* of the ‘medievalisation’ found in other European adaptations of Dares and touched upon earlier.³²⁰ Secondly, Chryses is called Apollo’s ‘skalld’, which seems to translate the exemplar’s ‘vates’;³²¹ it is wholly unclear why the author did not find ‘spámaðr’ a more accurate rendering.

The ensuing rift between Agamemnon and Achilles occasions more encounters between man and god in *Trójumanna saga*, this time with a more active role for the divine. After Agamemnon releases Chryseis and takes Achilles’s Briseis instead, the two warriors engage in a duel, where Achilles ‘hefði [...] sed sinn enda dag ef ecki hefði hin heilaga Pallas holpit

³¹⁶ See section 4.4.

³¹⁷ *T.s.*, p. 80.

³¹⁸ *T.Tr.*, pp. 46-7, 114.

³¹⁹ ‘After that a plague of sickness came into the camp of the Greeks’; *T.Tr.*, pp. 47, 114. Note that ‘arsain’ would be expected here.

³²⁰ *T.s.*, p. 78, l. 4. Cleasby-Vigfússon; section I.1

³²¹ *T.s.*, p. 80, l. 3; ‘poet’. *Ilias Latina*, l. 44; ‘prophet’.

honom med sinni hendi heilagri'.³²² If we compare this to *Ilias Latina*'s 'nisi casta manu Pallas tenuisset Achilles'³²³, it becomes obvious that the Norse author found the adjective 'heilagr' ('holy') to be of particular importance in translating this sentence. He uses it once to qualify Pallas's hand, in place (potentially)³²⁴ of 'casta' and once to qualify Pallas herself, this time without any correspondence in the Latin text. The fact that the adjective is well attested in the Old Norse corpus in pagan contexts, not just in (Judaeo-)Christian ones, seems to clarify the fact that the author is here making an implicit statement about pagan belief and not an explicit one about reality as he saw it.³²⁵ Nevertheless, it does not tell us why he found it so important to stress the goddess's status in paganism. The following analysis of *Trójumanna saga* will highlight many references to pagan deities that are roughly similar to this one and will lead to a preliminary conclusion on the issue.

As a result of his fight with Agamemnon, Achilles calls on his divine mother, Thetis, to complain. The exemplar's 'invocat aequoreae numina matris' is translated as 'kallar hann á god moegn sævargydiunnar modur sinnar', thus clarifying and in fact simplifying Thetis's status.³²⁶ Her subsequent appearance to her son in the camp is omitted in the Norse text, where we see her convince Jupiter to change the course of the war in Achilles's favour. As a consequence, he sends 'Somnum, drauma godit' to instruct Agamemnon, to attack the Trojans.³²⁷ In Homer and his Latin adaptation, this is a ruse to get Agamemnon defeated and force him to ask for Achilles's help, but selective use of this material in *Trójumanna saga* renders the episode pointless. 'Drauma godit' is another informative addition on the part of the Norse author.³²⁸ This encounter between god and mortal also occasions the employment of an eddic topos: 'Vaki þu Agamemnon konungr Girkia' looks like a very apt vernacular adaptation of 'Rex Danaum, Atrida, vigila'.³²⁹ The message is clearly presented as an order

³²² *T.s.*, p. 86, ll. 4-5; 'would have seen his last day if the holy Pallas had not helped him with her holy hand'. S has 'hinn sídazta dagh [...] i verolldinne' ('his last day in the world') and 'borgid' ('shielded') instead of 'holpit' (ll. 16-7).

³²³ *Ilias Latina*, l. 78; 'if Pallas had not held Achilles with (her) pure hand' or alternatively 'if pure Pallas had not held Achilles by (her) hand'.

³²⁴ See previous note.

³²⁵ Cleasby-Vigfússon, p. 248; *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog*, eds. Aldís Sigurðardóttir *et al.*, <http://onp.ku.dk>, s.v. 'heilagr' (viewed 9 January 2015).

³²⁶ *Ilias Latina*, l. 81; '(he) calls the divine will of his marine mother'. *T.s.*, p. 86, ll. 7-8; 'he calls on the godly power of the sea-goddess, his mother'.

³²⁷ *T.s.*, p. 89, l. 4.

³²⁸ Cp. *Ilias Latina*, l. 113.

from the supreme god and Agamemnon, in presenting it to his war-council, describes it thus explicitly in the Norse version (as part of a verbose expansion).³³⁰

A short episode of divine-human interaction is represented by Saturn's sending of a rainbow to king Priam. This too is taken by the author from *Ilias Latina* ('pater ad Priamum mittit Saturnius Irim') and reworded for the clarification of his audience.³³¹ Unfortunately, he himself is not suitably knowledgeable to do this, since his 'sendi hin hæsti gud Saturnus Priamo konungi regnboga yfir Trojo borg' is an incorrect translation from several points of view.³³² Literary convention would have it that 'Saturnius' is a metonymy for any of Saturn's sons and coupled with 'pater' this clearly indicates Jupiter. Not understanding the circumlocution shows that the author's familiarity with classical literature had its limits. Ironically though, he still uses the phrase 'the highest god', which is thus strangely correct. More interesting is the fact that he does not capitalise on the double entendre contained in 'pater', since Jupiter is not only the father-god in general, but also Priam's own ancestor. In fact, in the whole text of *Trójumanna saga* there is not a single proper genealogy of the Trojan dynasty (not even in the Hauksbók prologue), so it seems more than reasonable to assume that the author was not actually aware of this relationship. This helps us to understand better his intellectual profile and the ways in which this differs from the Irish author's, since *Togail Troí*'s prologue, as we have seen, does contain a version of this genealogy and even exposes, on a Virgilian basis, the kinship between Trojans and Greeks.³³³ Incidentally, the genealogy is known in a Norse context from texts such as the related *Snorra Edda*.³³⁴

Some similar episodes in the saga are not expansive with regard to the Latin text and may even show a certain lack of interest on the part of the author. Venus's rescuing of Alexander Paris on the battlefield is one example, as only a few essential details are retained and even in the accompanying scene with Helen on the walls of Troy (or in a tower, in the Norse version) the goddess (who brings her back to safety) is written out.³³⁵ The reason for choosing

³²⁹ *T.s.*, p. 89, ll. 10-1; 'Wake up, O, Agamemnon, king of the Greeks'. *Ilias Latina*, l. 124; 'Keep awake, king of the Greeks, Atreid'. For eddic parallels (that are hard to date) see e.g. the opening lines of *Hyndluljóð* (G. Neckel, H. Kuhn [eds.], *Edda. Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern*, 5th ed., 2 vols. [Heidelberg, 1983], vol. I, pp. 288-96), *Grógaldur* (G. Neckel [ed.], *Edda. Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., vol. I [Heidelberg, 1927], pp. 298-301) or *Vaka Angantýs* (G. Turville-Petre [ed.], *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks* [London, 1956], pp. 15-22).

³³⁰ *T.s.*, pp. 90-1.

³³¹ *Ilias Latina*, l. 223; 'the Saturnian father sent the Rainbow to Priam'.

³³² *T.s.*, p. 94, ll. 6-7; 'Saturn, the highest god, sent a rainbow over the fortress of Troy to king Priam'.

³³³ See above, pp. 50-52.

³³⁴ See below, p. 103.

³³⁵ *Ilias Latina*, ll. 306-18; *T.s.*, pp. 123-4.

abridgement here, as opposed to expansion elsewhere, is not transparent, but we cannot rule out its being purely random. A famous Homeric episode of divine-human interaction is represented by Diomedes's wounding of Venus.³³⁶ The Norse author's contribution is here to amplify the notion of sacrilege. It is true that on the whole this event is an accident, something made rather clear in *Trójumanna saga*, no less than in *Ilias Latina*. Nevertheless, the former account, which is generally expanded by comparison with the latter, does contain a sentence that seems wholly original and which nuances this incident as one of impious negligence: 'firir reidinni ottaz hann ecki helldr himneska hluti enn jardliga'.³³⁷ It suffices to read the corresponding lines in the Latin text to realise that they could have been expanded just as well without emphasising this aspect. It is thus conceivable that the author felt that an emphasis on pagan impiety would be doctrinally commendable, as an implicit commentary on the weakness of pagan religion. Apollo's brief intervention on behalf of Hector, when he is fighting Ajax Thelamonias is kept brief and to the point in *Trójumanna saga*, the informative concern of course still present: 'fiell hann vidur þetta hid mikla steins högg ok þegar svipti hönom upp hid helga sólar godit'.³³⁸ The same description applies to Achilles's request of weapons from his mother: 'kallar á seafar godit móður sína ok bidur hana at gefa sier sæmilig vapn'.³³⁹

The Fall of Troy contains the author's summarisation of Book II of the *Aeneid* as an alternative to Dares Phrygius's account. One instance of divine-human interaction here is when Aeneas is said to have seen Neptune and Apollo together with Juno destroying the gate of Troy.³⁴⁰ This seems to be an echo of *Aeneid* II, 610-4, minus the mysterious reference to Apollo, which, given his role in the war in general, looks like a mistake. In the same section, the author also mentions briefly Cassandra's dealings with 'Apollo sólar god'; this is not based on Virgil but rather, judging from the other characters discussed after Cassandra, on a source close to the Vatican Mythographers (here with important differences).

Finally, it needs to be pointed out that there are two instances of divine-human interaction that the author does not relate in an authoritative voice, but attributes to Homer by name, by which he means, of course, *Ilias Latina*. While they are clearly neither the only instances of

³³⁶ *Ilias Latina*, ll. 463-73; *T.s.*, pp. 139-40.

³³⁷ *T.s.*, p. 139, ll. 9-10; 'because of his rage he did not fear heavenly things any more than earthly ones'.

³³⁸ *T.s.*, pp. 152-3; 'he fell by this great stone-blow and the holy sun-god immediately swept him up'. Compare *Ilias Latina*, ll. 614-5: 'Quem leuat exceptum Graia inimicus Apollo / integratque animum [...]' ('Whom the enemy Apollo lifts up snatched from the Greeks / And restores his spirit [...]').

³³⁹ *T.s.*, p. 172, ll. 4-5; '(he) calls upon the sea-goddess, his mother, and asks her to give him seemly weapons'. Compare *Ilias Latina*, ll. 855: 'fortiaque arma Thetis supplex rogat' ('and humbly asks Thetis for powerful weapons').

³⁴⁰ *T.s.*, p. 231, ll. 8-10.

such interaction nor the only references to Homer in the saga, they do share something potentially more significant. One of the references regards Pallas and Mars fighting alongside human warriors and against each other: ‘sva seigir hinn helge Omerus at Mavors bardist med Ectore enn Pallas med Diomede’.³⁴¹ The other reference concerns Pallas fighting Hector.³⁴² It is open to speculation whether the author felt the need to distance himself from statements about pagan gods actually fighting just like and together with mortal warriors or whether this is mere coincidence.

3.3. Divine society

Another major category of references to paganism consists of depictions of divine society, i.e. interactions between deities. One has already been mentioned, where Thetis convinces Jupiter to act against Agamemnon in favour of her son, Achilles.³⁴³ This is based faithfully on *Ilias Latina*, with a couple of interesting changes.³⁴⁴ The concise ‘summe parens’ is expanded as ‘Heyr þu hinn hæsti gud oc frændi’, showing the same kind of direct boldness (reminiscent of the style of Old Norse prose on native subject-matter) that we have seen above.³⁴⁵ It also shows an over-simplification of ‘parens’ as ‘kinsman’, as well as the already familiar tendency to emphasise the divinity of the characters. Jupiter’s answer contains a very similar expansion, ‘magni diva maris’ becoming ‘þu hin gofga gydia er sett er yfir oll ofl seofarins’.³⁴⁶

An example of a more creative expansion is the first mention of the council of the gods, where the author has all the deities come to ‘almattigr Saturnus’ and champion the cause of

³⁴¹ ‘Thus says the holy Homer that Mars fought alongside Hector and Pallas alongside Diomedes’; *T.s.*, p. 146, ll. 7-8. Based on *Ilias Latina*, l. 532.

³⁴² *T.s.*, p. 182, ll. 7-8.

³⁴³ *T.s.*, pp. 87-8.

³⁴⁴ *Ilias Latina*, ll. 88-95.

³⁴⁵ See above, pp. 68-9. ‘highest father’; *Ilias Latina*, l. 89. ‘Listen, highest god and kinsman’; *T.s.*, p. 87.

³⁴⁶ ‘goddess of the great sea’; *Ilias Latina*, l. 94. ‘O, noble goddess, who is set over the entire might of the sea’; *T.s.*, p. 87, ll. 10-1.

their favoured heroes.³⁴⁷ Since *Ilias Latina* only has a few words here, ‘concilium omnipotens habuit regnator Olympi’, we must conclude that this is the author himself presenting his own understanding of the relationship between gods and warriors.³⁴⁸ It is not very clear why the god is reinterpreted as Saturn. Venus’s complaint to her mother after being wounded is also different in *Trójumanna saga* when compared with *Ilias Latina*. In *Ilias Latina*, it is dealt with briefly in one line, whereas the Norse author spends a few sentences on it and replaces Venus’s mother with Jupiter, or at least ‘hinn hæsta gud’.³⁴⁹ This substitution cannot be the result of confusion; rather, it is a deliberate simplification, making Jupiter, as father of the gods, the one before whom all lesser deities go to complain. The description of her complaint reinforces the sense of impiety we saw suggested earlier, when she had been wounded by Diomedes: ‘ok tíar firir honom huersu diarfa Girkier gera sik er þeir hlifa ecki <helldr> godunum enn monnum’. The author also adds the somewhat unexpected comment ‘þuillika kveinkan bar hon opt firir himna konung’, which has been interpreted in scholarship as a manifestation of humour and thus an authorial method of undermining the status enjoyed by the gods in such classical material.³⁵⁰ This is of course possible, but such a judgment is hard to make on the basis of a single short sentence. I am more inclined to see in it a desire to add colour to the material provided by *Ilias Latina* and, more significantly, to do so in a way that is still fundamentally Homeric, by emphasising the human and mundane qualities of the pagan deities. Another council, where Jupiter ensures that nobody intervenes in any way contrary to his orders, is dealt with very faithfully with regard to *Ilias Latina*, except what looks like a partially unexplained scribal confusion regarding the name of the mountains (‘Sicades’, ‘Discordes’ or ‘jdescordes’, where the Latin text has ‘Idae’).³⁵¹ Thetis’s request for weapons for her son to Vulcan is also faithful, except for the scribal corruption of ‘Vulcanus’ to ‘Julianus’.³⁵² The informative aspect regarding paganism is here reduced to a mention of Vulcan’s ‘gudligum jþróttum’.³⁵³

³⁴⁷ ‘Almighty Saturn’; *T.s.*, p. 126, l. 11.

³⁴⁸ ‘the almighty ruler of Olympus had a council’; *Ilias Latina*, l. 345.

³⁴⁹ *Ilias Latina*, ll. 470-1. ‘the highest god’, *T.s.*, p. 140, l. 4.

³⁵⁰ ‘she would often bring such lamentation before the king of heavens’; *T.s.*, p. 140, ll. 6-7. Würth, ‘Intention oder Inkompetenz’, pp. 17-8.

³⁵¹ *T.s.*, p. 158, ll. 7, 14 and 26. *Ilias Latina*, l. 654.

³⁵² Compare *Ilias Latina*, ll. 855-6. *T.s.*, p. 172, ll. 7-8.

³⁵³ ‘godly skills’; *T.s.*, p. 172, l. 10.

3.4. Pagan ritual

The third major aspect of paganism to be dealt with is ritual. I would argue that ritual plays a more important role in *Togail Troí* than it does in *Trójumanna saga* and that that is potentially meaningful, since the Irish author may have used ritual in his depiction of paganism as a substitute for deities, particularly for deities as active characters in the story. My analysis of the references to paganism in the two texts will provide possible evidence for this interpretation.

Togail Troí contains two references to pagan cult where a significant authorial voice seems to be present. The first reference is the episode of Hylas' drowning, which is part of the legend of the Argonauts' expedition and of their dealings with king Laomedon, the so-called 'first destruction of Troy'.³⁵⁴ The tale, where the young Hylas, one of the Argonauts and Hercules's love interest, gets lost in the woods and is abducted by enamoured water nymphs, cannot be found in Dares but was well-known in Antiquity and the Irish author could have found it in a good number of sources. Valerius Flaccus, for example, describes this event at length in his Latin adaptation of Apollonius of Rhodos's *Argonautica*, but this epic was not widely disseminated in the early Middle Ages.³⁵⁵ The encyclopaedic Hyginus unsurprisingly mentions him in his *Fabulae*, but this was not a widely read work in the Middle Ages either.³⁵⁶ The Late Antique Christian poet Dracontius devoted a whole poem, one of his *Romulea* or *Carmina minora*, to Hylas.³⁵⁷ The Vatican Mythographers, whose connection with the second recension of *Togail Troí* in general has already been suggested, mention the story too, with the Second Mythographer providing, through his use of Servius, a more comprehensive account than the First.³⁵⁸ Passing attestations can be found in various other works.³⁵⁹ Notwithstanding this connection between some of these texts and *Togail Troí* or the identical general storyline in all the accounts, the narrative in *Togail Troí* does not seem to be based closely on any known source. Instead, it contains a few elements which are highly original with regard to the

³⁵⁴ *T.Tr.*, pp. 6-7.

³⁵⁵ Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* III, 533-715; A. Zissos, 'Reception of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 13:2 (2006), 165-85, at p. 170.

³⁵⁶ Hyginus Mythographus, *Fabulae* XIV, 25. A single manuscript is known for this work; L.D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 189-90.

³⁵⁷ Dracontius, *Romulea* II.

³⁵⁸ Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, pp. 24, 263-5.

³⁵⁹ B. Weber, *Der Hylas des Dracontius. Romulea 2* (Stuttgart, 1995), pp. 108-13.

classical form of this narrative and I would like to discuss them together before approaching the issue of pagan cult. The re-moulding of the relationship between Hercules and Hylas as one of fosterage or perhaps discipleship (Hercules is Hylas' 'aite', thus 'foster-father' or 'teacher'), together with the suggestion that the latter was not so much a youth as a child, (the text says that 'co torchair in mac baeth issin fairge, uar nad báí nech ica imchomét') has an interesting double effect on the classical narrative.³⁶⁰ On the one hand, it adapts the antique subject-matter to an Irish setting and simplifies it, thus bringing the audience closer to the events. This is accomplished by substituting a reference to an antique type of relationship, one that was presumably somewhat removed from medieval understanding, with a reference to a contemporary social institution, familiar to the audience. On the other hand and more importantly, it obscures the homoerotic undertones of the original myth, something highly unusual or even unique perhaps, since even Christian writers tended to use this particular aspect for rhetorical and apologetic purposes, rather than ignore it.³⁶¹

Another divergent aspect of the Irish text, with even deeper doctrinal implications, is the author's choice to express scepticism on the common version of the story and 'correct' it by placing a rationalised version next to it. In the case of the episode just mentioned, the boy, wandering through the forest and lacking the adult supervision he seemingly needed, simply falls into the sea and drowns. Hercules and Jason, after trying in vain to find him, decide to tell the others that he has been stolen away by the spring nymphs, here called 'bandee'.³⁶² This rationalistic account is well suited for an early medieval text, in a time when euhemerised interpretations of pagan mythology were fairly popular (e.g. Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologiae*, which played an important role in this popularity), but it is not original, as it draws on an Ancient (albeit marginal) line of interpretation. The information that Hylas was not captured by water nymphs but simply fell into a spring and drowned is first transmitted by the Hellenistic historian Onasus, later to be passed on by writers in the grammarian tradition (i.e. the Virgilian commentators).³⁶³ Of these, by far the most widely copied text was Servius's, where the information appears in the 'Scholia Danielis' on *Aeneid* I, 619.³⁶⁴ Nonetheless, the more developed account in *Togail Troí* accords better with the one in the

³⁶⁰ eDIL, s.v. 'aite' (viewed 20 January 2015). 'so that the foolish boy fell into the sea, since there was no one watching him'; *T.Tr.*, p. 6.

³⁶¹ Weber, *Der Hylas*, pp. 82-93, 122-7.

³⁶² 'goddesses'; *T.Tr.*, p. 7.

³⁶³ Weber, *Der Hylas*, pp. 107, 122.

Second Vatican Mythographer, which for this piece of information is based on Lactantius Placidus's commentary on Statius's *Thebaid*.³⁶⁵

The conclusion of this passage informs us that 'racossegrad in t-inadsain do ídlaib 7 doratait idbarta móra and dona deib', a detail which originates at least partially in classical sources (most importantly here, in Servius's commentary and the Second Vatican Mythographer).³⁶⁶ Nonetheless, these sources are somewhat vaguer on the topic and the sentence seems to be indebted first and foremost to a Christian understanding of the story. Although we are not dealing with proper authorial comment, the doctrinal message in my opinion would have been clear for any reader. The myth is not only rationalised by having the supernatural removed, but is even somewhat exposed to ridicule. What really happened is that a 'foolish boy' drowned because the adults entrusted with watching him failed in their duty. Furthermore, the pagan version is not even a misunderstanding of this event, but a downright lie concocted by the same adults to avoid embarrassment. The last sentence completes this trivialisation by showing how false belief based on convenient lies produces false and absurd worship. I think this short story can be read as a sort of case study from which the audience could draw lessons with wider relevance. What was true about the nature and origins of this myth and about its relationship with the corresponding cult would have been applied by the reader to pagan mythology and pagan ritual more widely.

The episode of the two-year truce and of the funeral games for Patroclus and Protesilaus, while based on Dares Phrygius, provides the author with the occasion to produce his second doctrinal 'involvement' in the story. The text in Dares is as always extremely jejune: 'Achilles Patroclo ludos funebres facit'.³⁶⁷ The Irish author expands this to 'Roadnacht Achill Patrocuil. Darone a fert 7 rosáid a lía 7 rascríb a ainm 7 dorónad a gairm dochum a adnacuil 7 daringned a chluchi cáintechn im chuthi'.³⁶⁸ The funeral games are of course the element in the exemplar

³⁶⁴ Servius on *Aeneid* I, 619. The commentary on *Ecloga* VI, 43 also treats the story of Hylas, but it seems that here the Vulgate and Danielis recensions have completely different texts, with Danielis giving the 'mythological' version and the Vulgate giving the rationalised version only. For 'Scholia Danielis' see above, section 2.5.2.

³⁶⁵ Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, pp. 263-4.

³⁶⁶ 'that place was hallowed to idols and great sacrifices were given to the gods there'; *T.Tr.*, p. 7. Servius on *Ecloga* VI, 43 (the Vulgate version); Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, p. 264. For this detail, the Mythographer is seemingly using Servius.

³⁶⁷ 'Achilles makes funeral games for Patroclus'; Dares Phrygius XX.

³⁶⁸ 'Achilles buried Patroclus. He built his tomb and he set up his stone and wrote his name and wailing for him was made even unto his burial and his funeral games were held around the pit'; *T.Tr.*, p. 44.

which occasions this digression, but the scene as a whole gives the impression of being what the author thought a pagan hero's funeral should be like, whether in a classical or Irish context. All the elements of this scene are present elsewhere, although usually not all together. Putting up the stone, a native motif inasmuch as it is not found in classical texts, features in the funeral scenes of native heroes in Old and Middle Irish texts; sometimes the names is said explicitly to be written in *ogam*.³⁶⁹ The funeral games, which are found in ancient texts and thus could be of classical origin, also feature in Middle Irish texts set in pre-Christian Ireland.³⁷⁰ An example of funeral scene that is very similar to the one in *Togail Troí*, featuring both the raising of the stone and the funeral games, can be found in the later *Tochmarc Lúaine ocus Aided Aithairne* (probably second half of the twelfth century).³⁷¹

The most significant aspect of this episode in *Togail Troí* is that the author takes the opportunity to explain the rationale behind the custom of funeral games. This explanation informs us that according to 'in senchass gentlidi' they were necessary in order to make sure the dead man's soul would not be 'ar sechrán i n-iffurn co cend cét mbliadan la táeb srotha Achirón sair síar, 7 ní thabrad Carón, portimmarchurtid ifirn'.³⁷² This explanation is taken from Virgil, since exactly the same idea is expressed in the famous sixth book of the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas's journey to Hades is described.³⁷³ There is no trace of usage of the Servian commentary here. An important question is whether the author used the Latin text of Virgil or the Irish adaptation (*Imtheachta Aeniasa*). The answer is that usage of the 'Irish Aeneid' is likely, but not certain. There is only one verbal parallel, but it is significant: both texts use the

³⁶⁹ E.g. O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, p. 43; E. Windisch (ed.), 'Tochmarc Ferbe', in W. Stokes and E. Windisch (eds.), *Irische Texte mit Übersetzungen und Wörterbuch*, 4 vols., vol. III.2 (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 445-556, at p. 516; *Aided Cheltchair maic Uthechair*, in K. Meyer (ed.), *The Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes*, Royal Irish Academy Todd Lecture Series 14 (Dublin, 1906), p. 30; E. Knott (ed.), 'Why Mongán Was Deprived of Noble Issue', *Ériu* 8 (1916), 155-60, at p. 156; W. Stokes (ed.), 'The Destruction of Dind Ríg', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 3 (1901), 1-14, at p. 3.

³⁷⁰ E. Gwynn (ed.), *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, 5 vols., Royal Irish Academy. Todd Lecture Series 8-12 (S.I., 1903-35), vol. III (1913), p. 24, and vol. IV (1924), p. 150; R.I. Best *et al.* (eds.), *The Book of Leinster. Formerly Leabar na Núachongbála*, 6 vols. (Dublin, 1954-83), vol. 4, p. 887.

³⁷¹ L. Breatnach (ed.), 'Tochmarc Luaine ocus Aided Aithairne', *Celtica* 13 (1980), 1-31, at p. 16; Breatnach, 'Tochmarc Luaine', p. 6.

³⁷² 'the heathen tradition', 'astray in Hades until the end of a hundred years, besides the river Acheron, backwards and forwards and Charon, the ferryman of Hades, would not bring him (across)'; *T.Tr.*, p. 44.

³⁷³ *Aeneid* VI, 325-30.

phrase ‘ar sechrán’ (‘astray, lost’), for Virgil’s ‘volitant’ (‘they hover about’), not an obvious translation; both texts are otherwise very faithful to the Virgilian line.³⁷⁴ In an Irish context, we may note that Acheron appears in the mid-twelfth-century *Visio Tnugdali* as the name of a monster in Hell, whose jaws are held open by two pagan Irish heroes, Fergus and Conall, who are connected with the classical world in the poem *Clann Ollaman Uaisle Emna*, where they are compared with Aeneas himself and Hector respectively.³⁷⁵ It has been noticed that a connection between Acheron and characters described as righteous pagans is to be found in later vision literature.³⁷⁶ Whether this held true in earlier times as well cannot be established, but this paragraph in *Togail Troí* could well be the product of a concern to present pagan heroes in a positive light. Not only does the author appeal to a different classical source, Virgil, to provide comment on a pagan custom found in his main source, Dares, but the two Latin authors are not even talking about the same custom. Indeed, Dares’s text mentions only the funeral games, whereas Virgil is only concerned with burial. It is the Irish author who expands Dares’s short sentence into a whole funeral scene that is thus apt to be interpreted from the point of view of Virgilian eschatology. This effort suggests that the issue was important for the author and I think this is due to the fact that Virgil’s statements enabled one to imagine a certain parallel between the pagan understanding of Afterlife and the Christian one. More precisely, it would have seemed that pagans had used funeral rites in order to provide relief for the souls of the dead, which mirrors the medieval conception of funeral rites and prayer for the dead, particularly in the context of the long development of the doctrine of Purgatory in the centuries preceding *Togail Troí*.³⁷⁷ Thus the author of *Togail Troí* conceivably used the

³⁷⁴ eDIL (viewed 20 January 2015), s.v. ‘sechrán’; Lewis & Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (1879), <http://perseus.uchicago.edu/Reference/lewisandshort.html>, (viewed 20 January 2015), s.v. ‘volito’. Since the ultimate source is Virgil and *Togail Troí* is based on Dares, *Imtheachta Aeniasa*’s dependence on *Togail Troí* for this passage is, of course, very unlikely.

³⁷⁵ A. Wagner (ed.), *Visio Tnugdali. Lateinisch und altddeutsch* (Erlangen, 1882), p. 17. On this text, see also the introduction in J.-M. Picard, Y. de Pontfarcy (trans.), *The Vision of Tnugdali* (Dublin, 1989).

³⁷⁶ E. Boyle, ‘Stranger in a Strange Land. An Irish Monk in Germany and a Vision of the Afterlife’, *Quaestio Insularis* 6 (2005), 120-34, at pp. 129-31.

³⁷⁷ J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. Goldhammer (London, 1984); A.E. Bernstein, ‘Heaven, Hell and Purgatory’, in M. Rubin and W. Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, 9 vols., vol. IV (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 200-16. For Ireland, see J.D. Seymour, *Irish Visions of the Other-World. A Contribution to the Study of Mediæval Visions* (London, 1930); E.L. Boyle, ‘Medieval Irish Eschatology. Sources and Scholarship’ (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Cambridge Univ., 2008).

short sentence in Dares's text to redeem somewhat the pagan characters and their customs in the eyes of the audience and thus to mitigate their spiritual decadence. As an aside, the word 'ifern' is not particularly relevant, since its meaning in the Middle Irish period seems to have been vast and probably covered pretty much any type of Afterlife place other than Christian Heaven. For example, in another classical adaptation, contemporary with *Togail Troí*, *Togail na Tebe*, a hero's dying wish is 'cuir-seo me a ngrianbrogaib ailli ifirn', in a passage that conveys the same idea of funeral games and rites in general as suffrages for the dead.³⁷⁸

I have been able to identify three more references to pagan worship in *Togail Troí*. The first oracle mentioned above is directly associated with the sacrifices offered by the Argonauts before setting sail for the sake of a good voyage.³⁷⁹ The passage is conspicuous for the clear demonic suggestion it contains: 'Rahacallait a n-dei diabolacdaí'.³⁸⁰ It is also interesting to note that the author conceives the offerings as being burnt whole: 'rahuliloscit a feola'; this could be an expression of his familiarity with the Old Testament sacrifice, which would thus be used in order to make up for his ignorance of classical sacrifice.³⁸¹ Whether there is a deeper, doctrinal meaning to this depiction cannot be established, although the diabolical interpretation would seem to rule out the possibility of a truly significant pagan / Hebrew parallel. The second reference occurs in the episode of Helen's abduction in Cythera, which seems to be based solely on Dares.³⁸² The author simultaneously expands Dares's account, by interpolating a lengthy and flowery description of Paris, and abbreviates it, for example by omitting Helen's sacrifice in the temple. Thus, only Paris is shown sacrificing to the pagan gods ('udbarta móra dona deib'), a situation judged by the author to require a light intervention ('amal rabái i m-béssaib na ngeinte'), which we can equally interpret as

³⁷⁸ 'put me in the beautiful, sunny plains of *ifern*'; Calder, *Togail na Tebe*, p. 190. This kind of usage is not noted in eDIL (viewed 20 January 2015), s.v. 'ifern'; neither is Grogan aware of it when he writes that by the tenth century 'ifern' only covered the meaning of 'Hell', B. Grogan, 'Eschatological Teaching in the Early Irish Church', in M. McNamara (ed.), *Biblical Studies. The Medieval Irish Contribution*, Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association 1 (Dublin, 1976), pp. 46-58, at p. 51.

³⁷⁹ See above, pp. 66-7; *T.Tr.*, p. 5.

³⁸⁰ 'Their diabolic gods were addressed'; *T.Tr.*, p. 5.

³⁸¹ 'their meats were wholly burnt'; *T.Tr.*, p. 5. For an Old Testament example, see *Biblia sacra juxta Vulgatam versionem*, Leviticus 1. For use of 'uileloscaid' in this Biblical sense of 'holocaust', see various examples in eDIL, s.v. 'uile' (viewed 29 November 2015).

³⁸² *T.Tr.*, pp. 25-6. Dares Phrygius IX-X.

explanation or apology.³⁸³ The festival in honour of Juno, which he mentions, seems to be a misunderstanding of the Daretian text, where this festival, said to have been held in Argos, and Paris's arrival in Cythera are crammed into a single sentence. On the other hand, the author's conflation of the two temples on the island into one is clearly intentional. At first, he found in Dares Paris coming to Venus's temple and sacrificing to Diana (probably Dares's own misunderstanding of the goddess Dione, Venus' mother),³⁸⁴ which in the Irish text becomes a simple mention of this temple of Diana as existing on the island. When the author finds in Dares the information that Helen sacrificed in the temple of Diana and Apollo, which is the point where the two lovers first set eyes on each other, he makes the sacrifice Paris's and composes a more elaborate account of their meeting. The place where this sacrifice takes place is described as 'cnocdindgna' ('a hill-fort') and of it the author says rather ambiguously 'Is andsain rabái tempul 7 idailtech na n-dea Ueniri 7 Deani 7 Appaill'.³⁸⁵ The fact that there are here two different temples becomes clear only a bit later, when Paris' soldiers occupy 'in da ídaltige'.³⁸⁶ The passage as a whole thus shows us the author eager to establish for his Christian audience the true status of pagan practice, in a kind of historical context ('amal rabái i m-béssaib na ngeinte'),³⁸⁷ but also unashamed to abridge descriptions of such practice when he feels his exemplar lengthens the story redundantly. The third and last reference is to magic. Coming in the context of another flowery battle description and since magic can be said to be exceptional in the Classics, this passing reference too seems to be a product of the Irish author's literary imagination.³⁸⁸ The association between paganism and magic is common in medieval Irish and Norse literature.³⁸⁹

References to pagan ritual in *Trójumanna saga* are scarce, even extremely scarce when we take into consideration the fact that they are absent from most of the narrative, being mostly concentrated in the last section, the Fall of Troy, which is probably simply an effect of the author's use of Virgil here as a supplement for Dares. Taken as a whole, the vast majority are extremely perfunctory, simply noting the performing of a ceremony (e.g. 'hann let gora hof

³⁸³ 'great offerings to the gods', 'as was the custom of the heathens'; *T.Tr.*, p. 26.

³⁸⁴ See Dracontius's *Romulea* VIII (or *De raptu Helenae*), ll. 435-6, in F. von Duhn (ed.), *Dracontii Carmina minora plurima inedita* (Leipzig, 1873).

³⁸⁵ 'Therein were the temple and the idol-house of the deities Venus and Diana and Apollo'; *T.Tr.*, p. 26.

³⁸⁶ 'the two idol-houses'; *T.Tr.*, p. 26.

³⁸⁷ 'as was the custom of the heathens'; *T.Tr.*, p. 26.

³⁸⁸ *T.Tr.*, p. 41.

³⁸⁹ See examples below, ch. 4.

mikit i borgini oc eignadi Þor’)³⁹⁰ or pagan belief therein, for example ‘lagdi Calcas spamadur þat til ráðss at blóta skyllði helvitis godit sier til byriar ok kvad þá duga mundu’.³⁹¹ An interesting exception is provided by Hecuba’s sacrifice to the gods on behalf of the Trojan warriors, which is expanded to make reference to the specifics of sacrificial practice: ‘þeir sem at þar ero med eta ok drecka blót matinn eptir sidveniu’.³⁹² This kind of comment that clearly draws a separation line between pagan custom and the audience of the text reminds us a lot of what we saw above in the case of *Togail Troí*, but is without parallel elsewhere in *Trójumanna saga*. The scarcity of references to pagan worship in the Norse text when compared with the Irish one, even in purely quantitative terms, may not seem obvious at first, but it becomes quite noticeable when one puts the number of references in the two texts in the context of the length of the latter, since the text of *Trójumanna saga* is much longer than that of *Togail Troí*.

3.5. The Judgment of Paris

Lastly, one should also consider mythological references that are not necessarily an integral part of the narrative of the Trojan War and seem to be brought in for the sake of mythology itself (allowing for the amount of vagueness or subjectivity that this definition brings with it). By its very existence, this category of references to paganism bears testimony to the authors’ interest in the field of pre-Christian religion. The references themselves are not many, and some of them have already been mentioned in connection with the prologues (and, in the case of *Togail Troí*, with the Hylas story), but they can be of some value in helping us understand the way in which the authors interacted with their sources on the subject of pagan myth. By far the most elaborate mythological digressions encountered in the two texts outside

³⁹⁰ ‘he had a great temple built in the city and dedicated to Þórr’; *T.s.*, p. 37. On mythological equations between Norse and classical characters, see below, pp. 110-1.

³⁹¹ ‘Calchas the soothsayer gave the advice that one should sacrifice to the god of the Underworld for a fair wind and said that it would help’; *T.s.*, p. 212.

³⁹² ‘those who were there with her ate and drank the sacrificial food according to the custom’; *T.s.*, p. 147.

of the prologues are occasioned by the Judgment of Paris, which suggests that this episode was understood as particularly important in understanding the story of the Trojan War. I will thus use the Judgment of Paris as an apt case study for this whole category of references and for references to paganism in general, as this complex episode contains several instances of both divine-human and divine-divine interaction.

The Judgment of Paris is one of the best-known episodes within the Trojan matter and among those which have attracted the greatest deal of attention and re-working throughout time.³⁹³ The episode is not ignored in Dares, but it is related very briefly. It takes the form of a short, unessential digression, being presented as only a minor cause of the Trojan War and with the supernatural element ‘tamed’. When tensions between Trojans and Greeks are already running high and there is disagreement in the Trojan war council whether to attack the Greeks or not, Paris steps in and tries to assure everybody that victory is certain because of promise of help from the gods:

[...] nam sibi in Ida silva, cum venatum abisset, in somnis Mercurium adduxisse Iunonem Venerem et Minervam, ut inter eas de specie iudicaret: et tunc sibi Venerem pollicitam esse, si suam speciosam faciem iudicaret, daturam se ei uxorem, quae in Graecia speciosissima forma videretur: ubi ita audisset, optimam facie Venerem iudicasse.

[...] Mercury brought Juno, Minerva and Venus to him to judge of their beauty. Then Venus promised, if he judged her the most beautiful, to give him in marriage whomever was deemed the loveliest woman in Greece. Thus, finally, on hearing Venus’ promise, he judged her most beautiful.³⁹⁴

The Judgment of Paris is found in an expanded form in both *Trójumanna saga* and *Togail Troí*. In *Trójumanna saga* the Judgment is found in completely different forms in the two manuscript branches we know. In the Hauksbók version, it takes the form of a long and disruptive divagation inserted early on in the narrative, at the point where king Laomedon and

³⁹³ For a comprehensive treatment of this episode in the medieval period, especially for the doctrinal and philosophical implications, see M. Ehrhart, *The Judgment of the Trojan Prince Paris in Medieval Literature* (Philadelphia, PA, 1987).

³⁹⁴ Dares Phrygius VII.

his son Priam are first introduced to the reader.³⁹⁵ After mentioning Priam and his wife Hecuba, the author goes on to relate Hecuba's dream, where she gives birth to a flaming torch that burns down Troy. She tells her prophetic dream to her husband who, once Alexander is born, orders him to be exposed in the wilderness to die. Hecuba takes pity on the boy's beauty and gives him into fosterage, whereby his name is changed to Paris. The narrative then jumps to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, followed by the Judgment itself. Right before the Judgment there is a parenthesis where Paris's youth as a herdsman is described, including the episode of the fighting bulls where his reputation for justice is established.

It has been noted in scholarship that there are extremely significant similarities between these connected episodes as presented in Hauksbók and in three other medieval narratives of the Trojan War. They are the Middle Bulgarian *Trojanska pricha* (probably mid-fourteenth century), the Middle High German *Trojanerkrieg* or *Trojanischer Krieg* (second half of the thirteenth century) by Konrad von Würzburg and the Middle English *Seege or Batayle of Troy* (early fourteenth-century). They are of course Trojan narratives following the Daretian structure too, but, unlike *Trójumanna saga*, all three of them seem to have been based primarily on Benoît de Sainte-Maure's twelfth-century *Roman de Troie*, but the similarities discussed here do not relate to the material they borrow from Benoît.³⁹⁶ A few other medieval texts contain only some of these episodes.³⁹⁷ The similarities found in these early episodes of the story have led scholars to posit a lost Latin source, especially given the fact that this sequence of events leading up to the Trojan War (i.e. Hecuba's dream, Paris' fosterage and youth as a herdsman, the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the Judgment of Paris) cannot be found in its entirety in any single classical text we possess.³⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the sequence of events is also found in a Latin narrative of mysterious origins, the so-called Rawlinson *Excidium Troiae*. This is a short and straightforward account of the Trojan War extant in three manuscripts; of these one, from the ninth century, is also one of the earliest manuscripts for

³⁹⁵ *T.s.*, pp. 9-11.

³⁹⁶ s.n. (ed.), 'Trojanska priča', *Starine* 3 (1871), 156-87, at pp. 147-9; H. Kokott, *Konrad von Würzburg. Ein Autor zwischen Auftrag und Autonomie* (Stuttgart, 1989), p. 258; M.E. Barnicle (ed.), *The Seege or Batayle of Troye. A Middle English Metrical Romance Edited from MSS Lincoln's Inn 150, Egerton 2862, Arundel XXII, with Harley 525 Included in the Appendix, Early English Text Society 172* (London, 1927), Introduction, p. lvii.

³⁹⁷ A detailed survey of this material can be found in E.B. Atwood and V.K. Whitaker (eds.), *Excidium Troiae* (Cambridge, MA, 1944), Introduction, pp. xlii-lviii. See also E.B. Atwood, 'The Rawlinson *Excidium Troiae*. A Study of Source Problems in Mediaeval Troy Literature', *Speculum* 9/4 (1934), 379-404.

³⁹⁸ For the history of scholarship regarding this issue, see Atwood and Whitaker, *Excidium Troiae*, pp. xxi-xxiii.

Dares, but it is found complete only in an eponymous Oxford manuscript of the Rawlinson collection dating to the thirteenth-century.³⁹⁹ Probably no known text is based upon the Rawlinson *Excidium*, given the unique eccentricity of some of its details (e.g. in the Judgment, Juno, instead of earthly power, offers Paris an increase in the fertility of his sheep and Helen appears as the mortal loved by Jupiter in the shape of a swan, instead of her mother Leda).⁴⁰⁰ What is important about it is that it is at times similar enough to the four aforementioned vernacular narratives as to be derived from a common source. It is thought that this source was a Late Antique one, a theory based among other clues on the venerable age of the Rawlinson *Excidium*'s oldest manuscript and on the fact that this eccentric, some would say 'corrupted', descendent does not show clear signs of borrowing from any known Latin author except Virgil.⁴⁰¹

Several details found in the aforementioned episodes in *Trójumanna saga* are particularly relevant to the issue of sources and I will discuss them in the order in which they appear in the text. Hecuba's dream is generally very similar in the sources under consideration.⁴⁰² The main points of divergence are Priam's involvement in the abandonment of Paris (it features in *Trójumanna saga*) or lack thereof, the purpose of the abandonment (the child is either exposed to die and found by strangers or, as in *Trójumanna saga*, given directly into fosterage) and the identity of the child's rescuer (sometimes servants, sometimes, as in *Trójumanna saga*, his own mother).⁴⁰³ Where the narrative moves from Paris's abandonment to the wedding episode, it looks as if Paris is marrying Thetis, who then throws the golden apple among the goddesses herself.⁴⁰⁴ It is highly likely that this departure from the story as otherwise known is the result of the scribe's abridgement, although no other instance can be found in these episodes.⁴⁰⁵ In the wedding episode the goddesses are named by being equated with the Old Norse deities Freyja, Sif and Gefjon, whereas in the Judgment episode they are Sif, Freyja and Frigg (in the order in which they appear in the text).⁴⁰⁶ In the Judgment, it is clear that Sif stands for Juno, Freyja for Venus and Frigg for Minerva, therefore Gefjon in the

³⁹⁹ Atwood and Whitaker, *Excidium Troiae*, pp. lxxvii-lxxxv.

⁴⁰⁰ *Excidium Troiae* pp. 4-5, 7.

⁴⁰¹ Atwood and Whitaker, *Excidium Troiae*, pp. xiii-xv.

⁴⁰² Atwood and Whitaker, *Excidium Troiae*, pp. xlii-xliii.

⁴⁰³ *T.s.*, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁰⁴ *T.s.*, p. 10.

⁴⁰⁵ See above, p. 20.

⁴⁰⁶ *T.s.*, p. 10.

wedding episode must be Minerva. Although Alexander is taken into fosterage and renamed Paris, from the wedding episode on he is referred to as ‘Alexander’ only, the same practice as we find in Dares. Indeed, ‘Paris’ appears throughout the saga only in the episode of Hecuba’s dream and when the character is first introduced a few lines earlier.⁴⁰⁷

These discrepancies raise the question whether the author actually used here more than one source (besides Dares, inasmuch as he is used). It is perhaps noteworthy that the story of Paris’s youth is inserted between the wedding and the Judgment, in a way that makes the narrative look artificial to the reader. The three goddesses are led to Paris by Saturn and not by Mercury, a detail not found elsewhere and for which no clear explanation can be found.⁴⁰⁸ Minerva’s bribe consists of both victory in battle and wisdom: wisdom is here attested from Antiquity, but of the other aforementioned narratives only Konrad of Würzburg has it (without victory), while the other three have victory only.⁴⁰⁹ Also, among these five narratives (the Rawlinson *Excidium*, *Trójumanna saga*, *Trojanska pricha*, *Trojanerkrieg*, *Seege or Batayle of Troy*) and others, influenced to a lesser degree by the lost Latin source, *Trójumanna saga* stands out by suggesting it was all a dream of Paris’s.⁴¹⁰ This has usually been interpreted as the result of influence from Dares’s account, but there is another possible source for this detail, namely a Virgilian scholium from the so-called Servian corpus (the longer redaction, also known as *Servius Danielis*) or at least a source closely related to it.⁴¹¹ The text is short and narrates the whole story in a perfunctory way:

IUDICIUM PARIDIS nota fabula est de malo aureo quod conicit Discordia inter iunonem et mineruam et uenerem in domu pelei, quando consacruerunt nuptias coniubiumque dii. illa non demisa introire iactauit malum in quo scriptum erat hoc est donum deae pulcherrime. illis ligantibus inter se iupiter misit eas ad paridem. iudicaturus ille de forma earum qui uenerem procellere in forma iudicauit his duabus et reliquis. qua ex causa iuno iras cognouit in trianos. sed hoc dicunt quod paris in somnio vidit.

⁴⁰⁷ *T.s.*, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁰⁸ Atwood, ‘The Rawlinson *Excidium Troiae*’, p. 394 n.3.

⁴⁰⁹ Atwood and Whitaker, *Excidium Troiae*, pp. xlv.

⁴¹⁰ *T.s.*, p. 10. Atwood and Whitaker, *Excidium Troiae*, pp. xlv.

⁴¹¹ See above, section 2.5.2.

JUDGMENT OF PARIS There is the well-known fable about the golden apple which Discord threw in-between Juno, Minerva and Venus in Peleus's house, when the gods celebrated a wedding and marriage. Not allowed to come in, she threw the apple on which it was written 'This is a gift for the most beautiful goddess'. Since they were quarrelling with each other, Jupiter sent them to Paris. He was to judge their beauty and he judged Venus to come before the two and all others in beauty. Because of which Juno became angry with the Trojans. But they say that Paris saw this in a dream.⁴¹²

What makes me consider this scholium as a possible source is the mention of Juno's anger. The very last sentence of the Judgment episode in the Hauksbók version of *Trójumanna saga* reads like a verbatim translation of the Latin sentence: 'þvi var Sif sípan i fiandskap við Troiu menn'.⁴¹³ It also contradicts the earlier claim that it was all a dream, an instance of authorial indecision which could mirror the one found at the end of the scholium.

The episode of the fighting bulls where the spirit of justice of the young Paris comes forth looks confused in the saga, but its significance becomes clear when compared with its counterpart in the Rawlinson *Excidium Troiae*.⁴¹⁴ The mention of Þórr in this episode is possibly a good example in this regard: 'kom til hans griðungr .i. mikill er hann hafði eigi fyR set ok barðiz við einn af hans griðungum ok varð sa sigraðr er Alex(andr) atti. þa setti Þorr koronu af dyrlegum blomu(m) yfir hofuð hans'.⁴¹⁵ In other versions of this story, Alexander-Paris likes to watch bulls fight, his bull always emerges victorious and he always crowns it with a garland of flowers. One day, a new bull appears and he defeats Paris's bull. Paris crowns the new victor just like the old one, which gives him a reputation for justice, with direct bearing on the Judgment episode. In most texts the new bull is simply strange, but in the Rawlinson *Excidium* it is clearly stated that it is Mars in disguise.⁴¹⁶ Atwood and Whitaker state that this is the only version where this happens, but their treatment of *Trójumanna saga*

⁴¹² Servius on *Aeneid* I, 27.

⁴¹³ 'Because of that, Sif was afterwards inimical to the Trojans'; *T.s.*, p. 10.

⁴¹⁴ Atwood, 'The Rawlinson *Excidium Troiae*', p. 392.

⁴¹⁵ 'a large bull that he had not seen before came to him and fought with one of his bulls and the one which belonged to Alexander was defeated. Then Þórr placed a crown of precious flowers over its head'; *T.s.*, p. 10.

⁴¹⁶ Atwood and Whitaker, *Excidium Troiae*, pp. xliii.

seems here and elsewhere to be hampered by ignorance of the manuscript situation.⁴¹⁷ Indeed, if the exotic outlook of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis is simply the result of abridgement (see above), then it could be that the same process resulted in Mars / Þórr becoming the one who places the garland instead of the one on whom the garland is placed. An alternative solution would be simply to suppose a linguistic misunderstanding or scribal error: in this vein, we should perhaps note that in the Rawlinson *Excidium* too the verb comes right after the name of the god: ‘Marti imposuit’ (‘bestowed it on Mars’).⁴¹⁸ A thornier problem is the equivalence between Mars and Þórr, since the latter’s regular equivalence in *Trójumanna saga* and other texts is Jupiter. A few lines above, in the wedding scene, the supreme god actually seems to be designated as such (the editor restores ‘Iupiter’ from ‘vip ’), but that is not particularly meaningful, as ‘Þórr’ and ‘Iupiter’ alternate throughout the saga.⁴¹⁹ The last occurrence of ‘Þórr’ before the one under consideration is where the members of Argo’s crew are listed and Hercules features as ‘s(un) Þórs’ (only in the Hauksbók version), so it is clearly referring to Jupiter.⁴²⁰ Nonetheless, the occurrence before that does seem to refer to Mars, although it only appears in the Ormsbók version, as ‘hinn agæta gulspuna i borgina Kolkos er þar hangir i Þors hofi’; this is the Golden Fleece, which is widely attested in Ancient sources to have been hung in a grove sacred to Ares / Mars (e.g. Hyginus, the Vatican Mythographers).⁴²¹ All these three occurrences of ‘Þórr’ are close together in the text (albeit not in one and the same version) and the fact that one is clearly for Mars makes it highly likely that the one in the episode of the fighting bulls, though unusual, refers to him as well.

Having related Paris’ origins and his judgment very early in the narrative, the author did not relate it a second time at its proper place, as found in Dares, but simply said that at the war council Paris ‘sagði [...] draum sinn þann er hann hafði dreynt i Iða skogi’.⁴²² Nevertheless, this sentence is also found in the same place in the Ormsbók version, where by this stage no account of the Judgment has been given. The same situation appears in recension α, which raises the possibility of this being the reading produced in the original Old Norse translation

⁴¹⁷ Atwood and Whitaker, *Excidium Troiae*, pp. xliii. See the wedding scene, p. xlii.

⁴¹⁸ *Excidium Troiae*, p. 4.

⁴¹⁹ *T.s.*, p. 10. See also index, p. 253.

⁴²⁰ ‘Þórr’s son’; *T.s.*, pp. 8-9.

⁴²¹ ‘the famous golden wool in the city of Kolkos, which hangs there in Þórr’s temple’; *T.s.*, p. 8. Hyginus Mythographus, *Fabulae* III; Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, pp. 11-4, 218-22.

⁴²² ‘told [...] the dream that he had dreamt in the woods of Ida’; *T.s.*, p. 42.

of Dares, on which both α and β are based.⁴²³ The place where it is eventually inserted in Ormsbók can be found later, when Paris is already in Greece and ready to abduct Helen. Here the narrative stops to make room for two letters, one from Paris to Helen and the second from Helen to Paris. The inspiration is transparently Ovidian, but they seem to be very original re-workings of the two corresponding letters in the *Heroides*, with verbal echoes very hard to find.⁴²⁴ They also do not show any particular sign of influence from Baldric or Baudry of Bourgeuil (also known as Baldric or Baudry of Dol), the only author known to have re-worked these two poetic letters by the thirteenth century.⁴²⁵ In Paris's letter in *Trójumanna saga*, he sounds much more romantic and much less domineering than in the Ovidian version. In fact, his exalted description of Helen's beauty seems to be based not on Ovid but on Scripture, namely the Song of Songs: 'Augu þín voro sem dufna. En litrinn í kinnum sem samtemprat væri hin blodraudi blómi rosa oc hitt sniohuita gras lilium. Varar þínar sem klæði þat er coccinium heitir.'⁴²⁶ For evidence of verbal echoes I refer to the Vulgate passages in Canticles 4:1 ('oculi tui columbarum'), 4:3 ('sicut vitta coccinea labia tua') and 2:1 ('ego flos campi et lilium convallium'), or any verse where the female character is compared to a lily.⁴²⁷ After this description comes the short account of the Judgment, which is on the whole unremarkable and very short, providing even less information than Ovid does. For example, Ovid does mention who the other two goddesses besides Venus were, while the Old Norse author does not.

We now come to the Judgment of Paris as found in the Middle Irish *Togail Troi*. The first thing that needs to be mentioned is that this account is much closer to the model provided by Dares Phrygius. It appears in the expected place, incorporated into Paris' speech at the war council, but it is related in the first person, unlike the reported speech we find in Dares. It is also much expanded, since Paris begins by narrating the wedding episode and only afterwards the Judgment itself. In the wedding episode two details stand out: some of the gods in

⁴²³ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga. The Dares Phrygius Version*, p. 12.

⁴²⁴ An example would be ll. 14-5 in *T.s.*, p. 49, as a re-working of Publius Ovidius Naso, *Heroides* XVI, 255-6.

⁴²⁵ J.-Y. Tilliette (ed.), *Baldricus Burgulianus. Carmina*, Belles Lettres. Auteurs latins du Moyen Age 12, 2 vols. (Paris, 1998-2002); Chance, *Medieval Mythography* II, pp. 101-2.

⁴²⁶ *T.s.*, p. 49; 'Your eyes were like doves' eyes. And the colour in your cheeks was as if the blood-red flower of the rose had been blended together with the snow-white herb, the lily. Your lips were like the cloth which is called *coccinium*.'

⁴²⁷ *Biblia sacra juxta Vulgatam versionem*, Canticum Canticorum 4.1, 4.3, 2.1. 'your eyes are doves' eyes'; 'your lips are like the scarlet headband'; 'I am a flower of the field and a lily of the enclosed valleys'.

attendance are named and the inscription on the apple is spelt out in Latin. The first detail is shared only with Konrad von Würzburg and the Rawlinson *Excidium*, more intimately with the latter than with the former.⁴²⁸ The inscription appears in various texts, but striking similarities are found only between *Togail Troí*, the same Virgilian scholium mentioned above in connection with *Trójumanna saga*,⁴²⁹ the First Vatican Mythographer and the Rawlinson *Excidium*: the forms are ‘hoc est donum pulcerrimae deae’, ‘hoc est donum deae pulcherrime’, ‘pulcherrime dee donum’ and ‘pulchriori dee donum’.⁴³⁰ In *Togail Troí* and the scholium the wording is even quasi-identical. The Judgment itself departs from Dares in not being presented as a dream and in naming all three goddesses and their individual bribes. The bribes themselves are the element that really stands out in this account of the Judgment: ‘Targid Iunaind ríge 7 imperecht na Assia arnairthiur. Targid Menirb dam eolas cach druine 7 cach elathan dogní lám duine. Targid Uenir dana in mnái bad ferr 7 bad cháime nobiad ar fúait na Gréci’.⁴³¹ Sovereignty over Asia and technical knowledge are not widely attested in this context in medieval texts,⁴³² but they are mirrored perfectly in the First Vatican Mythographer: ‘Iuno regnum Asie, Minerua omnium artium scientiam’.⁴³³ The accounts in the two texts are in general particularly close, sharing such details as the parentage of Peleus and Thetis in the wedding episode.

It can be seen that the accounts of the Judgment of Paris in *Trójumanna saga* and in *Togail Troí* are quite similar from several points of view. Each author seems to have felt dissatisfied with the account found in Dares and to have tried to supplement it with details that they felt to be necessary (especially the wedding of Peleus and Thetis). In the case of *Trójumanna saga*, research is slightly hampered by the problem of the two different versions of recension β. It seems likely nonetheless that the original Old Norse translation omitted the Judgment and that the authors responsible for the two versions of β supplied it independently of one another. The

⁴²⁸ Atwood, ‘The Rawlinson *Excidium Troiae*’, p. 392. *Excidium Troiae*, p. 3.

⁴²⁹ See above, pp. 87-8.

⁴³⁰ *T.Tr.*, p. 22; Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, p. 82; *Excidium Troiae*, p. 3. Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic*, pp. 84-6.

⁴³¹ ‘Juno offers the kingdom and empire of Asia in the east. Minerva offers me knowledge of every craftsmanship and cunning work which the human hand performs. But Venus offers me the wife that is best and fairest in all Greece’; *T.Tr.*, p. 22.

⁴³² Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic*, pp. 84-6.

⁴³³ ‘Juno <promised> the kingdom of Asia, Minerva knowledge of all the crafts’; Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, p. 82.

author of the Ormsbók version probably used Ovid's *Heroides* XVI and XVII and produced his own version of them (also drawing inspiration from the Bible), which includes a brief account of the Judgment.⁴³⁴ The author of the Hauksbók version, on the other hand, purposefully created a Judgment of Paris of his own by drawing on sources of a seemingly mythographic nature, an endeavour which comes very close to the work undertaken by the author of the second recension of *Togail Troí*. The similarity of design is remarkably paralleled by a similarity of means, with texts such as the Rawlinson *Excidium* or the Virgilian scholium on *Aeneid* I, 27 finding close echoes in both the Old Norse and the Middle Irish texts. This bears witness to the common and somewhat reduced store of mythographical material available to scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Scandinavia and Ireland. One must also notice the central position enjoyed by the Servian commentaries within this mythographic store.

With regard to the issue of paganism, the same similarity holds true. The expansion brings back the gods where they were excised by the Daretian account. Their status simply reflects classical mythology: they are called explicitly 'gods' and their supernatural powers are assumed or even explained. The assertion that the Ormsbók version of *Trójumanna saga* is open about pagan deities in the way it introduces them in the Judgment scene ('iii gydiur') whereas the Hauksbók version tries to dent their divinity ('konur .iii.') is simply not supported by the evidence.⁴³⁵ In the latter version, Sif is called explicitly 'orrostu guð' and the participants at the wedding feast are also explicitly deities ('ollum gudum').⁴³⁶ It is nevertheless true that the account does try half-heartedly to suggest doubt regarding the reality of the event witnessed by Paris.⁴³⁷ As for *Togail Troí*, mentions of the pagan gods' divinity are more than abundant in the wedding and Judgment episodes (the Irish forms seem to be influenced by Latin: 'dei', 'bandea').⁴³⁸

⁴³⁴ It is important to note that knowledge of Ovid in medieval Iceland is attested directly in literary texts such as *Jóns saga helga* ('The Saga of Saint John') and the Third Grammatical Treatise; F. Actite, 'Ancient Rome and Icelandic Culture. A Brief Overview', *Nordicum-Mediterraneum* 4:1 (2009), http://nome.unak.is/previous-issues/issues/vol4_1/article.php?id=18&art=actite (viewed 8 November 2015).

⁴³⁵ 'three goddesses', 'three women'; *T.s.*, pp. 49, 10. Würth, 'Intention oder Inkompetenz', p. 17.

⁴³⁶ 'deity of battles', 'all the gods'; *T.s.*, pp. 11, 10.

⁴³⁷ See above, p. 88.

⁴³⁸ *T.Tr.*, p. 22.

3.6. Conclusion

The authors of both Recension II of *Togail Troí* and Recension β of *Trójumanna saga* were writing their works from a fundamentally scholarly perspective. Admittedly, an aesthetic concern is also present, particularly in *Togail Troí*, where the author produces many long, ornate descriptions of people and events. This has been explained as part of his effort to produce an Irish epic on the model of the *Aeneid*.⁴³⁹ Nonetheless, as far as I have been able to determine, these descriptive expansions represent purely stylistic innovation, they do not introduce new characters, events, places, objects and so on, as practised e.g. in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*. Although a scholarly interest is present in both texts, this interest is different. The Irish author by and large ignores mythology, with a few exceptions in the early sections of the text, where the author sets the scene for the Trojan War; the most notable such exception is the Judgment of Paris. Occasionally, he comments on issues that can be described as pertaining to ritual, condemning paganism in general, but possibly trying to show sympathy towards the pagans themselves. The author does not emphasise paganism as he finds it in his sources, something we know because Servius, Virgil and a text close to the Vatican Mythographers were almost certainly among those sources. Nevertheless, he cannot be said to shun it. Rather, the author's few comments on the subject show him trying to tame it, to rationalise it, to frame it, to put it in its proper Christian context, above all to explain it. The author's identity is essentially that of a scholar who wants to understand the truth and present it to others and, where necessary, to explain it.

The author of *Trójumanna saga*, on the other hand, is made of a different mettle. He does not avoid mythology and even seems to enjoy it. He does not produce any kind of commentary on the nature of paganism or of the deities and the latter are usually presented in exactly the same way as in the pagan sources themselves (e.g. the word 'goð' appears many times).⁴⁴⁰ Sometimes, references to the deities are even expanded, as if to clarify the supernatural status (e.g. 'if the holy Pallas had not helped him with her holy hand') or provide some specific information on a deity (e.g. when 'Somnus' from *Ilias Latina* becomes

⁴³⁹ Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic*, pp. 95-144.

⁴⁴⁰ 'god'.

‘Somnus, the god of dreams’). The adjective ‘holy’ is even strangely employed to qualify Homer.⁴⁴¹ Unlike the Irish author, he never rises above the text to make his own voice heard, at least not concerning the contents of the story he is telling, including issues relating to paganism. The few authorial comments that he does produce are on the story itself and on the sources he is using. For example, he asserts the fundamental veracity of Dares as an eyewitness-historian.⁴⁴² Such comments, on the other hand, are absent from *Togail Troí*: the Irish author never mentions his sources, instead he delivers to the reader a fairly unified account, lacking in variations. It can thus be seen that there is no evidence for *different conceptualisations* of paganism in the two texts. There is, however, ample evidence for *different literary attitudes* towards paganism. The leading question of the research thus becomes ‘Why is paganism presented differently in the two texts?’. Given the potential of paganism as a ‘sensitive’ issue, it seems to me that these different literary attitudes can be indicative of different attitudes on the part of the two authors towards their relationship with the text more widely. This aspect will be discussed in detail in chapter 5, where possible answers to the leading question will be suggested. We have seen above that sometimes the Norse author seems to employ a different strategy in writing about paganism, namely enhancing human discontent with and boldness towards the gods, or even impiety. Nonetheless, this attitude, if indeed present, is much more subtle and ambiguous and cannot be said to leave a deep mark on the narrative.

It is also important to note that the precious testimony of the saga’s prologue in Hauksbók allows us better to understand the uses to which *Trójumanna saga* was put early in its career. Less than a century after its composition, perhaps even half a century after, the saga seems to have been read in a slightly different, perhaps more sophisticated scholarly environment than the one in which it had been produced. The prologue’s author is someone interested in mythology as such and, in spite of his euhemeristic and thus historicising outlook, someone who uses it for producing speculative and apocryphal narrative of a truly imaginative nature.

Finally, the analysis of the references to paganism also provides evidence that can be used to answer a different, although not unrelated, question, that of the authors’ profiles as ‘consumers’ of classical culture. We have seen that both authors take liberties with the plot, streamlining the narrative considerably or abridging it.⁴⁴³ This sometimes affects its

⁴⁴¹ *T.s.*, p. 170.

⁴⁴² *T.s.*, pp. 64, 215. Further examples will be mentioned in section 4.1.

⁴⁴³ See various examples above, ch. 3.

coherence, at least in the case we have seen in *Trójumanna saga*. The author of Hauksbók's version of *Trójumanna saga* is also someone who abridges his classical sources, since this is what his selection of myths in the prologue entails.⁴⁴⁴ A separate aspect is that of the authors' familiarity with classical literature. There is no question that both are indeed familiar with it, but not necessarily to the same degree. The Norse author uses various classical texts, but seems simply to jump from text to text, as seen in his inclusion of Homeric passages (i.e. from *Ilias Latina*) within his Daretian narrative, in other words his approach is less integrating than the approach of the Irish author. The latter feels so much at home in the world of classical literature that he is able to quote from the *Aeneid* (even if it is perhaps the Irish adaptation thereof) 'off the cuff' when this is suitable for the matter at hand; as seen above, he is essentially using Virgil to comment upon a passage in Dares.⁴⁴⁵ It has also been seen that the Norse author sometimes makes mistakes, due to his insufficient knowledge of Latin poetical vocabulary.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁴ See above, pp. 54-6.

⁴⁴⁵ See above, pp. 79-81.

⁴⁴⁶ See above, pp. 68-9, 72.

4. Paganism in Medieval Irish and Old Norse literature

The findings of the foregoing research can be illuminated by a proper understanding of the way in which paganism is depicted in medieval Irish and Norse literature more generally. Paganism features heavily in texts produced in Ireland and Scandinavia in the Middle Ages and the present chapter will investigate the way the authors of these texts portray it. The Irish texts under consideration here cover a long time span, roughly from the seventh century to the fourteenth, which is due to the nature of the available evidence on medieval Irish literature. Indeed, many Irish texts were produced throughout the Middle Ages, they were often copied in new manuscripts alongside more recent texts and (as will become obvious in this chapter), the latter were usually produced by writers deeply immersed in and influenced by the literary tradition as they knew it. The same cannot really be said of the Norse texts considered here, as they were composed in Old West Norse during the ‘classical’, roughly 200-year period with which the concept of Old Norse literature is most often associated (from the second half of the twelfth century until ca. 1400 at the latest). In this chapter, literary depictions of paganism are studied by way of an investigation of native paganism, i.e. paganism in texts set in Ireland or Scandinavia and featuring Irishmen or Norsemen as characters. This is due to the fact that native paganism is much more present in the literary corpus as we know it and, moreover, was the object of a particular interest (more significantly, of a particularly *creative* interest) on the part of medieval Irish and Norse learned writers, as I will presently show. That being said, it needs to be pointed out that in the works of these writers there is never any trace of a strong *subjective* distinction between classical and native paganism (as the analysis below will exemplify). This means that native paganism emerges as a particularly apt tool for understanding the writers’ attitudes towards classical paganism. The first two sections of this chapter treat the issue of pagan deities in Old Norse and Medieval Irish texts respectively, ending with a conclusion on the topic. Sections 4.3 and 4.4 deal with social aspects of paganism (e.g. ritual, presentation of the pagans themselves), again ending with a conclusion on the topic. These conclusions, together with that of the analysis of *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* above (2.6), will form the basis for the general conclusion (section 5).

4.1. The pagan gods in Old Norse literature

In Old Norse literature we find many texts in which pagan gods feature as characters. This happens most extensively in Snorri Sturluson's *Edda* and *Heimskringla* and in eddic poetry (mostly in the shape of collections, i.e. Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda and AM 748 I 4to).⁴⁴⁷ Nonetheless, they also appear in legendary sagas, such as *Völsunga saga* ('The Story of the Völsungs'), *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks* ('The Story of Hervör and Heiðrekr') or *Gautreks saga* ('The Story of Gautrekr'), in skaldic poetry, in Conversion *þættir* (short stories) like the ones in *Flateyjarbók*, occasionally also in *Íslendingasögur* etc.⁴⁴⁸ It needs to be said that some of these texts do not portray the characters in question unambiguously as deities, in the sense that supernatural properties and worship by humans are not always explicitly mentioned or depicted. Reading some well-known eddic poems, such as *Lokasenna* ('Loki's Flyting'), *Hárbarðsljóð* ('The Song of Hárbarðr') or perhaps even *Brymskviða* ('The Lay of Brymr'), in isolation from other texts does not necessarily create the impression that the characters are gods.⁴⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the Old Norse literary corpus, if taken as a whole, equates characters such as Óðinn, Þórr, Freyr, Freyja etc. unequivocally and repeatedly with what the pre-Christian Scandinavians worshipped as their gods. That does not mean that there is unanimity across the corpus regarding the issue of the gods' nature.

A very widespread attitude in the Norse texts is to equate the gods with demons. Pagans are portrayed as worshipping what were really demons in a great number of texts, particularly those dealing with the Conversion period and connected with the figures of the two converting kings, Óláfr Tryggvason and Saint Óláfr. For example, it is stated plainly in the later version of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* in *Flateyjarbók* (a late-fourteenth-century

⁴⁴⁷ A. Faulkes (ed.), *Snorri Sturluson. Edda: Prologue and Gylfaginning* (London, 1998); Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson (ed.), *Heimskringla*, 3 vols., ÍF 26-8 (Reykjavík, 1941-51); Neckel and Kuhn, *Edda*.

⁴⁴⁸ R.G. Finch (ed.), *The Saga of the Volsungs* (London, 1965); G. Turville-Petre (ed.), *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks* (London, 1956); W. Ranisch (ed.), *Die Gautrekssaga in zwei Fassungen* (Berlin, 1900); Guðbrandur Vigfússon, C.R. Unger (eds.), *Flateyjarbók. En samling af norske konge-sagaer*, 3 vols. (Oslo, 1860-8). For the individual *þættir* or short stories, see S. Würth, *Elemente des Erzählens. Die þættir der Flateyjarbók*, Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie 20 (Basel, 1991).

⁴⁴⁹ R. Simek, 'Mythological Poetry in Iceland and France in the 12th Century', in L.P. Slupecki and J. Morawiec (eds.), *Between Paganism and Christianity in the North* (Rzeszów, 2009), pp. 76-84, at pp. 77-8. Neckel and Kuhn, *Edda*, pp. 78-87, 96-115.

manuscript) that the Devil had been answering the heathens' prayers instead of the gods.⁴⁵⁰ In the section known as *Ögmundar þáttur dyttis* we find the story of a physical fight between a Norwegian named Gunnarr helmingr and a wooden idol of Freyr, animated by a demon.⁴⁵¹ Gunnarr wins after making a pious vow to convert to Christianity. An idol of Þórr, when struck by a retainer of Saint Óláfr, breaks into pieces and from it escape disgusting animals such as snakes, toads and huge rats.⁴⁵² Such narratives seem to refer only to the physical idols that pagans worshipped, but there are also instances where those idols are more clearly equated with the entities they depict, who are thus suggested to be demons and direct enemies of Christianity. Such is the case with many hagiographical writings.⁴⁵³ This line of interpretation is also explored in more ambiguous narratives, such as the same *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* in *Flateyjarbók*, in which it is related how a stranger came to the Christian king and entertained him through Easter Night, only to disappear in the morning.⁴⁵⁴ The king understands the stranger had been 'ouin allz mannkyns' in the shape of Óðinn worshipped by the heathens; he had tried to keep him awake so as to make him miss Mass on Easter morning.⁴⁵⁵

There are nonetheless some texts through which a different understanding of pagan deities and of paganism in general shines. These texts tend to be characterised by their more instructional outlook, evidenced in the way they refer back, even indirectly, to Latin scholarship, as opposed to mere Christian doctrine. The first such text I will discuss here is Snorri Sturluson's *Edda*, which is divided into four sections: the Prologue, *Gylfaginning* ('The Fooling of Gylfi', mostly a collection of mythological narratives), *Skáldskaparmál* ('The Discourse on Poetry', by and large a treatise on skaldic poetic diction, but with a few prose narratives as well) and *Háttatal* ('The List of Metres', a treatise on skaldic metrics in the form of a commentated poem). The *Edda*, probably written in Iceland in the 1220s and/or 1230s, is extant in manuscripts from the fourteenth century and later, in which there is considerable

⁴⁵⁰ Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Unger, *Flateyjarbók* I, p. 337.

⁴⁵¹ Jónas Kristjánsson (ed.), *Eyfirðinga sögur*, ÍF 9 (Reykjavík, 1956), pp. 109-15.

⁴⁵² Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, *Heimskringla*, ÍF 28, pp. 184-9.

⁴⁵³ Ármann Jakobsson, "Er Saturnus er kallaðr en vér köllum Frey". The Roman Spring of the Old Norse Gods', in L.P. Slupecki and J. Morawiec (eds.), *Between Paganism and Christianity in the North* (Rzeszów, 2009), pp. 158-64, at p. 163; Faulkes, 'Descent from the Gods', p. 110.

⁴⁵⁴ Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Unger, *Flateyjarbók* I, pp. 375-6.

⁴⁵⁵ 'the enemy of the entire human race'; Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Unger, *Flateyjarbók* I, p. 376.

variation in the form of the text.⁴⁵⁶ Modern editions are based on manuscript Gks 2367 4to ('Codex Regius'), which is usually considered the most faithful witness, although it is dated to ca. 1325 and is therefore not the oldest manuscript; early modern transcripts supply the text for a major lacuna in the beginning of the Prologue.⁴⁵⁷ The earliest extant witness is Uppsala universitetsbibliotek DG 11 ('Codex Upsaliensis'), which provides a heavily abridged version of the text.⁴⁵⁸ This manuscript also differs from Regius in gathering all the prose narratives in *Skáldskaparmál* and separating them from the matter pertaining directly to poetic diction by placing them immediately after *Gylfaginning*. It is only after these narratives that the end of *Gylfaginning* is marked in the text, and between them and the treatise on poetic diction we find material not extant in other manuscripts (e.g. *Skáldatal*, a list of skaldic poets). It is not known whether the oldest arrangement of the material in *Skáldskaparmál* (and the marking of the end of *Gylfaginning*) is that found in Upsaliensis or in Regius, but the presence of a genealogy of the Sturlungs in Upsaliensis has led scholars to suggest that this manuscript was produced in a milieu connected with Snorri's family.⁴⁵⁹ The mid-fourteenth-century manuscript AM 242 fol. ('Codex Wormianus') contains *Snorra Edda* next to the four Grammatical Treatises, Old Norse works of medieval grammar. Where the *Edda* is concerned, Wormianus is different from both Regius and Upsaliensis in that the Prologue is much longer (because of interpolations) and the second half of *Skáldskaparmál* is extensively re-written.⁴⁶⁰ There are two more medieval manuscripts, but they are less important for modern editions.

The Prologue is the most clearly instructional section of the Edda in a Latin European context and the one in which an entire doctrine of paganism can be seen to be developed. Snorri's authorship of the Prologue used to be called into question by scholars who

⁴⁵⁶ Faulkes, *Edda*, Introduction, pp. xiii-xv.

⁴⁵⁷ For the transmission of *Snorra Edda*'s text and the following discussion see: Faulkes, *Edda*, Introduction, pp. xxix-xxxiii; Finnur Jónsson (ed.), *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* (Copenhagen, 1931), Introduction, pp. iii-xvii; Faulkes, *Skáldskaparmál*, Introduction, pp. xxxix-xlviii.

⁴⁵⁸ That this is not the original form of the text and that the scribe did have a fuller exemplar before him is proved by Faulkes, *Skáldskaparmál*, p. xliii.

⁴⁵⁹ Heimir Pálsson, 'Tertium vero datur. A Study on the Text of DG 11 4to', <http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:322558/FULLTEXT02.pdf> (viewed 4 November 2014); H. Seelow, 'Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Werke Snorri Sturlusons', in H. Fix (ed.), *Snorri Sturluson. Beiträge zu Werk und Rezeption* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 246-54, at p. 247.

⁴⁶⁰ For the Prologue in Wormianus, see above, pp. 59-62.

emphasised the importance of the various differences between it and *Gylfaginning*.⁴⁶¹ Nonetheless, many other scholars have pointed out that the intellectual approach in these two sections is similar enough as to render a theory of two authors unnecessary.⁴⁶² The Prologue can be divided in two based on the ideas it conveys. In the first part, the author presents in a literary frame what is simply a theory of natural theology, in which man, having lost knowledge of the Divine after Noah's Flood, re-gains some of it intuitively through observation of natural phenomena.

En gangr himintunglanna var ójafn, áttu sum lengra gang en sum skemra. Af þvílíkum hlutum grunaði þá at nokkurr mundi vera stjórnari himintunglanna sá er stilla mundi gang þeira at vilja sínum, ok mundi sá vera ríkr mjök ok máttugr; ok þess væntu þeir, ef hann réði fyrir höfuðskepnunum, at hann mundi fyrr verit hafa en himintunglin.

But the courses of the heavenly bodies were various, some had a longer course and some a shorter. From such things they thought it likely that there must be some controller of the heavenly bodies who must be regulating their courses according with His will, and He must be very powerful and mighty; and they assumed, if He ruled over the elements, that He must have existed before the heavenly bodies.⁴⁶³

⁴⁶¹ A. Heusler, 'Die gelehrte Urgeschichte im altisländischen Schrifttum', *Abhandlungen der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische classe* (Berlin, 1908), Abh. III, 1-102, at pp. 27-9; R. Schomerus, *Die Religion der Nordgermanen im Spiegel christlicher Darstellung* (Borna/Leipzig, 1936), pp. 26, 42; R.C. Boer, 'Gylfes mellemværende med Aserne', in *Festskrift tillägnad Hugo Pipping på hans sextioårsdag den 5 november 1924* (Helsinki, 1924), pp. 17-24.

⁴⁶² S. Beyschlag, 'Die Betörung Gylfis', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 85 (1954), 163-81, at pp. 180-1; A. Holtsmark, *Studier i Snorres mytologi*, Skrifter (Norske videnskaps-akademi i Oslo II, Hist.-filos. klasse), ny serie 4 (Oslo, 1964), pp. 6-8. Baetke's entire analysis of *Gylfaginning* also seems to presuppose this common authorship with the Prologue; see W. Baetke, *Die Götterlehre der Snorra-Edda*, Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse 97:3 (Berlin, 1950).

⁴⁶³ Faulkes, *Edda*, pp. 3-4;

The idea that man is capable of reaching a certain level of understanding the Divine by reason alone had always featured in Christian thought in some form or other.⁴⁶⁴ The foundations of this idea can be found in Scripture, in Wisdom 13 and in Romans 1:18-25, although in both places it is used as an argument against idolatry.⁴⁶⁵ In a patristic context, we may turn to the influential words of Saint Augustine, who on this matter declares

Nam quod deus dicitur uniuersae creaturae, etiam omnibus gentibus antequam in christum crederent, non omni modo esse potuit hoc nomen ignotum. Haec est enim uis uerae diuinitatis, ut creaturae rationali iam ratione utenti, non omnino ac penitus possit abscondi. Exceptis enim paucis in quibus natura nimium deprauata est, uniuersum genus humanum deum mundi huius fatetur auctorem.

Now this name, what is called ‘God’, could not be in every way unknown to the entire Creation, not even to all the nations before they would have believed in Christ. This is indeed the power of true divinity, that it cannot remain hidden completely and inwardly to the rational creature that makes use of Reason. Except indeed a few in whom Nature is exceedingly depraved, the entire human race acknowledges God as maker of this world.⁴⁶⁶

This comment contains not only the general idea of the possibility of rational knowledge of God, but also the emphasis on name, i.e. the linguistic component of such knowledge. Snorri himself says that men after the Flood forgot God’s name and implies that the origins of paganism lie in the act of giving names to all earthly things, names that diversify with the branching out of human languages.⁴⁶⁷ The tradition of a connection between the birth of paganism and the Tower of Babel is present in various medieval texts, including both Ælfric’s *De falsis diis* (ca. 1000) and the sermon with the same title composed by Wulfstan of York (d.

⁴⁶⁴ U. Dronke, P. Dronke, ‘The Prologue of the Prose Edda. Explorations of a Latin Background’, in Einar G. Pétursson and Jónas Kristjánsson (eds.), *Sjötiú ritgerðir helgaðar Jakobi Benediktssyni 20. júlí 1977*, vol. I (Reykjavík, 1977), pp. 153-76, at p. 159.

⁴⁶⁵ E.g. ‘For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse’; *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, Epistula Pauli ad Romanos 1.20. Cf. also Liber sapientiae 13.

⁴⁶⁶ Augustinus Hipponensis, *In Ioannis evangelium tractatus* 106.4.

⁴⁶⁷ Faulkes, *Edda*, p. 4.

1023); the former is also known in an Old Norse translation, as we have seen.⁴⁶⁸ This linguistic dimension of Snorri's natural religion theory is very important, since language thus provides the link between man's quest for the Divine and poetry; in particular, the issue of the multiplicity of names is the bridge that connects pagan religion and poetic tradition (as presented later in the text, in *Skáldskaparmál*, following an encyclopaedic model) with sacred history.⁴⁶⁹ Another noteworthy feature of this first part of the Prologue is its hints of microcosmism.⁴⁷⁰ This philosophical tradition, specific to Neo-Platonism, consisted of drawing strong parallels between man (as body inhabited by a soul) and the universe, whether it meant that man was conceived as a universe onto itself or that the universe was conceived as a great animated being, even having its own soul.⁴⁷¹ Among the authors who used microcosmism is Honorius Augustodunensis (1080-1154), including in his *Elucidarius*, which is known to have had a certain currency in medieval Iceland.⁴⁷² Snorri places himself within this philosophical heritage when he presents man after the Flood as being able to understand from various phenomena 'at jörðin væri kyk ok hefði líf með nökkurum hætti'.⁴⁷³ Snorri's exposition of natural religion is thus the fruit of his engagement, through exactly what channels we do not know, with a rich intellectual tradition, rooted in Scripture, the Church

⁴⁶⁸ J.C. Pope (ed.), *Homilies of Ælfric. A Supplementary Collection*, 2 vols., Early English Text Society 259-60 (London, 1967-8), vol. II, pp. 667-724; D. Bethurum (ed.), *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 221-4. Also, M. Clunies Ross, *Skáldskaparmál. Snorri Sturluson's ars poetica and Medieval Theories of Language* (Odense, 1987), pp. 13-5. For *De falsis diis*, see also above, pp. 59-63, and below, pp. 111-2.

⁴⁶⁹ Clunies Ross, *Skáldskaparmál*, pp. 151-73.

⁴⁷⁰ Dronke and Dronke, 'The Prologue of the Prose *Edda*', p. 157.

⁴⁷¹ For detailed studies on microcosmism, see: R. Allers, 'Microcosmus. From Anaximandros to Paracelsus', *Traditio* 2 (1944), 319-407; M. Kurdzialek, 'Der Mensch als Abbild des Kosmos', in A. Zimmermann (ed.), *Der Begriff der repraesentatio im Mittelalter*, Miscellanea Mediaevalia 8 (Berlin, 1971), pp. 35-75.

⁴⁷² Kurdzialek, 'Der Mensch als Abbild des Kosmos', pp. 51-4. *Elucidarius* was a very popular catechetical text in the High Middle Ages throughout Western Europe; for its relevance for medieval Irish literature, see M. Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Pagans and Holy Men. Literary Manifestations of Twelfth-Century Reform', in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds.), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century. Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), pp. 143-61, at p. 152. Honorius is likely to have had connections with the network of Irish foundations in Germany, the so-called *Schottenklöster*, particularly Regensburg and Würzburg, and there are even suggestions that he was an Irishman, albeit on flimsy evidence; V.I.J. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, *Authors of the Middle Ages* 6 (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 111-2, 122-4. For the Old Norse translation of *Elucidarius*, see below, pp. 111-2.

⁴⁷³ Faulkes, *Edda*, p. 3; 'that the Earth is alive and in some way possesses life'.

Fathers and Ancient philosophy.⁴⁷⁴ In particular, natural religion was receiving a new impetus in Snorri's own time with the flourishing of scholastic philosophy, which was developing a set of rational arguments for the existence of God. This trend had already begun in the late eleventh century with Saint Anselm of Canterbury and was reaching maturity in the mid-thirteenth century with Saint Thomas Aquinas. The latter sets out in the beginning of his *Summa theologiae* his famous five paths that lead reason to knowledge of the Divine.⁴⁷⁵ On a more practical level, one should note that Snorri may have employed natural religion

The second part of the Prologue consists of an origin legend of the peoples of Northern Europe based on the Trojan myth.⁴⁷⁶ This legend presents the culture of the pre-Christian Norse as essentially that of exiles from Troy, the *æsir*, who take their name from that of Asia. Elements of this myth are known to have been already present in Icelandic culture (see the genealogy in Ári Þorgilsson's twelfth-century history *Íslendingabók*, or 'The Book of Icelanders'), but it is not at all unlikely that the actual descent from the Trojans was first devised by Snorri himself.⁴⁷⁷ In this, he was probably inspired by other European traditions of national descent from Troy, such as the ones regarding the Franks and the Britons.⁴⁷⁸ Nonetheless, the Icelandic tradition reflected (or perhaps begun) in *Snorra Edda* contains an original element, namely bringing into focus the euhemerised pagan gods (*æsir* in Old Norse literature is a general term for the native pagan gods or for some of them), who are thus descendants of the Trojan royal dynasty.⁴⁷⁹ The euhemerisation is explicit, Snorri stating 'sá tími fylgði ferð þeira at hvar sem þeir dvöldusk í löndum, þá var þar ár ok friðr góðr, ok trúðu allir at þeir væri þess ráðandi'.⁴⁸⁰ The deification of mortals is thus presented here in a neutral

⁴⁷⁴ For a more detailed discussion of Latin works containing ideas similar to Snorri's, see: Dronke and Dronke, 'The Prologue of the Prose *Edda*'; A. Faulkes, 'Pagan Sympathy. Attitudes to Heathendom in the Prologue to *Snorra Edda*', in R.J. Glendinning and Haraldur Bessason (eds.), *Edda. A Collection of Essays* (s.l., 1985), pp. 283-314.

⁴⁷⁵ Anselmus Cantuariensis, *Proslogion*; Thomas Aquinas, *Summae theologiae prima* 2.3.

⁴⁷⁶ Faulkes, *Edda*, pp. 4-6. For specific (but unproven) Virgilian influence, see H. Klingenberg, 'Trór Þórr (Thor) wie Tros Aeneas. *Snorra Edda* Prolog, Vergil-Rezeption und altisländische gelehrte Urgeschichte', *alvíssmál* 1 (1992), 17-54.

⁴⁷⁷ Jakob Benediktsson, *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*; Faulkes, 'Descent from the Gods', pp. 112-6.

⁴⁷⁸ Faulkes, 'Descent from the Gods', pp. 116-8; Graus, 'Troja und trojanische Herkunftssage'.

⁴⁷⁹ Cleasby-Vigfússon, p. 46.

⁴⁸⁰ 'Such was the success that attended their travels that in whatever country they stopped, there was then prosperity and good peace there, and everyone believed that they were responsible for it'; Faulkes, *Edda*, p. 5.

light and seems to be a second, different (although not necessarily contradictory) theory of the origin of paganism than the aforementioned comment on the giving of names to earthly things, indebted mainly to the allegorical tradition. In this context, it has also been argued that Snorri used the theory of natural religion precisely with the aim of harmonising the two roots of pagan Scandinavian society (Trojan and indigenous) and bringing them on the same spiritual level.⁴⁸¹

The second part of the *Edda*, *Gylfaginning*, consists of a narrative frame devised for the purpose of giving a unified account of Norse mythology. This account too, as well as the mythological passages in *Skáldskaparmál*, the third part of the *Edda*, are characterised by what seems like a neutral attitude towards pagan myths. It has been suggested that this is essentially the same as we see in twelfth-century Latin mythographic works, particularly the commentaries produced in the French so-called ‘School of Chartres’ (i.e. William of Conches, Thierry of Chartres etc.).⁴⁸² Unfortunately, our understanding of the conception of paganism presented in *Gylfaginning* is hampered by the difficulties of this text, in particular the contradictions present in the narrative frame. Although scholarship has not avoided the issue, no convincing interpretation has been proposed that can explain satisfactorily *Gylfaginning* as a whole.⁴⁸³ My own interpretation, in the following paragraphs, is itself highly speculative and aims not only to explain the doctrinal conceptions in *Gylfaginning*, but also to treat the related issue of the connections between *Snorra Edda* and *Trójumanna saga*. Together with the discussion of the Prologue, it illuminates the intellectual climate in which *Trójumanna saga*, where paganism plays an important part, was written.

Gylfaginning is presented as a blend of classroom colloquy and wisdom contest between the *æsir* and King Gylfi, a character whose primary attribute is his native Scandinavian origin. The beginnings of this section of the text, although sometimes dismissed by scholars as utterly dispensable, are essential for Snorri’s presentation of his theological conception. They

⁴⁸¹ Wanner, *Snorri Sturluson*, pp. 146-58.

⁴⁸² Dronke and Dronke, ‘The Prologue of the Prose *Edda*’, pp. 169-70; R.M. Meyer, ‘Snorri als Mythograph’, *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 24 (1912), 109-21.

⁴⁸³ W. Baetke, *Die Götterlehre der Snorra-Edda*, Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 97:3 (Leipzig, 1950); S. Beyschlag, ‘Die Betörung Gylfis’, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 85 (1954), 163-181; R. McTurk, ‘Fooling Gylfi. Who Tricks Who?’, *alvissmál* 3 (1994), 3-18; H. Beck, ‘Ragnarøkkr und der Kampf um Trója (*Skáldskaparmál* 87,1 – 88,3)’, in H. Fix (ed.), *Snorri Sturluson. Beiträge zu Werk und Rezeption* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 1-8; C. Abram, ‘Gylfaginning and Early Medieval Conversion Theory’, *Saga-Book* 33 (2009), 5-24.

are responsible for realising in narrative practice the potentialities of the more theoretical piece of work that is the Prologue.⁴⁸⁴ An important passage but easy to overlook is when Gylfi is said to be amazed by the *æsir*'s good fortune and wonders 'hvárt þat mundi vera af eðli sjálfra þeira, eða mundi því valda goðmögn þau er þeir blótuðu'.⁴⁸⁵ This might perhaps be paraphrased as 'were they powerful because they were gods or because they worshipped powerful gods?' and shows us again a euhemeristic understanding of the origins of paganism. The first possibility stated in this quote is the same as the second theory of the origin of paganism presented in the Prologue (i.e. deification of living, but extraordinary, mortals). Nonetheless, it is the second one, as we shall see, that is later confirmed in the narrative frame of *Gylfaginning*. In other words, apparently in contradiction to the Prologue, Gylfi does not end up believing that the *æsir* he visits and with whom he converses are gods, but comes to believe in the gods they tell him about. The dialogue begins with a question about the highest god, which is answered with what is basically a short description of the monotheistic God (to which a Christian-like account of the Afterlife is added). His odinic by-names notwithstanding, Alföðr ('All-Father') is at this stage only the Creator that every man is capable of knowing through the light of Reason, as expounded in the Prologue.⁴⁸⁶ It is presumably only with the account of creation that then follows that we start to get glimpses of what the medieval audience might have recognised as Old Norse mythology. When the narrative mentions the birth of Óðinn, one of Gylfi's interlocutors makes a forceful intervention and identifies him with the highest God and Creator, obviously the Alföðr mentioned earlier, instructing Gylfi to believe in this identification.⁴⁸⁷ This is the likeliest interpretation of the passage, although it has also been seen as an ambiguous statement about two separate persons.⁴⁸⁸ This combination of monotheistic and pagan Norse elements is clearly meant to make concrete the author's theories presented in the Prologue.⁴⁸⁹ It shows natural religion in action, characterised by its automatic quest for a supreme god, blended

⁴⁸⁴ Faulkes, *Edda*, pp. 7-11.

⁴⁸⁵ 'Whether this could be as a result of their own nature or whether the divine powers they worshipped could be responsible'; Faulkes, *Edda*, p. 7.

⁴⁸⁶ Faulkes, *Edda*, pp. 8-9.

⁴⁸⁷ Faulkes, *Edda*, p. 11.

⁴⁸⁸ See the history of scholarship on the passage in J. Lindow, 'Mythology and Mythography', in C. Clover and J. Lindow (eds.), *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature. A Critical Guide*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 2005), pp. 21-67, at p. 39.

⁴⁸⁹ U. Sterath-Bolz, 'Sprache und Religion im Prolog der Snorra-Edda', in H. Fix (ed.), *Snorri Sturluson. Beiträge zu Werk und Rezeption* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 267-74, at p. 269.

with deification of mortals. Óðinn in *Gylfaginning* seems to be long dead and not one of the *æsir* visited by Gylfi, as the latter does not show any signs of familiarity with him, even though in the Prologue the two were said to have been contemporary and to have met.⁴⁹⁰ In this interpretation, the *æsir* must be understood as a people, not just a limited group of coeval individuals. In other words, Óðinn from the Prologue can be seen as the same Óðinn spoken of in *Gylfaginning* if we allow for a considerable time-span between what is described in these two sections, with his descendants engaging in ancestor-worship. There are thus a few obvious contradictions between the Prologue and *Gylfaginning* in matters of narrative detail, but not necessarily where the overall conception of paganism is concerned. The beginning of *Gylfaginning*, far from being a useless failure, as occasionally bemoaned, is the place where Snorri's understanding of paganism as a blend of natural religion and euhemerism is shown in action and is thus central to his work.⁴⁹¹

The theological relationship between the Prologue and *Gylfaginning* provides a firm foundation for the idea that Snorri knew *Trójumanna saga* in some form or another. General and vague knowledge of the Trojan story in itself is no proof in this sense, since Snorri could have acquired it from at least one known text, *Veraldar saga*.⁴⁹² On the other hand, the common use of such obscure characters as Mennon, Troan (supposed daughter of Priam) or Loricus makes the relationship almost certain. This is true especially of Troan, who is thought to have arisen as a misunderstanding of a Latin phrase such as 'uxorem Troianam filiam Priami', and is not found anywhere else.⁴⁹³ As for Mennon's and Troan's son Tror, equated with Þórr, his origin remains a mystery, although it is likely that the inspiration for his name at least came to the author from Tros, Priam's ancestor; Þórr only appears in *Trójumanna saga* as an occasional by-name for Jupiter or Mars. Besides these references to Trojan matter in the Prologue, the connection between *Snorra Edda* and *Trójumanna saga* is also suggested

⁴⁹⁰ Faulkes, *Edda*, p. 6.

⁴⁹¹ Faulkes, 'Pagan Sympathy', p. 298. For the older, negative view of the beginning of *Gylfaginning*, see Sigurður Nordal, *Snorri Sturluson* (Reykjavík, 1920), p. 116, quoted in K.J. Wanner, *Snorri Sturluson and the Edda. The Conversion of Cultural Capital in Medieval Scandinavia* (Toronto, 2008), p. 157.

⁴⁹² Faulkes, 'Descent from the Gods', p. 123. On *Veraldar saga*, see above p. 34. Incidentally, a few passages on the Trojan War in *Veraldar saga* show similarity of content with *Trójumanna saga* (against Dares), but a common source has not been identified.

⁴⁹³ 'a Trojan wife, daughter of Priam'; Faulkes, *Edda*, p. 174. In *Trójumanna saga* the name is attested twice in the Hauksbók version, once for a daughter of Priam and once as an alternative name for Casandra, Priam's well-established daughter; *T.s.*, pp. 9, 56. The phrase itself is not attested anywhere.

elsewhere. For example, the last paragraph of *Gylfaginning* establishes some bold equivalences between Norse and classical characters, although I would like to suggest that the passage, present in all manuscripts, could be an interpolation. Although Snorri's general method, as already described, is observed therein, there is a formal contradiction between it and the Prologue in that Þórr is no longer the otherwise unknown Tror but the famous hero Hector (just as Loki is equated with Ulysses). In addition, the penultimate paragraph of *Gylfaginning* has a certain epilogue quality: 'Gengr hann þá leiða sína braut ok kemr heim í ríki sitt ok segir þau tíðindi er hann hefir sét ok heyrtr. Ok eptir honum sagði hverr maðr öðrum þessar sögur.'⁴⁹⁴ It shows how the particular brand of paganism contained in Gylfi's colloquy with Hár, Jafnhár and Þriði was spread by Gylfi among his fellow native Scandinavians, thus concluding *Gylfaginning*'s origin-legend of Old Norse paganism (based on deification of ancestors, unlike the one in the Prologue, based, as we have seen, on deification of living mortals). The last paragraph on the other hand offers a differing conclusion, based on the ascription by the *æsir*, i.e. Hár, Jafnhár and Þriði, of the preceding mythological narratives to themselves, whereas until then the reader would have thought they were about the old *æsir* in Asia. It seems at least possible that this is an addition by a scribe who was trying to reconcile the *æsir* in the Prologue with the *æsir* in *Gylfaginning*, not understanding that they (as I suggested in the preceding paragraph) are perhaps not the same and that the action in the two sections is set in different periods.

The most interesting and problematic connection between *Snorra Edda* and *Trójumanna saga* is in two successive passages in *Skáldskaparmál*, whose presence in the original text has been contested.⁴⁹⁵ Finnur Jónsson believed that the address to young skalds is Snorri's own and that only the subsequent Troy-digression is an interpolation, but Heinrich Beck has argued strongly in favour of them both being interpolations, or perhaps one single interpolation, based on their shared vision of paganism.⁴⁹⁶ In this regard, we may note that they stand out in the text of the *Edda* by the fact that they state and even emphasise the mendacious nature of Old Norse mythology, in other words, they show the *æsir* lying ('þeir

⁴⁹⁴ 'Then he went off on his way and came back to his kingdom and told of the events he had seen and heard about. And from his account these stories passed from one person to another'; Faulkes, *Edda*, p. 54.

⁴⁹⁵ A. Faulkes (ed.), *Edda. Skáldskaparmál*, 2 vols., vol. I *Introduction, Text and Notes* (London, 1998), p. 5, l. 5 - p. 6, l. 29.

⁴⁹⁶ Beck, 'Ragnarökr un die Kampf um Trója', p. 8. Also Faulkes, 'Descent from the Gods', p. 122.

[...] fölsuðu frásagnir þær’).⁴⁹⁷ In the Prologue and *Gylfaginning* on the other hand, as we have seen (with the sole exception of the last paragraph of *Gylfaginning*), we are told nothing of this sort.⁴⁹⁸ Instead, the author in these two sections seems to lead the audience to the conclusion that the myths are indeed the original deeds of the Trojan *æsir*; whatever is in them that must be rejected by Christians is only the result of involuntary distortion, they have been ‘muddled’ by the deification of the *æsir*. The interpolated nature of this entire so-called ‘Eptirmáli’ (‘epilogue’) in *Skáldskaparmál* has other arguments in its favour too. Some are formal, like the fact that it refers to ‘upphafi bókar’, most likely the Prologue, and redundantly begins to relate its content.⁴⁹⁹ Furthermore, the account is misleading, since, as we have seen, the Prologue does not have the *æsir* lie. Most importantly, the hero ‘Volucrontes’, a corruption of ‘Polypoetes’, is known from *Trójumanna saga*, recension , and from *Ilias Latina*, but not from Dares, thus making a date for the passage after the mid-thirteenth century very likely.⁵⁰⁰ On the basis of content, what draws the two suggested interpolations together and differentiates them from the rest of the work is their extraordinary propensity for bold equations between Norse and classical mythology. Thus the last paragraph of *Gylfaginning* equates not only Þórr with Hector but also Loki with Ulysses, while the Troy-digression restates the Þórr-Hector equation and offers a whole series of others, Achilles-Miðgarðsormr being by far the boldest one, all under the heading of the general equation, that between Ragnarök and the Trojan War. The attention to detail is shown by the fact that Loki, who fights against the gods at Ragnarök, is the only one to be equated with someone from the Greek camp rather than the Trojan one. The rest of the *Edda* does not seem to follow this pattern. In fact, besides the obscure equations in the Prologue mentioned above, the only other example of a stated correspondence is the one between Ásgarðr and Troy.⁵⁰¹ On the other hand, it would be hard not to see this phenomenon in light of the frequent equations between Norse and Roman gods in *Trójumanna saga*. In the latter text too there is a trace of ‘systemic’ concern: the saga-author goes beyond the limited frame provided by the *interpretatio*

⁴⁹⁷ ‘They forged those tales’; Faulkes, *Skáldskaparmál*, p. 5.

⁴⁹⁸ Baetke, *Die Götterlehre der Snorra-Edda*, pp. 29, 39, 41. The ‘ginning’ (‘fooling’) itself, is rather obscure, referring presumably to the magical illusions of the *æsir*’s castle and to the general mistake of polytheism, but it does not necessarily equate with lying. It only appears in Upsaliensis; Faulkes, *Edda*, p. xviii.

⁴⁹⁹ ‘the beginning of the book’; Faulkes, *Skáldskaparmál*, p. 5

⁵⁰⁰ For dating see above, pp. 20-1. It is interesting to note that the corrupt form ‘Volucrontes’ is also found only in the Hauksbók version of *Trójumanna saga*.

⁵⁰¹ Faulkes, *Edda*, p. 13.

germanica of the names of the weekdays. He is knowledgeable and bold enough to change Juno into Sif, based on the *interpretatio germanica* that turns her husband Jupiter into Þórr, Sif's husband. He also shows his boldness when he equates the Trojan horse with none other than Sleipnir.⁵⁰² The most convincing argument in favour of a direct link between the saga and the Troy-digression in *Skáldskaparmál* is, however, the shared phrase 'fyrir stalli/stalla Þórs' which appears in both texts in the description of Priam's murder.⁵⁰³ It is interesting to note that *Snorra Edda*'s relationship with *Trójumanna saga* seems to be with that branch only that produced Hauksbók; this is true for both the Prologue and the Eptirmáli regardless of their authorship and is intimated by the fact that 'Troan' (from the Prologue) can only be found in Hauksbók and that 'Volucrontes' (from *Skáldskaparmál*'s Troy-digression) can only be found with this particular name in the same Hauksbók.

It thus seems quite plausible that a bold scribe intervened early on in the transmission of the *Edda*'s manuscripts and inserted or glossed two passages or notes, the shorter one right at the end of *Gylfaginning*, which in some ways was meant to be in the narrative voice, and the longer, more decidedly authorial one towards the beginning of *Skáldskaparmál*. Since, as we have seen, these passages are or can be interpreted as attempts at harmonisation with the Prologue, I suggest that they were perhaps interpolated by the same person (perhaps one of Snorri's nephews) who could have collected and transcribed together three or four tracts by Snorri Sturluson and thus have been the editor of the *Edda*. That such an editing process did take place is suggested both by the somewhat weak sense of overall coherence experienced by any reader of the whole work and by its very title, whose likely derivation is from the Latin 'edo, edere', with meanings such as 'to publish, to edit, to compile'.⁵⁰⁴ On the other hand, the different handling of the transition between *Gylfaginning* and *Skáldskaparmál* in Upsaliensis and Regius (and other manuscripts) respectively shows that such a process may well have taken place in a complex manner, in successive stages.

When talking of Snorri Sturluson's understanding of Norse paganism, another text must be mentioned as well, namely *Ynglinga saga* ('The Story of the Ynglings'), the first part of *Heimskringla* ('The Circle of the World'), the collection of Norwegian royal biographies attributed to Snorri Sturluson.⁵⁰⁵ In *Ynglinga saga*, he presents the Norwegian kings as descended from the legendary Swedish kings of the Yngling dynasty, who in their turn are

⁵⁰² *T.s.*, p. 209.

⁵⁰³ 'in front of Þórr's altar'. *T.s.*, p. 229; Faulkes, *Skáldskaparmál*, p. 6.

⁵⁰⁴ A. Faulkes, 'Edda', *Gripla* 2 (1977), 37-9.

made to descend from the Old Norse gods. The latter are depicted in a euhemerised manner, essentially the same kind of treatment we saw in the second part of the Prologue of the *Edda*, where people start believing in them because of their extraordinary powers.⁵⁰⁶ The account of the *æsir* in *Heimskringla*, which is more extensive than the one in the Prologue of the *Edda*, lacks the explicit connection with Troy, but that with Asia is maintained and the geographical setting in general is more clearly emphasised; the connection with *Trójumanna saga* is thus less strong, but still present.⁵⁰⁷ In comparison with *Snorra Edda*, the strong link made between the *æsir* and magic is characteristic of *Ynglinga saga*.⁵⁰⁸ Brief euhemeristic explanations of Norse paganism can be found in other texts as well, such as *Upphaf allra frásagna* ('The Beginning of All Stories'), a fragment from the largely lost *Skjöldunga saga*, or genealogies.⁵⁰⁹

A very important feature of medieval Norse attitudes towards paganism is the customary substitution of names of Scandinavian deities for names of classical deities in vernacular texts. We thus often find Þórr for Jupiter, Sif for Juno, Óðinn for Mercury, Gefjun for Vesta etc., including in *Trójumanna saga*, as we have seen. The implication of this practice is twofold. Firstly, it reinforces greatly the impression that learned writers in medieval Scandinavia understood paganism as a religion in itself and a universal one, not just a practical negative concept, 'any religion that is not Judaeo-Christian'. Secondly, analysing the different instances of equivalence between Norse and classical gods shows that there was nevertheless no coherent and stable system, since the same Norse deity does not always correspond to the same classical one.⁵¹⁰ The correspondence itself went deeper than one might expect, at least in some cases. In a story related in *Flateyjarbók*, when an idol of Þórr is destroyed (as part of King Óláfr Tryggvason's Christianisation of the country) and the rests

⁵⁰⁵ Some scholars have expressed doubt on this attribution; see M. Cormack, 'Egils saga, *Heimskringla* and the Daughter of Eiríkr blóðøx', *alvíssmál* 10 (2001), 61-8; Ármann Jakobsson, 'Royal Biography', in R. McTurk (ed.), *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 388-402, at p. 396.

⁵⁰⁶ Bjarni Aðalbarnarson, *Heimskringla*, ÍF 26, pp. 19-22.

⁵⁰⁷ Bjarni Aðalbarnarson, *Heimskringla*, ÍF 26, pp. 9-12.

⁵⁰⁸ Bjarni Aðalbarnarson, *Heimskringla*, ÍF 26, pp. 19-22.

⁵⁰⁹ Heusler, 'Die gelehrte Urgeschichte', pp. 13-8.

⁵¹⁰ Ármann Jakobsson, 'The Roman Spring of the Old Norse Gods'; S. Battista, 'Interpretations of the Roman Pantheon in the Old Norse Hagiographical Sagas' in M. Clunies Ross (ed.), *Old Norse Myths, Literature and Society* (Odense, 2003), pp. 175-97. See also section 3.5 for *Trójumanna saga*, particularly the Judgment of Paris.

are given to the dogs to eat, a Christian character takes notice with satisfaction of the irony of the situation, explaining that Þórr himself had eaten his children, an obvious reference to the myth of Saturn.⁵¹¹ Although the equation between Þórr and Saturn is unusual in the Norse corpus of mythological equations, proof of the same lack of coherence and stability mentioned above, the remarkable aspect here is the total fusion between the two mythological systems: for some writers at least, the mythological equations meant much more than simply combining a classical referent with a Norse label. The explanation for this unified vision of paganism lies in a faithful reception and transmission of Latin scholarship on the matter, which (probably because of its roots in Patristics and the Roman world of Late Antiquity in general) had little interest in exploring the question of differences between various brands of paganism and preferred to speak uniformly ‘de diis gentium’.⁵¹² It is thus important to consider such Latin scholarship as well, insofar as it is found in a Norse context.

The important Old Norse witness for direct transmission of Latin scholarship on paganism is the manuscript Hauksbók, due to the fact that euhemeristic explanations of paganism are found in it more than once.⁵¹³ One such explanation is provided for example in Ælfric’s *De falsis diis*.⁵¹⁴ As we have seen, this homily inspired by Martin of Braga’s *De correctione rusticorum* draws chiefly on Biblical material, but it also dwells on classical deities, whom it portrays as particularly loathsome humans, occasionally identifying them with Old Norse gods. Ælfric’s conception of pagan worship blends euhemerism with demonism, since, although the gods had actually been mortal men, the idols fashioned in their honour and worshipped by pagans were inhabited by demons, who were the main cause of the whole practice. Another explanation is provided in the Old Norse translation of a fragment from *Elucidarius* by Honorius Augustodunensis.⁵¹⁵ In this fragment, Honorius presents a different tradition, that sees in Ninus, king of Babylon, the first idolater, who has a ‘licneskiu’ made in memory of his dead father Bel, which everyone is commanded to worship; the spread of this custom of honouring departed relatives is presented as the origin of idolatry, but accompanied by demonic interference.⁵¹⁶ It is particularly interesting to note that this passage from

⁵¹¹ Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Unger, *Flateyjarbók* I, p. 387.

⁵¹² The title of the influential ch. 11 of Isidore’s *Etymologiae* VIII.

⁵¹³ For Hauksbók in general see Rowe, ‘Perspectives on Hauksbók’, 51-76; Sverrir Jakobsson, ‘Hauksbók and the Construction of an Icelandic World-View’, *Saga-Book* 31 (2007), 22-38. See also above, pp. 20, 60.

⁵¹⁴ Eiríkur Jónsson, Finnur Jónsson (eds.), *Hauksbók* (Copenhagen, 1892-6), pp. 156-64. See also above, pp. 59-62.

⁵¹⁵ Eiríkur Jónsson and Finnur Jónsson, *Hauksbók*, p. 170.

⁵¹⁶ ‘likeness’.

Elucidarius (and at least one more, on dreams) is actually present in Hauksbók twice, since another section of the manuscript contains an abridged translation of the whole of Honorius's work.⁵¹⁷ While this is clearly due to the complex way in which Hauksbók as a collection of texts was put together, the fact that a section on idolatry should have been written twice, in one of the two cases almost singled out, must be indicative of a heightened interest.⁵¹⁸ The euhemeristic nature of the prologue to *Trójumanna saga* in Hauksbók has already been discussed, including in connection with the manuscript and the Norse text of Ælfric.⁵¹⁹ Hauksbók also contains a genealogy of Haukr Erlendsson himself from Noah, through Saturn, Priam and Óðinn, using the material provided by Snorri in the Prologue of the *Edda*. The Norse Ælfric, which some scholars consider to be significantly older than the manuscript, has been speculated upon as a source in other Old Norse texts.⁵²⁰ A credible example of at least possible influence is provided by a passage in *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* in *Heimskringla*, in which the king elaborates on the true nature of pagan worship; indeed, the ideas expressed here are generally the same as those found in *De falsis diis* (e.g. 'likneski eru ger eftir illum monnum'), but, nevertheless, we encounter none of the details that are specific to the sermon.⁵²¹

The foregoing analysis of Old Norse intellectual and literary attitudes towards pagan mythology is limited. This is due not only to the constraints of space and scope that apply in this research, but also to the constraints of the extant evidence. In particular, Snorri Sturluson is by far the one who did the most in order to adapt in a Norse context various ideas that were enjoying currency in contemporary Latin culture, but we have very little evidence concerning his contacts with the latter. In fact, the only aspect of his intellectual biography that is known is his association, early in his life, with the Icelandic chieftain family of the Oddaverjar, one of whose members, Sæmundr inn fróði ('the Wise') had studied in Paris in the first half of the twelfth century.⁵²² Even without the help of biographical data, Snorri's works succeed, as I have shown in this section, in painting the picture of an author who was well grounded in

⁵¹⁷ E.S. Firchow, K. Grimstad (eds.), *Elucidarius. In Old Norse Translation* (Reykjavík, 1989), pp. 110-2.

⁵¹⁸ Rowe, 'Perspectives on Hauksbók'.

⁵¹⁹ See above, pp. 59-62.

⁵²⁰ A. Holtsmark in *Studier i Snorres mytologi*, Skrifter (Norske videnskaps-akademi i Oslo II, Hist.-filos. klasse), ny serie 4 (Oslo, 1964), pp. 9, 11, thinks it should be dated to 'the Conversion period'.

⁵²¹ 'likenesses of evil men are being made'; Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Unger, *Flateyjarbók* I, pp. 296-8. For the suggestion that the passage is based on Ælfric, see Schomerus, *Die Religion der Nordgermanen*, pp. 88-9.

⁵²² Clunies Ross, *Skáldskaparmál*, p. 9. For his political biography, see Heimir Pálsson (ed.), *Snorri Sturluson. The Uppsala Edda, DG II 4to* (London, 2012), Introduction, pp. xi-xxix.

contemporary Latin culture in areas such as Classical mythography, philosophy, theology or poetics and was probably acquainted with the milieu in which *Trójumanna saga* was produced. His learned speculations on the nature of Old Norse gods and Old Norse pagan religion prove as much and they are not without parallel in the Old Norse literary corpus. Neither are such learned speculations on paganism absent from the medieval Irish literary corpus, as I will show in the next section.

4.2. The pagan gods in Medieval Irish literature

In discussing the presence of Irish pagan gods in medieval literature I will concentrate on the issue of the Túatha Dé Danann, since they have been equated by many modern scholars with a pre-Christian Irish pantheon.⁵²³ In connection with *Togail Troí*, a discussion of the Túatha Dé Danann is useful in emphasising the underlying similarity in the way material referring to paganism was treated when based on Classical sources and when developed in an Irish setting. The Túatha Dé Danann are a class of beings who feature in many medieval Irish texts, where they enjoy an ambiguous status. The safest description that can be applied to them is that of superhuman figures who most likely (but not certainly) reflect (but are not necessarily in themselves) the deities of pre-Christian paganism. John Carey notes that ‘referring to the Túath Dé of medieval literature as “gods” seems unsatisfactory’.⁵²⁴ After examining the evidence, he himself settles for the term ‘immortals’, still noting that they are presented as immune to sickness and old age, but not to violence. In the following analysis, I will try to show how different texts that feature the Túatha Dé Danann emphasise different aspects and potentialities concerning them. I will start by considering the evidence provided by *Lebor Gabála*. This is acknowledged as a seminal text in the history of medieval Irish

⁵²³ P. Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* (Feltham, 1970), pp. 54-70.

⁵²⁴ J. Carey, ‘Túath Dé’, in J.T. Koch (ed.), *Celtic Culture. A Historical Encyclopaedia*, vol. 5 (Santa Barbara, 2006), 1693-6, at p. 1695.

literature, having provided a mythological framework for the ‘legend, historiography, poetry and political thought’ of later centuries.⁵²⁵ Scholarly opinion dates the composition of the text roughly around the middle of the eleventh century and suggests that the bringing together of several smaller tracts and poems of a mythological-historical nature played an important part in its genesis, as did the author’s aim of providing Ireland with a rich, long and prestigious past that would have integrated the Irish people into the general historical scheme provided by the Old Testament. This original text seems to have undergone several revisions, which resulted in the many textual versions we now have.⁵²⁶ For understanding the material I will discuss here, it is useful to bear in mind the classification established by Robert Macalister in his (admittedly unsatisfactory) edition from the 1930s to the 1950s, whereby the most important variations are those between Recensions I, II and III. More recently, this classification has been upheld, but also much refined, by Mark Scowcroft.⁵²⁷ It is important to retain his dating of Recension I (found in the Book of Leinster itself and in the fourteenth-century Book of Fermoy) between 1072 and 1166, as well as the year 1114 as a *terminus post quem* for Recension II (for which there is no textual witness older than the fourteenth century).⁵²⁸ The specific difficulty with which *Lebor Gabála*’s students are met is the fact that no extant versions are simply developed from each other; rather, the complex history of the text’s evolution comprises many stages for which textual witnesses are no longer available.

In putting together his learned interpretation of Irish history, the creator(s) of *Lebor Gabála* used not only the Scriptures, but also Christian synthetic history (especially Eusebius, Jerome and Orosius), as well as a great deal of creative imagination; it is likely that he also drew occasionally (through how much Christian mediation we cannot tell) on relics of native pre-Christian lore.⁵²⁹ The narrative thread that gives unity and coherence to *Lebor Gabála* is a historical (and legendary) scheme centred on a sequence of ancient invasions of Ireland; the Túatha Dé Danann are in this scheme the penultimate race to conquer Ireland, followed by the

⁵²⁵ J. Carey, ‘*Lebor Gabála* and the Legendary History of Ireland’, in H. Fulton (ed.), *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society* (Dublin, 2005), pp. 32-48, at p. 45; Carey, J., *The Irish National Origin-Legend. Synthetic Pseudohistory*, Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Medieval Gaelic History 1 (Cambridge, 1994), 1-2.

⁵²⁶ Carey, *Irish National Origin-Legend*, p. 22; R.M. Scowcroft, ‘*Leabhar Gabhála*. Part II: The Growth of the Tradition’, *Ériu* 39 (1988), 1-66, at pp. 2-3.

⁵²⁷ Scowcroft, ‘*Leabhar Gabhála*. Part I’, pp. 81-99.

⁵²⁸ Scowcroft, ‘*Leabhar Gabhála*. Part I’, pp. 96-9 and p. 97 n. 1.

⁵²⁹ On *Lebor Gabála*’s use of Christian synthetic history, see Scowcroft, ‘*Leabhar Gabhála*. Part II’, pp. 12-32; K. McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* (Maynooth, 1990), pp. 66-9.

‘Sons of Míl’, in other words the ancestors of the Irish. The presence of the Túatha Dé Danann in a sequence of legendary invaders of Ireland is attested earlier than *Lebor Gabála*, for example in the ninth-century *Scél Tuáin meic Cairill* (‘The Story of Tuán mac Cairill’).⁵³⁰ Other invaders in this tradition, such as Partholón, Nemed and the Sons of Míl, are also mentioned in the British *Historia Brittonum*, also of the ninth century.⁵³¹

One of the major difficulties that the characters known as ‘Túatha Dé Danann’ pose to modern scholarship is their very name. It appears, both in *Lebor Gabála* and in other texts, with numerous variants. We have ‘Túatha’ and ‘Túath’, ‘de’, ‘dea’ and ‘dei’, ‘Danann’, ‘Danonn’ and ‘Donann’ etc. Two points of variation are noteworthy, namely the number of the first element and the presence or absence of the third, which is why scholarship often writes ‘Túath(a) Dé (Danann)’. Although the singular, ‘Túath’, is more intuitive, the plural is predominant across the texts we have; the narrative *Cath Maige Tuired* (‘The Battle of Moytura’), which we have in an eleventh-century recension, seems to be exceptional with its more numerous occurrences of the singular, but the variation does not seem to have any deeper implications.⁵³² As far as the last element is concerned, settling for the conventional translation ‘Peoples of the Goddess Danu’ seems problematic. Not only is the nominative ‘Danu’ simply unattested, but the forms that are attested independently as the name of a goddess, ‘Danann’ and its scribal variants, seem never to inflect at all.⁵³³ Furthermore, the slightly curious nature of a sort of self-referential circumlocution (i.e. is *Danu one of the Túatha Dé Danann?) is well matched with the relative obscurity of this character. It is true that Eóchaid úa Flainn (ca. 936-1004), the author of one of the poems incorporated into *Lebor Gabála*, calls her ‘Donand, máthair na nDea’,⁵³⁴ but in other places she is just buried

⁵³⁰ J. Carey (ed.), ‘Scél Tuáin meic Chairill’, *Ériu* 35 (1984), 93-111. This ninth-century tale on the wondrous longevity and animal transformations of the sage Tuán underwent a certain amount of re-working at several stages in the Middle Irish period; Carey, ‘Scél Tuáin’, pp. 93-7.

⁵³¹ J. Morris (ed.), *British History and The Welsh Annals. Nennius* (London, 1980), p. 61.

⁵³² E.A. Gray (ed.), *Cath Maige Tuired. The Second Battle of Mag Tuired*, Irish Texts Society 52 (Naas, 1982), p. 117.

⁵³³ Carey, ‘Túath Dé’, p. 1693.

⁵³⁴ ‘Donand, mother of the gods’; Macalister, R. A. S. (ed.), *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, 5 vols., Irish Texts Society 34-35, 39, 41, 44 (London, 1938-1956), vol. IV, pp. 216-7. On the poems incorporated into *Lebor Gabála*, see below, pp. 117-8.

somewhere in the genealogy of the Túatha Dé (daughter of Delbáeth, son of Ogma) and often identified with a more firmly established character, e.g. Anu, Mórrígan.⁵³⁵

John Carey, who has studied the issue in detail, claims that there is no convincing attestation of the name prior to *Lebor Gabála*.⁵³⁶ He has done a lot to popularise L.C. Stern's early twentieth-century theory according to which 'Túatha Dé Danann' is simply an expansion of 'Túatha Dé' made by the scholars active in the eleventh-century milieu in which *Lebor Gabála* was written. This older, shorter form does appear in many later texts, including *Lebor Gabála* and especially *Cath Maige Tuired* (where it predominates in the eleventh-century recension we now have), but seems to have been exclusive in the few earlier texts we know that mention the Túatha Dé. Such texts include *Sanas Cormaic* ('Cormac's Glossary', of the tenth century), *Scél Tuáin meic Chairill*, or the Old Irish *De Gabáil in tSída* ('On the Taking of the Grave Mound'). The latter text is instructive, since its ninth-century version only has 'Túatha Déa' and 'Fir Déa' (an occasional alternative name), whereas the Middle Irish version has 'Túatha Dé Danann' exclusively.⁵³⁷ Even more instructive is the Middle Irish *Cóir Anmann* ('The Fitness of Names'), which explains 'Túatha Dea (.i. Donann)'.⁵³⁸ Most importantly, 'Túath(a) Dé' features in various Old and Middle Irish texts as the name for the Hebrews of the Old Testament.⁵³⁹ In Stern's and Carey's theory, this double meaning (and thus the desire to avoid confusion) provided the motivation for the eleventh-century expansion, whereas the 'tools' of this expansion were the genitive 'dána' ('skill, craft') in formulas such as 'áes dána' or 'trí dee dána' and the goddess Anu ('Anann' in the genitive).⁵⁴⁰ The latter had been identified as mother of the Irish gods earlier, e.g. in *Sanas Cormaic*.⁵⁴¹ The original meaning could thus have been 'People(s) of the Gods' (with 'dé' or 'déa' for 'día') and later scholars, wishing to weaken the association with the Israelites ('Tribes of God'), would have re-interpreted the second element as genitive singular instead of plural and identified it with a particular goddess, perhaps inventing a new deity in the process or given an old one a new, alliterating name. There is no doubt that the similarity between the Irish and Latin words for

⁵³⁵ Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired*, pp. 122-3.

⁵³⁶ J. Carey, 'The name Túatha Dé Danann', *Éigse* 18 (1980-1), 291-4, at p. 292.

⁵³⁷ Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired*, p. 117.

⁵³⁸ Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired*, p. 117.

⁵³⁹ eDIL, s.v. 'túath' (viewed 26 January 2015).

⁵⁴⁰ Carey, 'The name Túatha Dé Danann'; Carey, 'Túath Dé', pp. 1693-4.

⁵⁴¹ Early Irish Glossaries Database, ed. P. Russell *et al.*, <http://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/irishglossaries/website.php>, s.v. 'Anann' (viewed 26 January 2015).

‘deity’ helped amplify the confusion, especially since Irish has a single word for both male and female deities and ‘dea’ for the Irish genitive plural is at the same time very close to the genitive singular (‘dé’) and identical with the Latin word for ‘goddess’.⁵⁴² The presence of characters such as ‘Fir Domnann’ and ‘Indech mac Dé Domnann’ complicates the situation further, since ‘Domnann’ may be influenced by ‘Danann’ or similar forms.⁵⁴³

An important feature of *Lebor Gabála*’s treatment of the Túatha Dé Danann, and one that may well be an innovation of the text’s author(s), is the euhemeristic dimension, by which I mean a tendency to explain the Túatha Dé Danann as mortal humans, as opposed to supernatural figures. This is of course intimately connected with the general synthetic historical approach noticed in this text, and which is also a feature of *Togail Troí*.⁵⁴⁴ The mortality of the Túatha Dé Danann is particularly emphasised in a series of three poems by named poets, which in some versions appear one after the other. The scholarly consensus about the poems in *Lebor Gabála* in general is that, although clearly younger than the underlying learned tradition concerning Ireland’s prehistory (which, as we have seen, can be traced easily at least as far back as the ninth century), they had an essential role to play in the formation of the text as we have it.⁵⁴⁵ One of the three poets who tackle explicitly the issue of the nature of the Túatha Dé Danann is the obscure Tanaide Eólach (d. ca. 1075), who composes their king-list in poetic form (*Túatha Dé Danann fo diamair*).⁵⁴⁶ Before enumerating the kings with the length of their reigns, he takes care to describe the Túatha Dé as ‘lucht cen chomall crabuid’, but still ‘doine d’fhuil fheóil Adaim’.⁵⁴⁷ He thus makes a point of affirming their humanity and mortality, but also of highlighting their wretched spiritual status. Slightly more subtle is the work undertaken by Flann Mainistrech (d. 1056), who lists their various deaths in *Éstid a eólchu can ón* presumably with the aim of proving their humanity.⁵⁴⁸ If that was indeed his aim, it is paradoxical to see that he sometimes uses the

⁵⁴² See also J. Carey, ‘Dee “Pagan Deity”’, *Ériu* 62 (2012), 33-42, where he argues that, as the form ‘dee’ or ‘dea’ was changing phonologically in the Old Irish period into ‘día’, the older spelling was lexicalised with the meaning ‘pagan deity’.

⁵⁴³ ‘three gods of skill’; Carey, ‘The name Túatha Dé Danann’, p. 294.

⁵⁴⁴ See above, pp. 48, 57-8.

⁵⁴⁵ Carey, ‘*Lebor Gabála* and legendary history’, p. 44; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 214-41.

⁵⁴⁶ Carey, *Irish National Origin-Legend*, pp. 18-9.

⁵⁴⁷ ‘a people without an observance of religion’, ‘people of the blood of Adam’s flesh’; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 220-1. The poem can be found in all of the three main recensions.

word for ‘gods’ to describe them, e.g. ‘Brían, Iucharba, is Iuchair and, / trí dee Túathe Dé Danand’ or ‘Cermait mac in Dagdae de’.⁵⁴⁹

Flann Mainistrech’s mortal gods raise the question what the actual meaning of the word ‘god’ (‘día’) is in *Lebor Gabála*. In fact, even a quick reading leaves one with the impression that this word, which can be said to be used rather sparingly in the text, is really a weak label, or perhaps a technical term, with the meaning ‘supernatural figure in general’. It is hard to envisage it with the common sense of ‘deity’, except perhaps as an implicit indication of pagan worship of the characters in question (it is not explained as such in the text). In this context, we may note the rather confusing piece of information ‘Tuath Dea⁵⁵⁰ tra insin, .i. dee in t-aes dána andei imorro in taes trebtha’, which is always accompanied by the even more confusing ‘Batar iat na trí dea Danann ón ainmnoghter Túath Dé Danann’.⁵⁵¹ Beyond *Lebor Gabála*, an early example of the weak meaning of ‘día’ is also provided by the Old Irish *Scél Tuáin meic Cairill*, a text where a sequence of legendary invaders similar to the one in *Lebor Gabála* is intimated.⁵⁵² Here, the author speaks of ‘Tuatha Dé ocus Andé dona fes bunadus lasin n-oes n-eólais. Acht ba dóich leo bith din longis dodeochaid de nim dúib’.⁵⁵³ This passage throws light on *Lebor Gabála* not only by offering an earlier occurrence of the opposition between ‘gods’ and ‘non-gods’, but also by showing how an angelic concept (whether referring to demons, i.e. fallen angels, or perhaps to neutral angels, as has been suggested with reference to texts such as *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*)⁵⁵⁴ can lie behind usage of the word ‘día’.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁴⁸ Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 224-41. Carey, *Irish National Origin-Legend*, p. 21. The poem can be found in recensions I (the Book of Leinster is the earliest witness) and III, but not II.

⁵⁴⁹ ‘Brían, Iucharba and Iuchair there, / the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danann’, ‘Cermait son of the god Dagda’; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 232-3.

⁵⁵⁰ ‘Dei’ in one version; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, p. 134.

⁵⁵¹ ‘Those are the Túath Dea – gods were their men of arts, non-gods their husbandsmen’, ‘They were the three gods of Danu, from whom are named the Túatha Dé Danann’; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 108-11, 162-3, 198-9. The passage appears in all three recensions, but in Recension I apparently only in the Book of Leinster, being absent from the Book of Fermoy.

⁵⁵² Carey, ‘Scél Tuáin’.

⁵⁵³ ‘the Tribes of the Gods and of the Non-Gods, whose origin the men of learning do not know; but they thought likely that they were some of the exiles that came down from Heaven’; Carey, ‘Scél Tuáin’, pp. 102, 106.

⁵⁵⁴ Carey, ‘Túath Dé’, p. 1694.

⁵⁵⁵ For various possible interpretations of ‘dé ocus andé’, some of them fairly bold, see J. Carey, ‘A Túath Dé Miscellany’, *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 39 (1992), 24-45, at pp. 37-9.

There are instances in the textual tradition of *Lebor Gabála* when we seem to catch glimpse of actual scholarly debate on the issue of the nature of the Túatha Dé Danann (largely their being human or superhuman), entwined with another, namely that of their positive or negative valuation. For example, in a poem by Eóchaid úa Flainn quoted in the text the author seems to debate whether this race was one of humans or of demons, before seemingly settling on the doctrine that they were indeed human and descendants of Nemed.⁵⁵⁶ At the end of the poem, which deals with the battles between the Túatha Dé Danann and another group of invaders, the Fir Bolg, the author makes a very cautious remark about how to deal with these characters ('cia dosruirmend, nis adrand'). In this way, he acknowledges indirectly that they had been the object of worship and betrays his uneasiness with this kind of material.⁵⁵⁷ Such uneasiness is similar to the approach we have seen already in the case of the *Togail Troí* author.⁵⁵⁸ In other passages, on the other hand, they are described bluntly as demons.⁵⁵⁹ But even when they are imagined as humans they are more often than not cast in a negative light, strongly associated with paganism. They are thus said to have learnt 'druidechta diabuil' and were specialists 'for each ceird a súithi geintliuchta, ocus for each diabul-dán na druidhechta';⁵⁶⁰ in one place 'dea Donann' is even equated with 'druidhi'.⁵⁶¹ Nonetheless, a benevolent attitude is not completely absent. A passage which appears in all recensions contains a plea for the humanity and mortality of the Túatha Dé Danann, using as an argument their genealogies, since various versions of *Lebor Gabála* contain Noahic genealogies of the immortals.⁵⁶² In some versions Flann Mainistrech's poem mentioned above (*Éstid a eólchu can ón*) is provided as evidence, but in others an interesting additional argument is used, that of the arts and crafts they have established. As one recension has it, 'Ar cia thánic cretim, ní

⁵⁵⁶ 'If it were of diabolic demons [...] if of men, it was the progeny of Bethach'; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 214-5. See also Carey, *Irish National Origin-Legend*, p. 21; Carey, 'Lebor Gabála and legendary history', p. 41.

⁵⁵⁷ 'though he enumerates them, he adores them not'; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 218-9.

⁵⁵⁸ See above, pp. 66-8, 76-8.

⁵⁵⁹ Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 138, 140. This can only be found in Recension II.

⁵⁶⁰ 'the Devil's druidry', 'in every craft of their pagan cunning, and in every diabolic art of druidry'; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 138-9. The quotation is from Recension II, but I and III have very similar wording; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála*, pp. 106-7, 166-7.

⁵⁶¹ 'gods of Danu', 'druids'; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, p. 152. This can be found only in Recension II.

⁵⁶² Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 134-5, 164-5, 200-203. For genealogies, see Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 126, 186.

ro dichuirthe na dána sin ar it maithe, ocus ni dernai demun maith etir’; we can perhaps speculate that the ‘dána’ refers to regulated professions such as poets, lawmen etc.⁵⁶³ A special compartment of this debate seems to have been their arrival in Ireland on clouds. This supernatural event is equated in the text with magic and druidry and perhaps suggested a demonic nature, but seems to have been countered by another, rationalist, tradition, according to which they had come in ships and had burnt them upon arrival, thus creating the cloud-confusion.⁵⁶⁴

This demons vs. men debate is made more complicated by the presence of another supernatural element, the *síde* or the *síd*-folk, *áes síde*. In the aforementioned passage on the arts of the Túatha Dé Danann, the author says of the latter ‘is follus nach do deamhnaib na dho sidhaibh doibh’.⁵⁶⁵ The *áes síde* are a class of immortal beings characterised by their connection with hills, mounds and other landscape features and known from more recent folklore as well as from many medieval texts, where sometimes they are also referred to as ‘Túatha Dé Danann’. This is the case, for example, in the Old Irish *Tochmarc Étaíne* (‘The Wooing of Étaín’), where the characters in question include the Dagdae, Óengus or Midir and the action takes place in the world of the mounds.⁵⁶⁶ Here they are also called explicitly ‘lucht

⁵⁶³ ‘And though the Faith came, those arts were not put away, for they are good, and no demon ever did good’; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 164-5, 200-3. Besides recensions II and III, the passage is also present, in a much shorter form, in Recension I, but the establishment of the arts is not mentioned; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 134-5.

⁵⁶⁴ E.g. Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 108-109, 140-3, 170-1. This passage appears in all three recensions, but not identically: in the Book of Leinster, Recension I has only the cloud version, with no rationalisation; in Recension II we find the burning of the ships, but no clouds, and thus the rationalisation is absent here as well; it is in Recension III and the Book of Fermoy (whose text belongs to Recension I) that we find the two elements juxtaposed and where the rationalised explanation is given. It is known that either Recension III (perhaps produced in the fourteenth century) and the text found in the Book of Fermoy had a common source or the Book of Fermoy itself was one of Recensions III’s sources; Scowcroft, ‘*Leabhar Gabála*. Part I’, pp. 96-9. It is likely that the scribe of Recensions II’s archetype (Scowcroft’s manuscript *b*) found the rationalising passage in his exemplar, but only copied the rationalised version of the story and omitted the version that was explicitly rejected; in that case, the origin of the rationalisation can be identified with that exemplar, which Scowcroft designates as β and was also the exemplar used by δ , the latter being in his opinion most likely *Lebor na hUidre* itself (its text of *Lebor Gabála* is lost), produced ca. 1100.

⁵⁶⁵ ‘it is clear that they were neither demons nor *síde*’; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála*, vol. IV, pp. 164, 202.

⁵⁶⁶ O. Bergin, R.I. Best (eds.), ‘Tochmarc Étaíne’, *Ériu* 12 (1938), 137-96. The text referred to here is the first redaction, itself a collection of three ninth-century tales on the Túatha Dé Danann, put together in the second half

an tsídha' and the author imagines the world inhabited by them as reachable by humans simply through digging up the mounds, which nevertheless does not prevent it from being described as a paradisiacal realm in a poem quoted in the story.⁵⁶⁷ The *síde* are also characterised by their interactions with mortal humans, which suggest a complicated, sometimes even hostile relationship; they are explored, for example, in heroic sagas such as the ninth-century *Serglige Con Chúlainn* (part B; 'The Wasting Sickness of Cú Chulainn'), the equally ninth-century *Cath Maige Mucrama* ('The Battle of Mag Mucrama'), the Middle Irish (perhaps eleventh-century) *Echtrae Nerai* ('The Adventure of Nera') etc.⁵⁶⁸ The relationship between the notions of 'síde' and 'Túatha Dé Danann' seems to have been conceived sometimes in diachronic terms, with the 'síde' being the Túatha Dé Danann at a later stage, in the times of Gaelic Ireland. It is stated e.g. in the twelfth-century *Mesca Ulad* (part B; 'The Intoxication of the Ulstermen'), that the Túatha Dé Danann moved underground after their defeat at the hands of the Sons of Míl, which thus serves as an epilogue to the events related about them in *Lebor Gabála*.⁵⁶⁹

The author of the passage about the arts of the Túatha Dé Danann may have viewed the *áes síde* negatively since he tries to cast the former in a positive light and dissociates them from both the *síde* and demons. The same association with the *síde* could be rejected from the opposite point of view, if one viewed the people of the mounds positively. This is what we see with the author of the four stanzas appended to Flann Mainistrech's *Éstid a eóilchu can ón* in some manuscripts.⁵⁷⁰ In these stanzas the author refutes violently this association or that

of the eleventh century; R. Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Halle, 1921), p. 598.

⁵⁶⁷ Bergin and Best, 'Tochmarc Étaíne', pp. 178, 180.

⁵⁶⁸ K. Meyer (ed.), 'The Adventures of Nera', *Revue celtique* 10 (1889), 212-28; S. Ó Coileáin, 'Echtrae Nerai and Its Analogues', *Celtica* 21 (1990), 427-40; M. Dillon (ed.), *Serglige Con Culainn* (Dublin, 1953); O Daly, Máirín (ed.), *Cath Maige Mucrama. The Battle of Mag Mucrama*, Irish Texts Society 50 (Dublin, 1975), esp. p. 18 (for dating); Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*, pp. 312, 413-6.

⁵⁶⁹ J. Carmichael Watson (ed.), *Mesca Ulad*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series 13 (Dublin, 1941), p. 1; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*, pp. 33, 113, 473; T. Ó Concheanainn, 'The Manuscript Tradition of *Mesca Ulad*', *Celtica* 19 (1987), 13-30.

⁵⁷⁰ The manuscripts in question are two of the three manuscripts of the so-called 'Miniugud' recension (or *m*, in Scowcroft's nomenclature), namely the Book of Lecan and Y (Scowcroft's sigla), as well as the Book of Lecan's text of Recension III. The 'Miniugud' recension is a less developed and more 'archaic' (in content, if not necessarily chronologically) version of the text, that has not been transmitted on its own. Rather, it was appended after the text of Recension II in the latter's most important manuscripts. Recension III in the Book of Lecan

between the Túatha Dé Danann and ‘Tír Tairngire’ (‘the Land of Promise’); he calls those who make this association ‘sáebh-eólaig’ and ironically identifies their Land of Promise with the lowest Hell.⁵⁷¹ In the end, he thunders a sentence of eternal damnation against whosoever shall believe that the Túatha Dé Danann were *síde*. The explanation for this interpretation lies in the literary tradition of the *síde* as angelic-like inhabitants of an overseas otherworld; they are sometimes represented by a woman who travels to the human world on some kind of mission that is of benefit to men. The most widely known embodiment of this literary tradition is the Old Irish (probably eighth-century) *Echtrae Chonnlaí* (‘The Adventure of Connlae’), a short but powerful tale about a king’s son who chooses to abandon this world in the company of a woman who promises to take him to a paradisiacal realm across the sea.⁵⁷² This woman, who uses the double entendre that allows one to understand ‘*áes síde*’ as ‘the people of peace’, is cast as an opponent of the druids and utters words that clearly make of her a kind of prophet of Christianity.⁵⁷³

The same kind of opposition between the otherworldly woman and the druids is encountered in the Early Modern Irish *Echtrae Airt* (‘The Adventure of Art’, found only in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Book of Fermoy), which strongly suggests that here too she stands for Christianity in some sense; it is open to speculation whether this text was written under the direct influence of *Echtrae Chonnlaí*.⁵⁷⁴ There is no prophecy about a change of religion, but the otherworldly woman thwarts the druids’ plans to sacrifice her own son Segda to revive the fertility of the land, which as a human sacrifice is probably construed as the

appears towards the end of the manuscript and is a conflation of the two versions found side-by-side in the first part of the manuscript (II and ‘Miniugud’) and of a third version, *f* (extant as the text in the Book of Fermoy and classified for convenience as a sub-recension of I). For the complex stemma of recensions and manuscripts, see Scowcroft, ‘*Leabhar Gabála*. Part I’, pp. 96-9.

⁵⁷¹ ‘false sages’. ‘Tír Thairngire adberar and / do bhís ag Túatha Dé Danann - / baile bith-sheang a mbí breth; / is e in t-ifearnn íchtarach. / Gideraid suná iar saine, / sáebuide na seanchaide, / sídh ag lucht na trist na treabh, / ní maith la Crist in creideam’; ‘The Tír Tairngire here spoken of / which the Túatha Dé Danann have, - / it is the ever-narrow place where there is judgment; / it is the lowest Hell. / Though they say here in various ways, / false men of tradition, / that the people of the curses, of the households, were *síd*-folk, / the belief is displeasing to Christ’. The text is linguistically Early Modern Irish; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 240-1.

⁵⁷² K. McCone, *Echtrae Chonnlaí and the Beginnings of Vernacular Narrative Writing in Ireland* (Maynooth, 2000), pp. 41-3.

⁵⁷³ H.P.A. Oskamp (ed.), ‘Echtra Condla’, *Études celtiques* 14 (1974-5), 207-28, at pp. 223, 226.

⁵⁷⁴ R.I. Best (ed.), ‘The Adventures of Art, son of Conn, and the Courtship of Delbchaem’, *Ériu* 3 (1907), 149-73.

quintessential pagan ritual.⁵⁷⁵ She substitutes for him the cow she has brought with her (an almost certain reflection of the story of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac in the Book of Genesis) and identifies the woman whose presence in Ireland had caused the loss of fertility.⁵⁷⁶ Bécuma, the culprit for this supernatural occurrence, is, naturally, another inhabitant of the otherworld, but, and this is significant, one that had come to Ireland after being banished by her own people for transgression. An interesting difference between this text and *Echtrae Chonnlai* is that here the label 'Túatha Dé Danann' is used instead of one based on the word 'síd' and also that the paradisiacal land across the sea is called explicitly and repeatedly 'the Land of Promise' ('Tír Tairngaire'), alluding to the Biblical land of Canaan (e.g. the Book of Exodus).⁵⁷⁷ The connection with the legendary history of the invasions of Ireland is made explicit when it is said that this people had fled from Ireland across the sea after being dispossessed by the Sons of Míl. This link between a mythical past when the immortals ruled Ireland and the definitive situation of separation from the world of men looks like an alternative to the tradition related in *Mesca Ulad*, where the defeated become the inhabitants of the mounds; the former tradition is more clearly sympathetic to the supernatural people, whereas the latter, with its chthonian overtones, is more ambiguous. It would seem that the author of the four stanzas mentioned above had in mind texts resembling *Echtrae Airt* when he tried to separate the Túatha Dé Danann from the concepts of *síde* and Tír Tairngaire; he probably took exception to the pagan connotations attached to the immortals and with the positive and even Biblical colouring specific to the *síde* and Tír Tairngaire. To this extremely sympathetic tradition belongs also the idea of the Túatha Dé Danann as humans unaffected by the Fall, present for example in *Immram Bráin* or *A Bé Find, in ragha lium* (a poem quoted in

⁵⁷⁵ As a member of the otherworldly race, Segda is not human in the sense of ordinary mortal human being, but it is still a question of human sacrifice in the sense of using a rational being as victim.

⁵⁷⁶ Best, 'The Adventures of Art', pp. 160-3.

⁵⁷⁷ Best, 'The Adventures of Art', pp. 150-3, 162-3. Usage of the phrase 'Tír Tairngaire' in Medieval Irish suggests its Biblical meaning was the original one and well-established, which means that, when used with the meaning of 'mythical otherworld', the double entendre was obvious. See eDIL, s.v. 'tairngire' (viewed 27 January 2015).

Tochmarc Étaíne).⁵⁷⁸ Sometimes, their human exceptionality also takes the form of survival of Noah's Flood.⁵⁷⁹ This type of traditions can be described as 'idealised euhemerism'.

In investigating the nature of the Túatha Dé Danann it is essential to take notice of texts that explicitly distinguish this supernatural race from the pagan gods (who can be understood here to include the Classical gods, as known from *Togail Troí*). A famous such text seems to be *Táin Bó Cúailnge* ('The Cattle-Raid of Cooley'), the impressive Old and Middle Irish epic. Various characters in the *Táin* employ formulas of the type 'Tongu do día toinges mo thúath'.⁵⁸⁰ Here 'día' possesses a strong meaning, 'deity to be worshipped', unlike in the quotation from *Scél Tuáin* (perhaps also from *Lebor Gabála*) we have seen earlier. The reason is simply the nature of the heroes' relationship with such a 'día', the pious submission implied by the invocation in the oath. Formulas of the 'Tongu do día ...' type (including with possible reference to the Christian God) are found, with several variations, in other texts as well.⁵⁸¹ Very relevant is also Cú Chulainn's healing of the Mórrígan, which takes the form of the invocation 'Bennacht dé 7 andé fort!'.⁵⁸² This is followed by the authorial explanation 'Déi leo-som in t-áes cumachta, andéi immorro in t-áes trebtha', which seems to be a stock phrase borrowed from the same learned tradition reflected in *Lebor Gabála* (with the same obscurity of meaning).⁵⁸³ Unlike in *Lebor Gabála* though, it is unlikely to refer to the Túatha Dé Danann, because of the same kind of pious attitude, here implied in the blessing. Just like the swearing by 'día', the 'bennacht' implies a kind of relationship typical of deities and their worshippers. This is not the relationship we see in the text between the same Cú Chulainn and

⁵⁷⁸ S. Mac Mathúna (ed.), *Immram Brain. Bran's Journey to the Land of Women* (Tübingen, 1985); this account of an otherworld journey, which resembles *Echtrae Chonnlaí* in various ways, has been dated to the ninth or tenth century, but it could be based on material as early as from the first half of the eighth century, see Mac Mathúna, *Immram Brain*, pp. 412-8. Bergin and Best, 'Tochmarc Étaíne', pp. 180, 182.

⁵⁷⁹ J. Carey, *A Single Ray of the Sun: Religious Speculation in Early Ireland. Three Essays* (Andover, MA, 1999), p. 31.

⁵⁸⁰ 'I swear by the god my people swear by'; O'Rahilly, C. (ed.), *Táin Bó Cúailnge. Recension 1* (Dublin, 1976), p. 23. Other examples at pp. 25, 36, 37, 38; they seem to be restricted to a small section of the narrative.

⁵⁸¹ R. Ó hUiginn, '“Tongu do dia toinges mo thúath” and Related Expressions', in J.P. Mallory and G. Stockman (eds.), *Ulidia. Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales, Belfast and Emain Macha, 8-12 April 1994* (Belfast, 1994), pp. 332-41.

⁵⁸² 'The blessing of the Gods and of the Non-Gods upon you!'; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, pp. 62-3.

⁵⁸³ O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, pp. 62-3. See above, p. 118. Usage of 'cumachta' instead of *Lebor Gabála*'s 'dána' might suggest magic and supernatural powers.

Lug of the Túatha Dé Danann. The latter calls himself Cú Chulainn's father (understood metaphorically) and indeed acts as a sort of supernatural protector, but there is no religious adoration involved, rather the hero calls Lug one 'dom chartib síthchaire-sa'.⁵⁸⁴ The relationship with the very Mórrígan, the war 'goddess', is downright hostile and on an equalitarian basis. A more composite usage of the word for 'god' appears in *Tochmarc Étaíne*. Here the Dagda, Lug and Ogma are called 'na tri dei Danand', another stock phrase known from *Lebor Gabála*.⁵⁸⁵ This is hard to reconcile with another passage, where the human king Eochaid, who is engaged in a very mundane rivalry with Midir of the Túatha Dé Danann, invokes his gods; it is plain to see that these cannot be the same as Midir's own race.⁵⁸⁶ From the Early Modern Irish period comes *Altram Tige Dá Medar* ('The Fosterage of the Houses of Two Vessels', also found exclusively in the Book of Fermoy), another text in which the immortal race have their own gods whom they worship ('fona deibh aille adharta'), which obviously suggests that they themselves are something less than gods.⁵⁸⁷ The necessary conclusion is that, although in medieval Irish texts the Túatha Dé Danann are sometimes called 'día, dei', whenever the word is clearly substantiated through context as 'native pagan deity' (corresponding to Classical deities as known from texts such as *Togail Troí*), it is applied to a different, shadowy category of beings, who are never described in more detail and who never become characters in a story. The Túatha Dé Danann are sometimes said to be the worshippers of these shadowy gods.

In fact, *Altram Tige Dá Medar* can be said to concern itself from beginning to the end with the issue of the complex relationship between the immortal race and Christianity.⁵⁸⁸ The demonic aspect is noteworthy in this text, meaning not that the Túatha Dé Danann are fallen or exiled members of the angelic order (as suggested in *Lebor Gabála* and *Scél Tuáin*), but that they are under demonic patronage. We see this when Manannán, depicted as the wisest of the immortals, explains what had happened to Ethne when she had been insulted by Findbarr and had stopped accepting food, an event presented in the text in general as a sort of

⁵⁸⁴ 'of my friends from the fairymounds'; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, pp. 64-5.

⁵⁸⁵ 'the three gods of Danu'; Bergin and Best, 'Tochmarc Étaíne', pp. 154-5.

⁵⁸⁶ Bergin and Best, 'Tochmarc Étaíne', pp. 188-9.

⁵⁸⁷ 'the beautiful gods of adoration'; L. Duncan (ed.), 'Altram Tige Dá Medar', *Ériu* 11 (1932), 184-225, at pp. 190, 209.

⁵⁸⁸ McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present*, p. 149; McCone notes that the text may be based on older material.

involuntary pre-conversion to Christianity. According to Manannán, ‘docuaidh a deman comuidechta [...] a croidhi 7 tainic aingiul na inad’.⁵⁸⁹ Another noteworthy aspect of this text is its depiction of the actual encounter of the Túatha Dé Danann with the Christian religion. On the one hand, the kernel of the story shows that they are not per se beyond conversion. Ethne, the main character, undergoes the involuntary pre-conversion mentioned above, which removes her from demonic protection. The conversion itself takes place in the time of Ireland’s Christianisation.⁵⁹⁰ The crucial event is her swimming in the Boyne (perhaps a baptismal motif), which removes from her the magic that makes her people invisible. She gets lost from her folk and finds a cleric instead, in whose cell conversion occurs almost naturally. After an episode in which her people try to woo her back, including a verbal duel between Óengus and Saint Patrick, she is baptised by the saint and dies. On the other hand, the narrative stresses the exceptionality of this event. The Túatha Dé Danann are implied to be guarded by demons and they are resolutely heathen (the aforementioned verbal duel shows this very clearly).⁵⁹¹ It is interesting to note that some scions of this superhuman race are presented as possessing full knowledge of key theological truths, presumably in a supernatural way. Óengus asks Manannán ‘In fbuil dia os ar ndeibne ann?’ and he replies ‘Ata, immorro, [...] in t-aenDia uile-cumachtach is tualaing ar ndeei-ne do dhamnadh, 7 nach tualaing iad sin a increachadh sin’.⁵⁹² He goes on to instruct Óengus about the monotheistic God, even talking about salvation and damnation. When he is confronted by Patrick and formally required to embrace Christianity, Óengus is thus not ignorant of the truth. This is perhaps reflected in Patrick’s own demands, to worship the true God, the Holy Trinity, and accept baptism, without any mention of faith, of belief. The one quality of the Túatha Dé Danann that is emphasised as characteristic of their ordinary spiritual status is their magical invisibility. Ethne’s loss thereof and finding of Christianity are simultaneous. Nonetheless, in *A Bé Find, in ragha lium* (the poem quoted in *Tochmarc Étaíne*) this invisibility is associated with the ‘idealised euhemerisation’ of the Túatha Dé Danann, since it is not a magical

⁵⁸⁹ ‘her accompanying angel went (from) her heart and an angel came in its stead’; Duncan, ‘Altram Tige Dá Medar’, pp. 196, 216.

⁵⁹⁰ Duncan, ‘Altram Tige Dá Medar’, pp. 198-204.

⁵⁹¹ Duncan, ‘Altram Tige Dá Medar’, pp. 201-2.

⁵⁹² ‘Is there a god over our gods?’, ‘There is, indeed, [...] the one God Almighty Who is able to condemn our gods, and Whom they are not able to despoil’; Duncan, ‘Altram Tige Dá Medar’, pp. 190, 210.

property of the immortals not to be seen, rather a characteristic debility of the fallen man that he cannot see them.⁵⁹³

What then are the Túatha Dé Danann? They are clearly superhuman beings endowed with immunity from sickness and old age (and thus most often immortal) as well as with various other supernatural powers. For example, they influence agricultural fertility (as claimed in *De Gabáil in tSída*) or have the ability to change the course of rivers (as in *Tochmarc Étaíne*). To what extent such depictions are due to the fact that medieval authors understood them to have enjoyed the status of deities in the pagan past is open to speculation, but to claim, e.g. like John Carey, that they are presented as gods in the texts is an exaggeration.⁵⁹⁴ The standard definition of a god is ‘superhuman person who is worshipped as having power over nature and the fortunes of mankind’.⁵⁹⁵ In my opinion, the element of worship by humans is in this definition indispensable. The difference between the Túatha Dé Danann and the Old Norse gods thus becomes obvious, and the latter can be associated in this respect with the Classical gods of *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*. The Old Norse gods appear, at least in some texts, as the object of mortals’ worship, which is sometimes described. They are sometimes endowed with power over nature so great that they become agents in the creation (in a way also in the end) of the world. In other words, in texts such as *Völuspá* (‘The Prophecy of the Seeress’) or *Vafþrúðnismál* (‘The Words of Vafþrúðnir’) they are depicted in a way that is undoubtedly incompatible with a Christian worldview, regardless of the scribes’ subjective attitudes to the texts. One could never say the same about the Túatha Dé Danann: their supernatural status in the texts never seems to exceed what could imaginably be expected of a demon or angel. The true heathen gods of Irish literature are to be found elsewhere, in formulas such as ‘Tongu do día ...’, but they never step out of this formulaic shadow to become literary characters (unlike the Classical gods of *Togail Troí*, at least in some passages). The difference between the Norse and the Irish treatment of the issue of native pagan deities thus lies in the realm of literary representation, while the similarity lies in the one of doctrinal speculation. This, as I will later show, can colour our understanding of *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*.

⁵⁹³ ‘teimel imorbuis Adaim / dodonarcheil ar araim’, ‘it is the darkness of Adam’s sin that prevents us from being counted’; Bergin and Best, ‘Tochmarc Étaíne’, pp. 180-1.

⁵⁹⁴ Carey, *A Single Ray of the Sun*, p. 13.

⁵⁹⁵ Oxford English Dictionary, www.oed.com, s.v. ‘god’ (viewed 27 January 2015).

In both areas, the need was felt to determine with some precision the nature of mythological beings inherited in some form or other from a tradition that was not the Christian one. In Norse literature, traditions about the gods seem to have been transmitted with a considerable degree of faithfulness (which perhaps mirrors the approach we have noticed in *Trójumanna saga*), but in parallel, elaborate euhemeristic doctrines were constructed (chiefly in the thirteenth century by Snorri Sturluson in the *Edda* and *Heimskringla*, but he may be standing for widely-shared attitudes) in order to present the deities as mortals and to explain the merit of handing down those traditions. This was an alternative to the better established attitude of interpreting them as demons and of viewing traditions about them in a negative light, which in a European context was at least as old as the Patristic age. In Irish literature, the whole concept of pagan deity was largely kept out of focus (particularly with reference to Irish paganism, but also to Classical deities to some extent, as we have seen),⁵⁹⁶ as suggested by the fact that the ‘one-paganism’ doctrine, which can be discerned in Norse texts in the use of mythological equations, is absent as such from the Irish ones. Nevertheless, Irish traditions about immortal pagan superhumans abound. That these traditions contain in them reflections of the notion of pre-Christian gods is suggested by the very fact that the nature of the immortals is debated by the writers themselves. Sometimes they are declared or suggested to be mortal humans, sometimes they are said to be demons or some kind of angels and in general demonic and angelic associations are often made. To this we may add that the element of euhemerism common to the two areas leads in both cases to a certain historicisation. In the Norse case, the main instrument is classical legendary history, reflected in the doctrine of Trojan descent. In the Irish case, it is the Irish legendary pre-history, taking the form of the series of mythical invaders.

⁵⁹⁶ See above, pp. 66-8.

4.3. Paganism in society, as depicted in Medieval Irish literature

Besides the pagan gods, the written culture of Ireland and Western Scandinavia in the Middle Ages also dealt very often with issues of pagan ritual (in a very broad sense), the ‘daily life’ of paganism in society. In the case of Old Norse literature, the evidence we possess seems inclined to dwell particularly on the issue of pagan popular devotion, whereas in the Irish case it is the figure of the heathen cleric (druid) that comes to the fore. On the other hand, the rites themselves and in general the more practical side of the pagan religion are touched upon only seldom or not at all. As we saw above, this is similar to *Trójumanna saga*’s approach to pagan rites, but different from *Togail Troi*’s.⁵⁹⁷ To some extent related to these issues is another one, seemingly weighty both in the wealth of attestations and in its doctrinal implications, namely the various ways in which characters who lived before the Conversion are depicted, particularly when the question of religion is brought to the fore.

Starting with Irish depictions of paganism in society, we must note that such depictions are typical of the kind of texts we call ‘sagas’, narratives about kings and heroes.⁵⁹⁸ As already said, the motif that these authors most often use to depict paganism seems to be that of the ‘druí’ (i.e. druid), referring to the professional practitioner of heathendom, and the related abstract notion of ‘druídecht’ (often translated as ‘druidry’). The modern man’s common intuition would equate the professional practitioner of paganism with some sort of minister of a cult dedicated to the pagan deities. Rightly or wrongly, such an intuition finds no support in medieval Irish depictions. In fact, if we were to choose to understand pagan cult in this limited sense, we would have to conclude that there is no native Irish paganism in any medieval text. If we do nonetheless speak of paganism in texts, it is because the authors themselves clearly had this notion in mind, even if they express it through druids and ‘druidry’.

That druids are indeed the essential literary personification of native paganism is proved by the way they are confronted in the texts set in the Conversion period by the representatives of Christianity. This happens for example in the Patrician texts, such as Muirchú’s *Vita Patricii*,

⁵⁹⁷ See above, section 3.4.

⁵⁹⁸ Given that the word is borrowed from Old Norse, where it means simply ‘story’, and that Old Norse and Medieval Irish scholarship applies it somewhat technically but in different ways, I employ it in an Irish context only between quotation marks.

where Saint Patrick's attempt to convert King Lóegaire is fiercely but unsuccessfully resisted by the latter's druid advisers; the confrontation is at times even physically violent.⁵⁹⁹ Moreover, he and one of the druids engage in miracle contests that probably reflect Biblical stories such as the contest between the prophet Elijah and the priests of Baal in Kings 18:24-46.⁶⁰⁰ The same antithesis with Christianity is depicted even in a narrative such as *Echtrae Chonnlai*, where the new religion is only prefigured and prophesied. Indeed, the otherworld woman who foretells Patrick's coming to Ireland conceptualises this event in a negative way, focusing not on Christ's gospel but on the fact that the apostle 'con-scéra brichtu druad tárdechto / ar bélaib demuín duib dolbthig'.⁶⁰¹ The nature of their claim to people's allegiance is often suggested to be fraud, although it is in itself of a supernatural kind. Thus, in *Vita sancti Cainnici*, a druid charms people into believing he can walk through a tree.⁶⁰² The source of this supernatural power is often understood to be diabolical, such as in *Vita sancti Berachi*, where the saint proclaims the druid, perhaps more than simply metaphorically, to be the son of Satan.⁶⁰³ The fraudulent nature of native Irish paganism is similar to *Togail Troi*'s perspective on Classical paganism, as we saw above in the case of the Hylas episode.⁶⁰⁴

Magic is thus commonly and intimately associated with the druids, as evidenced by the fact that they are consistently called 'magus' in Hiberno-Latin texts.⁶⁰⁵ Nonetheless, the nature of this magic is not always described in negative terms. The equation with the Latin word 'magus' also works in the opposite direction, assimilating the Biblical Magi to druids, something made clear even when the aforementioned king Lóegaire is compared with Herod

⁵⁹⁹ L. Bieler (ed.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 10 (Dublin, 1979), 84-99. One of the oldest Irish hagiographical texts, Muirchú's *vita* has been dated to the end of the seventh century; Bieler, *The Patrician Texts*, p. 1.

⁶⁰⁰ *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, Liber regum tertius 18.24-46.

⁶⁰¹ 'will destroy the spells of the druids of base teaching / in front of the black, bewitching devil'; McCone, *Echtrae Chonnlai*, pp. 122, 181.

⁶⁰² C. Plummer (ed.), *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1910), vol. I, p. 156. There is disagreement about the date of this text, which has been placed both in the second half of the eighth century and around the year 1200 by disagreeing scholars; P. Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin, 2011), p. 138.

⁶⁰³ Plummer, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae* I, p. 80. This *vita* probably dates from the Norman period; Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 95.

⁶⁰⁴ See above, pp. 76-9.

⁶⁰⁵ T. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 195; McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present*, p. 229.

in Muirchú's *vita*.⁶⁰⁶ The most frequent type of magic ascribed to druids in medieval texts seems to be divination, especially through astrology, cloud-divination or the interpretation of various kinds of portents.⁶⁰⁷ This appears naturally in a fully non-Christian setting, for example in *Loinges mac nUislenn* ('The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu'), where Cathbad the druid prophesies the evil that Deirdriu's birth will bring about.⁶⁰⁸ It also appears in saints' lives, where druids are able to foretell the damage the Christian preachers will or at least can inflict upon their own religion, without that bringing them any closer to the true faith.⁶⁰⁹ A special type of divination is the interpretation of auspicious days, as seen in *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (when Cathbad predicts glory to whomever will pick up weapons for the first time on that day, which is done by Cú Chulainn) or in *Compert Conchobair* ('The Conception of Conchobar'), where the same Cathbad tells Ness that a child conceived that day would become king (which results in the two of them conceiving Conchobar on the spot).⁶¹⁰ Nevertheless, the same divinatory powers can be used in the service of Christianity. For example, in *Vita sancti Ciarani abbatis de Cluain mic Nois*, a druid prophesies in glowing terms of the soon-to-be-born saint: 'sicut sol lucet in celo, ita ipse per suam sanctitatem in Hybernia lucebit'; use of such words implies a certain proximity between the representative of paganism and the Christian faith.⁶¹¹ In *Immram Maíle Dúin*, the druid advises the Christian Máel Dúin how to plan his sea-voyage and the resulting adventurous peregrination seems to be the result of the fact that Máel Dúin has not heeded his advice in every detail.⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁶ M.A. Williams, *Fiery Shapes. Celestial Portents and Astrology in Ireland and Wales, 700-1700* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 51-8; Bieler, *The Patrician Texts*, p. 86.

⁶⁰⁷ Williams, *Fiery Shapes*, pp. 1-72.

⁶⁰⁸ V. Hull (ed.), *Longes mac n-Uislenn. The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu* (New York, 1949), pp. 43-4. This short but powerful heroic story about the tragic life of Deirdriu has been dated to the eighth or ninth century, but was seemingly re-worked in the Middle Irish period; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*, pp. 323-4.

⁶⁰⁹ Plummer, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae* I, Introduction, p. clxvi.

⁶¹⁰ O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, pp. 19-20; C. O'Rahilly (ed.), *Táin Bó Cúailnge. From the Book of Leinster* (Dublin, 1967), pp. 25-6; V. Hull (ed.), 'The Conception of Conchobar', in J. Fraser *et al.* (eds.), *Irish Texts*, 5 vols., vol. IV (London, 1934), pp. 4-12. The first recension is Old Irish, perhaps of the eighth century; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*, p. 273.

⁶¹¹ 'just as the Sun shines in the sky, so will he shine in Ireland through his holiness'; Plummer, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae* I, p. 200. This text possibly dates from the late twelfth century; Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*, pp. 169-70.

⁶¹² H.P.A. Oskamp (ed.), *The Voyage of Máel Dúin. A Study in Early Irish Voyage Literature* (Groningen, 1970), pp. 104-5. The text dates from the ninth or even the eighth century, but underwent some re-working in the

Two texts can serve to illustrate best the ambiguity inherent in this complex and contradictory picture of the druid. In the Old Irish *Bethu Brigte* ('The Life of Brigit'), the druid who is in charge of the child Brigit is aware of his inferiority as a pagan, e.g. when he says of the girl's refusal to take food 'Ra-fetur-sa tra [...], an daas ind ingen, quia ego sum immundus'.⁶¹³ This amounts to an implicit acknowledgment of Christianity as the true faith on the part of the heathen cleric and yet does not result in a conversion, which for the modern reader seems just as contradictory as in the case of Manannán and Óengus in *Altram Tige Dá Medar*.⁶¹⁴ *Aided Conchobair*, which also goes back to the Old Irish period, uses the same type of apparent contradiction and explores it further.⁶¹⁵ The main twist of this story's plot is that the news of Christ's death on the Cross is brought to Conchobar, the famous king of the Ulaid, which due to an imaginative medical condition results in his own death.⁶¹⁶ The main point the author makes here, relating to the 'good pagan' motif, will be discussed presently. With regard to the figure of the druid, what is noteworthy is the fact that in one version of this tradition, reflected in two of the three prose versions of the story, Conchobar comes to knowledge of the Crucifixion by experiencing either the earthquake or the 'eclipse' mentioned in the Gospel accounts in connection with it and having it explained to him by his druid (who in one version is the same Cathbad).⁶¹⁷ In other words, the pagan cleric with his specialised knowledge is in a privileged position to reach Christian truth (in one version he even delivers to the king a more comprehensive account of Christian truths, saying that Christ is the one prophesied by the druids).⁶¹⁸ In this, the Irish druid fulfils the same function fulfilled in post-classical culture

Middle Irish period; Oskamp, *The Voyage of Máel Duin*, pp. 47-8.

⁶¹³ 'I know what ails the girl, the fact that I am impure'; D. Ó hAodha (ed.), *Bethu Brigte* (Dublin, 1978), pp. 2, 21. Also 'Deci duin [...] cindas rond-gab ar n-ingen, ar ní lamur-sa fo bith nida Christadi' ('Look for us [...] how our girl is, for I do not dare to do so since I am not a Christian'); Ó hAodha, *Bethu Brigte*, pp. 1, 20. This vernacular life of the famous Saint Brigit of Kildare dates from the ninth century, but seems to be based closely on a Latin *vita* from the first half of the eighth century; Ó hAodha, *Bethu Brigte*, pp. xxv-xxvii.

⁶¹⁴ The author of *Altram Tige Dá Medar* is likely to have used *Bethu Brigte*, since the two texts share the motif of the holy girl who refuses food because of the pagan environment, as well as the detail of the special cow that solves this problem; see Duncan, 'Altram Tige Dá Medar', p. 194, and Ó hAodha, *Bethu Brigte*, p. 2.

⁶¹⁵ The poetry on which this story (for which the Book of Leinster is the oldest witness) is based has been dated by Thurneysen to the late eighth or early ninth century; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*, p. 667.

⁶¹⁶ K. Meyer, *The Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes*, Royal Irish Academy Todd Lecture Series 14 (Dublin, 1906), pp. 2-21.

⁶¹⁷ Meyer, *The Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes*, pp. 16-7.

⁶¹⁸ Meyer, *The Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes*, pp. 14-5.

more widely by the sybils, some of whom were traditionally believed to have prophesied the birth of Christ. For example, Augustine in the Patristic age claims in *De civitate Dei* to have seen himself a manuscript of the Sibylline oracles where Christ was announced as the Son of God and Saviour.⁶¹⁹ In the High Middle Ages, Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) could state confidently ‘multis gentilium facta fuit revelatio de Christo [...] Sibylla etiam praenuntiavit quaedam de Christo, ut Augustinus dicit’.⁶²⁰ What is perhaps specific in the case of the druid is that there is no question of a change of religion.

With regard to the generic pagan, the possibility of salvation is probably understood as exceptional. In *Cath Maige Mucrama* for example, the demons are depicted hovering above the heads of the warriors in battle, waiting to drag them to Hell.⁶²¹ Another example can be found in *Siaburcharpát Con Chulainn* (‘The Phantom-Chariot of Cú Chulainn’), where Cú Chulainn is said to be in Hell, before being awakened by Saint Patrick.⁶²² The demonic presence in the spiritual life of the heathen is explained in *Serglige Con Chulainn*: ‘ba mór in chumachta demnach ria cretim, 7 ba hé a méit co cathaigtis co corptha na demna frisna doínib, 7 co taisféntais aíbniusa 7 díamairi dóib, amal no betis co marthanach’.⁶²³ Nonetheless, the opposite is also claimed, albeit rarely and in a later period, namely that the pagans possessed theological truth as far as they could gain it by natural means and that sometimes they were rewarded with angelic apparitions.⁶²⁴ This claim appears, for example, in *Scél na Fír Flatha* (‘The Story of the Ruler’s Justice’), dated to the second half of the twelfth century, with specific reference to the experiences undergone by Conn Cétchathach and Cormac mac Airt in *Baile in Scáil* (‘The Phantom’s Frenzy’) and *Echtrae Chormaic* (‘Cormac’s

⁶¹⁹ Augustinus Hipponensis, *De ciuitate Dei* 18.23.

⁶²⁰ ‘revelation concerning Christ was made to many of the Gentiles [...] even the Sibyl foretold some things concerning Christ, as Augustine says’; Thomas Aquinas, *Summae theologiae secunda secundae* 2.7.

⁶²¹ O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, pp. 54-5.

⁶²² J. O’Beirne Crowe, ‘Siabur-charpat Con Culaind. From Lebor na h-Uidre (fol. 37, et seqq.), a Manuscript of the Royal Irish Academy’, *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland* 1:2 (1871), 371-448, at p. 374. The text is from the early Middle Irish period; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*, p. 567.

⁶²³ ‘the demonic power was great before the Faith and its extent was so that the demons would fight bodily against men and would show them delights and mysteries as though they were eternal’; Dillon, *Serglige Con Culainn*, p. 29.

⁶²⁴ Carey, *A Single Ray of the Sun*, p. 37.

Adventure') respectively.⁶²⁵ The reference to natural truth is congruent with developments that were beginning to take place in theology with the advent of the scholastic period and which, as we have seen, also influenced Snorri in the Prologue of his *Edda*. Some half a century or so before Snorri, *Scél na Fír Flatha* is already making in Ireland the same innovative claims that Snorri would later make in Iceland: namely, not only that pre-Christian pagans had been capable of natural theology, but also that some of their non-Christian spiritual experiences had positive religious value and were not the result of demonic involvement. There are, of course, certain differences between the two approaches. Snorri's claims are more developed and are integrated into a longer piece of elaborate speculation, whereas the Irish text's treatment of the issue is frustratingly brief. More importantly, the nature of the pagan spiritual experience and its link with natural knowledge of the Divine is completely different. For Snorri, natural theology leads man to create a natural religion, which is paganism itself. On the other hand, the Irish author takes spiritual experiences known from literary tradition about pre-Christian Ireland, which in themselves would not necessarily appear to us as religious (i.e. they are not explicitly pagan or explicitly Christian), and re-interprets them as being of angelic (therefore, ultimately divine) origin.⁶²⁶ They are thus supernatural rewards for man's striving towards natural truth. This kind of sympathetic approach to paganism is mirrored in *Togail Troí* as well, as we saw in the case of the digression on funeral games.⁶²⁷

Nevertheless, claiming the possibility of actual salvation for pagans was always a more difficult task for medieval writers, given the New Testament's emphasis on the link between

⁶²⁵ W. Stokes (ed.), 'The Irish Ordeals, Cormac's Adventure in the Land of Promise and the Decision as to Cormac's Sword', in W. Stokes and E. Windisch (eds.), *Irische Texte mit Übersetzungen und Wörterbuch*, 4 vols., vol. III.1 (Leipzig, 1891), 183-221, at p. 202; V. Hull (ed.), 'Echtra Cormaic mac Airt. "The Adventure of Cormac mac Airt"', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 64:4 (1949), 871-83, at p. 871.

⁶²⁶ *Baile in Scáil* tells the story of King Conn Cétchathach's encounter with a female figure who calls herself the Sovereignty of Ireland and Lugh of the Túatha Dé Danann, who recites the list of Conn's successors as High Kings of Ireland. This text dates from the first half of the eleventh century, but seems to contain traces of an older, ninth-century redaction; K. Murray (ed.), *Baile in Scáil. 'The Phantom's Frenzy'*, Irish Texts Society 58 (London, 2004), pp. 4-5. *Echtrae Chormaic* tells the story of King Cormac's journey to the otherworld, where he meets Mannanán of the Túatha Dé Danann; the older version of the story has been preserved in fact as the second section of the same text, found in fourteenth-century manuscripts, of which *Scél na Fír Flatha* is only the first section.

⁶²⁷ See above, pp. 78-81.

salvation and faith in Christ. I would like to draw attention to the range of theological opinion regarding this issue, before discussing the concept of the good pagan as a literary character.⁶²⁸ The Church Fathers are generally sceptical on the matter of salvation for pagans. For instance, Saint Augustine of Hippo, universally considered the most influential of them, expressed such scepticism when commenting on the seemingly difficult Biblical passage in 1 Pet. 3:19-20 ('[...] in quo et iis qui in carcere erant conclusi, spiritibus veniens praedicavit, qui increduli fuerunt aliquando, quando expectabat Dei patientia in diebus Noe, cum fabricaretur arca [...]').⁶²⁹ He takes note of the interpretation whereby Christ is shown in this passage to have liberated from Hell all those he found there, but sharply disagrees with it. His description of the just pagans seems extremely relevant for the patristic approach to classical culture in general:

Verum quinam isti sint, temerarium est definire. Si enim omnes omnino dixerimus tunc esse liberatos, qui illic inventi sunt, quis non gratuletur, si hoc possimus ostendere? praesertim propter quosdam qui nobis litterario labore suo familiariter innotuerunt, quorum eloquium ingeniumque miramur; non solum poetas et oratores, qui eosdem ipsos falsos deos gentium multis opusculorum suorum locis contemnendos ridendosque monstrarunt, et aliquando etiam unum Deum verumque confessi sunt, quamvis illa superstitiosa cum caeteris colerent; verum etiam illos qui haec non cantando vel declamando, sed philosophando dixerunt.

Who these [the liberated from Hell] might actually be it is bold to state. If we were indeed to say that absolutely all who were found there were then liberated, who would not rejoice, if we could show this? Especially for those who have

⁶²⁸ The best guides for the history of this theological issue are: C.L. Vitto, *The Virtuous Pagan in Middle English Literature*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 79:5 (Philadelphia, 1989); Colish, 'The Virtuous Pagan'; L. Capéran, *Le problème du salut des infidèles. Essai historique et essai théologique* (Toulouse, 1934).

⁶²⁹ '[...] in which coming, He also preached to those spirits that were locked up in prison, who some other time had been unbelieving, when God's patience was waiting in the days of Noah, when the Ark was being built'; *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, Epistula Petri I 3.18. On Augustine, see J. Rist, 'Augustine of Hippo', in G.R. Evans (ed.), *The Medieval Theologians* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 3-23, at p. 3; J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine*, 5 vols., vol. I *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)* (Chicago, 1971), pp. 292-3; R.D. Crouse, 'Augustinian Platonism in Early Medieval Theology', in J. McWilliam (ed.), *Augustine. From Rhetor to Theologian* (Waterloo, 1992), pp. 109-120, at p. 109.

become familiar to us through their literary work, at whose eloquence and genius we marvel. Not just the poets and orators, who in many places in their works have shown those very same false gods to be worthy of contempt and ridicule and at other times have confessed the one and true God, however much they were observing those superstitious things together with the others. Truly even for those who said it not by singing or declaiming, but by philosophising.⁶³⁰

Augustine's verdict is, nonetheless, clear: God's justice makes it impossible that even these pagans worthy of admiration might have been saved.

In the scholastic period (from the twelfth century to the fourteenth), which is also the time when *Togail Troí*, *Trójumanna saga* and many texts mentioned in this chapter were written, the authority of the Church Fathers was considerable and the same kind of attitude towards paganism that we see in the quotation above from Augustine was still sometimes present in theological circles. Peter Lombard (d. 1164), who became the most widely studied theologian in the late Middle Ages, due to the prominence of his *Sententiae* in university curriculum, could comment on Heb. 11 ('Oportet accedentem ad Deum credere quia est, et quod remunerator est sperantium in se') by warning against a too liberal interpretation.⁶³¹ According to him, 'perspicue docetur nulli unquam salutem esse factam, nisi per fidem Mediatoris. Oportet ergo accedentem credere, quae supra dixit Apostolus; sed non sufficit'.⁶³²

Other scholastic theologians would show themselves more flexible and try to establish the existence of a salvific faith that is not the same for people to whom the Gospel has and, respectively, has not been preached. This is the case with Saint Thomas Aquinas, perhaps the most prolific and in the long run influential medieval Western theologian.⁶³³ He distinguishes between explicit and implicit faith and argues that having explicit faith that God exists and that He provides for those who trust in Him, as taught in the previously mentioned passage

⁶³⁰ Augustinus Hipponensis, *Epistulae* 164.2.

⁶³¹ 'He who arrives to God must believe that He exists and that He rewards those who hope in Him'; *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, Epistula Pauli ad Hebraeos 11.6. M.L. Colish, 'Peter Lombard', in G.R. Evans (ed.), *The Medieval Theologians* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 168-83, at pp. 168-9; G.R. Evans, 'Introduction', in G.R. Evans (ed.), *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard* (Leiden, 2002), pp. xiii-xiv, at p. xiii.

⁶³² 'it is astutely taught that salvation has never come to be for anybody save through faith in the Mediator. He who arrives [to God] must therefore believe what the Apostle has said above, but it is not enough'; Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiae in iv libris distinctae* III 25.1.

⁶³³ F. Kerr, 'Thomas Aquinas', in G.R. Evans (ed.), *The Medieval Theologians* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 201-20, at pp. 210-9; Vitto, *The Virtuous Pagan*, pp. 17-29.

from the Letter to the Hebrews, has always been necessary for anybody's salvation.⁶³⁴ Faith in the Saviour on the other hand becomes incrementally necessary over time. Before original sin, no such faith was required, as the need for a Saviour had not yet arisen; after the Fall and before the Redemption, the faith had to be held explicitly by the teachers ('the great'), but by 'the small' only implicitly (either through faith in the great, i.e. the patriarchs and prophets, or simply through faith in God's providence); in the 'time of grace' everybody must believe explicitly in Christ's redemption of humanity.⁶³⁵ The applicability of these theories to the pagans is borne out when he says of the latter that 'quantumcumque essent sapientes sapientia saeculari, inter minores computandi sunt', which implies that the great in their case were not themselves pagans.⁶³⁶ Indeed the implicit faith of the small could have been 'in fide legis et prophetarum'; this somewhat intriguing statement is left unexplained.⁶³⁷ Concerning those who live after Christ's redeeming work but whom the preaching of the Gospel has not yet reached, he explains that they cannot be saved because they cannot enjoy the divine grace of forgiveness:

Illi qui loquentem dominum per se vel per eius discipulos non audierunt, excusationem habent de peccato infidelitatis, non tamen beneficium Dei consequuntur, ut scilicet iustificentur ab aliis peccatis, vel quae nascendo contraxerunt, vel male vivendo addiderunt, et pro his merito damnantur.

Those who have not heard the Lord speak, either directly or through His disciples, are excused of the sin of unbelief, but nonetheless they do not obtain the favour of God, namely that they might be justified of the other sins, either those that they have taken on in birth or those that they have added by living badly, and for these they are deservedly condemned.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁴ Thomas de Aquino, *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate* 14.11.

⁶³⁵ 'Nonetheless, even before Christ, everyone had to believe in the Redeemer's future coming and victory over sin'. Thomas de Aquino, *In III Sententiarum* 25.2.2. The distinction between 'maiores' and 'minores' is already present in Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, on which Aquinas is commenting. Also, *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate* 14.11.

⁶³⁶ 'however much they might be wise in secular wisdom, are to be counted among the small'; Thomas de Aquino, *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate* 14.11.

⁶³⁷ 'through faith in the Law and the Prophets'. Thomas de Aquino, *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate* 14.11.

⁶³⁸ Thomas de Aquino, *Super Epistolam ad Romanos* 10.3.

Aquinas is nevertheless hopeful that God will help such persons find faith: ‘Si qui tamen eorum fecissent quod in se est, dominus eis secundum suam misericordiam providisset, mittendo eis praedicatorem fidei’.⁶³⁹ The question of special revelation, exemplified by the story of Cornelius, had already been discussed by Peter Lombard, but the latter had used it to prove the necessity of Revelation, whereas Aquinas uses it to express hope in God’s provision of Revelation, even miraculous, to the just.⁶⁴⁰ The key phrase here is ‘facere quod in se est’, by which he presumably meant living a morally upright life and striving to avoid sin.

An even greater confidence in God’s providence for the righteous unbelievers can be found in the writings of an earlier theologian and contemporary of Lombard, Pierre Abélard (1079-1142). Abélard did not develop a theological conception as complex as Aquinas’s, but he sometimes boldly expressed a wide-reaching belief in the possibility of salvation for pagans. For example, in his *Theologia christiana* he states:

Haec idcirco induximus, ne quis post legem etiam datam usque ad aduentum Christi de salute fidelium gentilium desperet, si sine perceptione sacramentorum sobrie ac iuste uixerunt. [...] Quanta uero abstinentia, quanta continentia, quantis uirtutibus non solum philosophos, uerum et saeculares atque illitteratos homines lex naturalis amorque ipse honestatis olim sublimauerit, multorum didicimus testimoniis.

Therefore we have put forward that no one should despair of the salvation of the pagan faithful even after the giving of the Law until the coming of Christ, if without receiving the sacraments they lived in temperance and justice. Indeed we have learnt through the testimonies of many with how much selflessness, with how much continence, with how much virtue natural law and the very love of honesty once elevated not just philosophers, but indeed also secular and illiterate men.⁶⁴¹

The example of these four thinkers helps us understand that in the Middle Ages, and particularly in the High Middle Ages, literary authors could write on pagans under the influence of a great variety of theological opinions about them.

⁶³⁹ ‘Nonetheless, if any of them had done what was in themselves [to do], the Lord would have provided for them according to His mercy, sending to them a preacher of the faith’; Thomas de Aquino, *Super Epistulam ad Romanos* 10.3.

⁶⁴⁰ Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiae in iv libris distinctae* III 25.4.

⁶⁴¹ Petrus Abaelardus, *Theologia christiana* 2.23.

The literary motif of the good pagan perhaps reflects this variety of opinion most clearly. One of the least controversial avenues through which pagan salvation was imagined was special revelation: it is accepted even by Peter Lombard, who is representative for the more conservative end of the spectrum of opinions on the issue in the scholastic period. Special revelation is also explored in medieval Irish literature. The tract *Senchas na Relec* ('The History of the Burial Places') from *Lebor na hUidre* states that three pagans who believed in God before the coming of Christianity to Ireland were Conchobar, Morann and Cormac mac Airt.⁶⁴² It is interesting to note that such characters may have benefitted from special revelation, but the latter was usually not direct or mystical, but rather indirect, through mundane means. As we have seen, Conchobar receives news of the Crucifixion through the pagan science of his druid, according to a tradition preserved in the various versions of *Aided Conchobair*.⁶⁴³ According to another tradition, this happens through the mediation of Altus, an envoy of the Roman emperor who would gather tribute or supervise Ireland and who thus used to keep Conchobar in touch with what was happening in the wider world.⁶⁴⁴ This Altus, who was a Christian, can be said to be to Conchobar what the Apostle Peter was to the centurion Cornelius, the customary example of special revelation used by theologians. The claim that Morann, a character habitually associated with law, was a believer is substantiated in *Scél na Fír Flatha*, where it is related how he went to meet Saint Paul and brought from him an epistle, which he would always wear around his neck and which enabled him never to deliver a false judgment.⁶⁴⁵ As for King Cormac, he is said both in the late Middle Irish *Genemuin Chormaic* ('The Birth of Cormac') and in *Senchas na Relec* to have adored the true God, without much substantiation; in the latter it is even speculated that other pagans might have followed his example.⁶⁴⁶ Sometimes, other famous characters of the pagan period are also designated as Christians, e.g. High King Art mac Cuinn in the Middle Irish narrative *Fástini Airt meic Cuind* ('The Prophecy of Art, son of Conn').⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴² R.I. Best, O. Bergin (eds.), *Lebor na Huidre. Book of the Dun Cow* (Dublin, 1929), p. 127.

⁶⁴³ H. Imhoff, 'Pre-Christian characters in medieval Irish literature. An examination of *Fástini Airt meic Cuind*, *De Suidigud Tellaig Temra*, *Aided Chonchobair* and *Aided Echach maic Maireda*' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Cambridge Univ., 2010), pp. 60-79.

⁶⁴⁴ Meyer, *The Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes*, pp. 11-7.

⁶⁴⁵ Stokes, 'The Irish Ordeals', p. 190.

⁶⁴⁶ V. Hull (ed.), 'Geneamuin Chormaic', *Ériu* 16 (1952), 79-85, at p. 85; Best and Bergin, *Lebor na Huidre*, p. 127.

The second possibility for pagan salvation envisaged in medieval Irish texts is a much more imaginative and highly literary one, namely superhuman or inexplicable longevity. The device is widely known from the elaborate *Acallam na Senórach* ('The Colloquy of the Ancients'), a late-twelfth-century composition about the hero Finn mac Cumhaill and his band of *fianna* warriors.⁶⁴⁸ There, Cailte, who had been a companion of Finn and thus a contemporary of High King Cormac mac Airt, survives as long as the time of Saint Patrick's mission. This allows him to entrust into the holy hands of the apostle of the Irish his lore regarding the exploits of the pagan *fianna* and to receive baptism. We have already encountered the same motif in *Altram Tige Dá Medar* with Ethne (but there the presence of the Túatha Dé Danann, an inherently immortal people, makes the situation somewhat different). A different strand of this tradition involves the motif of an old man's blatantly supernatural longevity, which is also the vehicle for the transmission of the core knowledge about Ireland's history. In the case of *Acallam na Senórach* we see only a faded version of this motif, since the lore that is transmitted is very specific and limited in scope and the old man would 'only' be around 200 years old. For a full realisation of the motif, we must go to older texts and to characters such Tuán mac Cairill or Fintan.⁶⁴⁹ Tuán, the central character of the already mentioned *Scél Tuáin* (ninth-century) was of the race of Partholón and through repeated shape-shifting (stag, wild boar, hawk, salmon) witnessed all the conquests of Ireland (i.e. the legendary pre-history with the sequence of invaders) and was finally baptised by Saint Patrick.⁶⁵⁰ He tells the whole story of his life to Saint Finnia, who was specifically interested in him because he wanted to be told the *senchas* of Ireland.⁶⁵¹

A character very similar to Tuán is Fintan, known mainly from *Do suidigud tellaich Temra* ('On the Settlement of the Manor of Tara').⁶⁵² Here, when five elders of Ireland are called

⁶⁴⁷ E. Mac Neill (ed.), 'Three Poems in Middle-Irish, Relating to the Battle of Mucrama, with English Translation and Notes, and a Short Vocabulary', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 3 (1893-6), 529-63, at p. 532.

⁶⁴⁸ A. Dooley, H. Roe (trans.), *Tales of the Elders of Ireland* (Oxford, 1999). See also D. Schlüter, "'For the Entertainment of Lords and Commons of Later Times": Past and Remembrance in *Acallam na Senórach*", *Celtica* 26 (2010), 146-60.

⁶⁴⁹ E. Nic Cárthaigh, 'Surviving the Flood. Revenants and Antediluvian Lore in Medieval Irish Texts', in *Transmission and Transformation in the Middle Ages. Texts and Contexts* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 40-64.

⁶⁵⁰ Carey, *Scél Tuáin*, pp. 101-7.

⁶⁵¹ Carey, *Scél Tuáin*, p. 101.

⁶⁵² R.I. Best (ed.), 'The Settling of the Manor of Tara', *Ériu* 4 (1910), 121-72. The text has been dated to the tenth or eleventh century; McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present*, p. 75.

upon to decide on a political issue using their knowledge, they recommend Fintan instead, since the latter, as he himself explains, is the great-grandson of Noah himself. The lore of Ireland had been entrusted to him by a strange character called Tréfuilngid Tre-eochair, who had come to an assembly of the men of Ireland many ages before and had gathered all their knowledge, helping them organise it. Of him Fintan says ‘ba haingel Dé héside, nó fa Día féisin’ and he had brought them knowledge of the Crucifixion that had taken place that same day.⁶⁵³ Fintan himself seems to be passing on this knowledge in the shape of a long list of place-names to his audience, consisting of High King Diarmait mac Cerbaill and other kings. This event is followed by his Christian death, with saints Patrick and Brigit appearing by his side. It is interesting to note that he too is suggested to have been a shape-shifter.⁶⁵⁴ Fintan also appears in *Airne Fíngéin* (‘Fíngen’s Night Watch’) and in the various recensions of *Lebor Gabála*, with variation in the details of his story.⁶⁵⁵ In *Airne Fíngéin*, he is a descendant of Noah who was alive at the Flood and whom the Flood had cast upon the shores of Ireland, where he was asleep until the time of Conn Cétchathach, when he is awoken by the spirit of the prophet Samuel.⁶⁵⁶ In *Lebor Gabála*, he is also an antediluvian, but he comes to Ireland with Cessair, Noah’s granddaughter, 40 days before the Flood; when the Flood comes, he is the only survivor.⁶⁵⁷ Of course, Fintan is a less useful example than Tuán, because, given his connections with Noah and the Flood, his paganism becomes a rather ambiguous issue. Other characters, similar to Tuán and Fintan, can be found in various medieval Irish texts, such as Lí Ban, presented as a pre-Christian woman saint who also survived the Flood.⁶⁵⁸ We can thus see that pagans are presented in medieval Irish texts in a varied and often subtle way, which is also true of Old Norse literature, as we shall now see.

⁶⁵³ ‘he was an angel of God, or he was God Himself’; Best, ‘The Settling of the Manor of Tara’, pp. 152-3.

⁶⁵⁴ Best, ‘The Settling of the Manor of Tara’, pp. 158-9.

⁶⁵⁵ J. Vendryes (ed.), *Airne Fíngéin* (Dublin, 1953). This collection of lore on the wonders of the night when King Conn Cétchathach was born is late Old Irish or early Middle Irish.

⁶⁵⁶ Vendryes, *Airne Fíngéin*, pp. 77-86.

⁶⁵⁷ Macalister, *Lebor Gabála II*, pp. 176-230.

⁶⁵⁸ H. Imhoff, ‘Pre-Christian characters in medieval Irish literature’, pp. 39-59, 80-2 and *passim*; for Lí Ban, see pp. 122-5.

4.4. Paganism in society as depicted in Old Norse literature

With regard to paganism as a social institution depicted in Old Norse texts, the genre that comes into play here most often is that of the so-called ‘sagas of Icelanders’, since they contain the most extensive depictions of Norse society before and during Conversion and have probably been researched more thoroughly than any other Old Norse genre.⁶⁵⁹ Although sagas of Icelanders consistently employ a formally objective narrative style, devoid of very direct and instructional authorial comments, scholarship has studied in detail the way saga authors convey strong messages (social, historical, religious etc.) through the characters’ voices and through narrative strategy.⁶⁶⁰ The existence of a general attitude of hostility towards paganism in these texts as in the Irish ones comes as no surprise.⁶⁶¹ Heathen practice is often shown as engendering evil social institutions (e.g. exposure of infants), is associated with moral failings (e.g. rash and bellicose behaviour) or depicted as futile in practical terms.⁶⁶² Sometimes, audiences may well have interpreted deep devotion to pagan deities as the root of real tragedy and thus the centrepiece of individual sagas (e.g. *Hrafnkels saga* or *Eyrbyggja saga* would probably have supported such an interpretation). Unlike in the Irish case, there are sometimes depictions of pagan cult, albeit few, not unlike what we have seen in the case of *Trójumanna saga*.⁶⁶³ On the other hand, the figure of what modern scholarship calls ‘the noble heathen’ comes to the fore. The way this motif is realised tends to be quite different from the Irish case. As we have seen, the good pagan is there very much an exceptional phenomenon, not necessarily in the sense that it occurs or is depicted infrequently,

⁶⁵⁹ See C.J. Clover, ‘Icelandic Family Sagas (Íslendingasögur)’, in C.J. Clover and J. Lindow (eds.), *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature. A Critical Guide*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 2005), pp. 239-315; C.J. Clover, J. Lindow (eds.), *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature. A Critical Guide*, ‘Preface to the Second Printing’, pp. 13-5.

⁶⁶⁰ Vésteinn Ólason, ‘Family Sagas’, in R. McTurk (ed.), *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature* (Malden, MA, 2005), pp. 101-118, at pp. 106-7; L. Lonnröth, ‘The Noble Heathen: A Theme in the Sagas’, *Scandinavian Studies* 41:1 (1969), 1-29, at p. 12.

⁶⁶¹ P. Schach, ‘Antipagan Sentiment in the Sagas of Icelanders’, *Gripla* 1 (1975), 105-34.

⁶⁶² Schach, ‘Antipagan Sentiment’, pp. 117-8; Lonnröth, ‘The Noble Heathen’, p. 14; the *þættir* in Flateyjarbók.

⁶⁶³ See e.g. *Eyrbyggja saga*, in ÍF 4, ch. 4; *Fljótsdæla saga*, in Jón Jóhannesson (ed.), *Austfirðinga sögur*, ÍF 11, (Reykjavík, 1950), ch. 26; *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*, ÍF 11, ch. 6; *Víga-Glúms saga*, ÍF 9, ch. 9; *Kormáks saga*, ÍF 8, ch. 22-3. See above, pp. 76, 82-3.

but first and foremost in the sense that it is engendered through exceptional revelation or unlikely (perhaps supernatural) longevity. The same strategy is used in Old Norse literature in *Norna-Gests þáttur* ('The Short Story of Norna-Gestr'), another short narrative from *Flateyjarbók*.⁶⁶⁴ The meeting between the impossibly old Norna-Gestr and king Óláfr Tryggvason, with transmission of pre-Christian heroic lore, baptism and death, may well be the exact functional equivalent of the meeting between Fintan and King Díarmait mac Cerbaill or between Cailte and Saint Patrick, but it is probably the only Norse example. The noble heathen as otherwise envisaged in Old Norse literature, particularly in the sagas of Icelanders, seems to be much more the reflection of the doctrine of natural religion, in keeping perhaps with the stylistic 'realism' of the genre. In other words, the Norse good pagan is usually someone who is not Christian, but who has moved somewhat on the path towards Christianity entirely through his own efforts, often through what is depicted as a rational process.⁶⁶⁵ This emphasis on natural religion must of course be read in conjunction with the very bold theory developed by Snorri Sturluson in the Prologue of his *Edda*. The main difference between these two approaches is that for Snorri paganism is something that contains within it knowledge of God through reason (which is thus seemingly universal), whereas for the saga authors the acquisition of this knowledge is equivalent to the abandonment of paganism. We may thus suppose that Snorri's understanding of paganism was grounded in an attitude shared more widely in Norse society, but that his effort actually to understand paganism as a form of natural religion really was quite original.

Two different types of good pagans can be discerned in the sagas, corresponding to two degrees of religious progress. There is first the good pagan who no longer sacrifices to the gods, sometimes with the formulaic addition that he believed in his own power, suggesting a sort of atheism, but probably understood as a stage on a potential road to conversion.⁶⁶⁶ Examples abound, but some, such as the famous character of Hrafnkell Freysgoði in

⁶⁶⁴ Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Unger, *Flateyjarbók* I, pp. 346-59.

⁶⁶⁵ Incidentally, the Norse 'good pagan', having abandoned polytheistic worship and being somewhere in-between the two religions, is technically not a pagan anymore. A more apt term would perhaps be 'post-pagan pre-Christian'.

⁶⁶⁶ Finnur Jónsson (ed.), *Landnámabók Íslands* (Copenhagen, 1925), p. 31; Finnur Jónsson, *Heimskringla*, pp. 383, 394; Ólafur Halldórsson (ed.), *Færeyinga saga* (Reykjavík, 1967), p. 23; *Finnboga saga*, ÍF 14, ch. 19; *Laxdæla saga*, ÍF 5, ch. 40; Finnur Jónsson (ed.), *Hrólfs saga kraka og Bjarkarímur* (Copenhagen, 1904), p. 96. F. Ström, *Den egna kraftens män. En studie in forntida irreligiositet*, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 54 (Göteborg, 1948).

Hrafnkels saga, are particularly relevant in that they present the origins of this non-religious attitude, which they place in disappointment over the favours expected from the gods.⁶⁶⁷ The second type of good pagan is the one who has already reached the monotheistic (although of course not Christian) truth. Most frequently, such characters speak of ‘He Who created the Sun’ or sometimes of ‘He Who rules everything’.⁶⁶⁸

We can thus conclude that both Irish and Norse society, as reflected in their written culture, combined a more or less negative view of native paganism as a religion with an effort to cast a positive light on the pre-Christian ancestors, sometimes by reappraising their paganism in a Christian context (e.g. Snorri Sturluson, or perhaps even some depictions of druids), but most of the time simply by removing them from it. In this respect, it is relevant to mention the case of *Hrólfs saga kraka* (‘The Saga of Hrólfr kraki’), where it is implied that ascribing adherence to paganism to the story’s heroes is wrong, since the tradition that the text purports to record does not mention it.⁶⁶⁹ The only difference that the evidence possibly suggests is that for the Norse authors this was a more far-reaching concern, as the texts are clearly trying to paint a picture of widespread non-religiosity in pagan times, using the theologically intricate instrument of the natural religion doctrines. For Ireland, which was chronologically at a further remove from its own paganism, this concern was perhaps less pronounced, although very much still present. This chronological removal perhaps also alleviated a certain need for realism in storytelling, with the effect that the methods the Irish authors use most often for constructing the noble heathen are theologically more straightforward, but also more artificial

⁶⁶⁷ *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*, ÍF 11, ch. 6-7.

⁶⁶⁸ E.g. *Vatnsdæla saga*, ÍF 8, ch. 23, 37; Finnur Jónsson, *Heimskringla*, p. 44; Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Unger, *Flateyjarbók* I, p. 438; s.n. (ed.), *Landnámabók I-III. Hauksbók, Sturlubók, Málabók* (Copenhagen, 1900), p. 134 (the Sturlubók version of Landnámabók). Schomerus, *Die Religion der Nordgermanen*, pp. 137-43.

⁶⁶⁹ En ekki er þess getit, at Hrólfr konungr né kappar hans hafi nökkurn tíma blótat goð, heldr trúðu á mátt sinn ok megin, því at þá var ekki boðuð sú heilaga trú hér í norðrlöndum ok höfðu þeir því lítit skyn á skapara sínum, sem bjuggu í norðrálfunni.

and this has not been received, that either King Hrólfr or his champions might at any time have sacrificed to the gods, rather they believed in their own power and might, since the holy faith had not been preached here in the Northern lands and those that lived in the Northern part of the world thus had little understanding of their Creator.

Finnur Jónsson, *Hrólfs saga*, p. 96.

from a literary point of view. In the conclusion of this thesis, I will now try to provide an explanation for the references to paganism in *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*, using to a great degree the findings of this study on native paganism.

5. Conclusions and directions for further research

After discussing paganism as depicted in Irish and Norse texts set in Ireland and Scandinavia respectively, I will now return, in my conclusion, to the analysis of references to paganism in *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*, by developing the findings arrived at at the end of chapter 3. I will then suggest paradigms that can help us interpret the evidence more meaningfully and answer the key question. In so doing, I will emphasise research directions that this thesis aims to open up.

The evidence analysed in chapter 3 leads to the conclusion that the authors of *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* approached differently the task of presenting paganism in their texts, and perhaps their authorial task in general. The Irish author writes as a historian, in the sense that he is mostly, almost exclusively interested in the bare truth, *what really happened*. He makes comments on paganism to ensure his readers are not mistaken about its real nature. He prefaces the story of the Trojan War with a genealogy of the Trojan dynasty that goes back to Noah. He synchronises rulers who appear in his account with Israelite judges and Ancient Middle Eastern kings. The manuscript itself, the Book of Leinster, has been viewed as a collection of fundamentally historical lore, at least from the point of view of its scribes and audience; there are plentiful clues to this even in the heroic legend narratives of the Ulster Cycle.⁶⁷⁰ Without going into too much detail here, one must emphasise that the historiographic concerns at work in general in many Irish literary texts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, including through the use of genealogy, have been noted by scholars.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁷⁰ Schlüter, *History or Fable?*; G. Toner, 'The Ulster Cycle: Historiography or Fiction?', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 40 (2000), 1-20; Poppe, 'Reconstructing Medieval Irish Literary Theory', pp. 51-2, where the historiographical character of the Ulster Cycle tales is compared with that of the sagas of Icelanders. For the possible interpretation of *Togail Troí* in the Book of Leinster in the light of contemporary historical events, see E. Poppe, D. Schlüter, 'Greece, Ireland, Ulster and Troy. Of Hybrid Origins and Heroes', in W.M. Hoofnagle and W.R. Keller (eds.), *Other Nations. The Hybridization of Medieval Insular Mythology and Identity* (Heidelberg, 2011), pp. 127-43, at pp. 140-3.

⁶⁷¹ M. Ní Mhaonaigh, 'The Literature of Medieval Ireland, 800-1200. From the Vikings to the Normans', in M. Kelleher and P. O'Leary (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2006), vol. I, pp. 32-73, at pp. 45-8.

The Norse author, on the other hand, writes as a storyteller, or perhaps as a mythographer. I am here referring to a particular type of mythography, best exemplified by the First and Second Vatican Mythographers. Like them, the Norse author is interested in *what is supposed to have happened*, the truth according to the classical story. His preoccupation with framing and explaining the deities from a pagan point of view (where the Irish author was doing the same from a Christian point of view) shows this most clearly. The story he aims to tell faithfully is not identical with any given text, it is ‘the Story’ of the Trojan War, to which all available sources contribute and to which they are subservient. The text he produces, with its reliance on Dares Phrygius, *Ilias Latina*, Virgil and Ovid (to name only the sources we can identify), can be seen as an attempt at harmonising all the available testimonies about the Trojan War, with the aim of reaching a unified account. Contrary to the Irish author, the unified account is for him an end in itself and not a means of instruction. This is borne out by his occasional willingness to present different versions of the story and to discuss openly such variation. For example, he asserts that Dares and Homer (the latter probably stands for *Ilias Latina*) were both reliable in a specialised way, Dares being particularly reliable for the Trojan camp and Homer for the Greek camp: ‘ok má þó vel vera at hueru tveggju hafi satt sagtt ok hafi öðrum verit kunnara frá Girkium enn öðrum frá Trójumönnum’.⁶⁷² He suggests that Virgil’s account of the Fall of Troy, which he appends to Dares’s (presumably found unsatisfactory), has its drawbacks, in that it is biased in favour of Æneas, the founder of the Roman people.⁶⁷³ To some extent, these comments allow the reader to witness the process of gluing together the building blocks of the narrative, something the Irish author never does. These instances of authorial commentary also show that a historiographical concern was not absent from *Trójumanna saga* and that the related events were still seen as by and large historical. What is characteristic to this text and differentiates it from *Togail Troí* is the fact that the historical aspect is relegated to second place. The main concern, which can trump historicity, is the production of a synthetical account of the classical story as such, all its pagan content included, without ‘modern’ (i.e. medieval Christian) interpretation. The Trojan War is here not so much history as literary history. An additional piece of evidence regarding the second place given to historicity is the following passage: ‘Enn þótt sumar sogur seigi

⁶⁷² ‘and, nonetheless, it may well be that to each of them the truth was told and each of them had more knowledge than the other about the Greeks and the other about the Trojans’; *T.s.*, p. 174. The syntax of the sentence seems ungrammatical.

⁶⁷³ *T.s.*, pp. 215-6.

giörar enn sumar þá er þat skemtan ok gaman ok má þat opt annar vita sem at audrumm er ecki kunnigtt miklu minnur fiölda'.⁶⁷⁴

I have sketched above a kind of literary portrait of the two authors, but the research on the deeper meaning of the differences between each of the authors' approach to paganism can be further developed. I will only delineate here two paths along which this can be achieved in the future, regretting that I have not been able to move this far in the present thesis. The first path is to consider the existence of two different cultures of dealing with paganism in a literary context, something already suggested in chapter 3. I have shown there that Irish literary culture dealt with paganism on a basis that can roughly be described as historiographical. Little was committed to paper that was historically impossible from the point of view of Christian history. The fact that there is no depiction of pagan deities as such in the many texts on native subjects shows this clearly. In fact, literature produced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in general has been shown to bear the stamp of historiography. A writer trying to present classical pagan mythology as such would have found no native tradition to support him. Depictions of 'social' paganism are also largely negative, with the 'good pagan' appearing largely as a series of individual exceptions. On the other hand, Norse literary culture dealt with native paganism on a basis that I will call 'mythographical', in the sense of an interest in paganism as such. Although chronological priorities are hard to establish, we know that in the thirteenth century 'pagan myth' (at least certainly pagan as understood by writers and audiences), literary material clearly incompatible with Christianity, was committed to paper as such in *Snorra Edda* or the eddic mythological poems. Much of the literature of the period, including *Snorra Edda*, transmits poetic material that is significantly older, in the form of skaldic poetry, and in which pagan myth is also present. In other words, the thirteenth century is a 'mythographic' age for Old Norse literature and the author of a classical adaptation could have dealt with pagan mythology in this kind of intellectual atmosphere. Depictions of 'social' paganism are also more positive in the Norse case, with the 'good pagan' intimated to have been a fairly widespread social phenomenon.

The second path of investigation considers a different understanding of the author-text relationship at work in each of the two narratives. It seems to me that the two authors understood themselves as such in different ways, which can also be illuminated by medieval

⁶⁷⁴ 'And although some stories might say more deeds than some others, that is entertainment and pleasure and often one can know that which to another is not known or much less'; *T.s.*, p. 233. The syntax is at times very ambiguous.

literary theory. A fundamental distinction cultivated in classical literary theory and taken over into the Middle Ages was that between *historia* and *fabula*. By these terms, one distinguished texts that related the truth as it happened from those that related falsehood, which does not mean that more refined categories did not exist as well, e.g. *argumentum* (a text relating that which did not happen, but was felt to have been possible).⁶⁷⁵ In an Irish context, usage of these concepts is proved in the very manuscript of *Togail Troí*, the Book of Leinster, by way of a Latin colophon at the end of *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, which has received considerable attention from scholars.⁶⁷⁶ In view of the findings of this research concerning depiction of paganism in *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*, the distinction between *historia* and *fabula* can be said to mirror very well the differences between *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* respectively. Besides such interpretations of the literary works themselves, refined distinctions regarding the author-text relationship took shape in the High Middle Ages, or at least by the thirteenth century, which can improve our understanding of *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga*, particularly of the latter. Saint Bonaventure in 1250-2, in his commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* distinguishes between *scriptor* (who copies and adds nothing), *compilator* (who copies and adds, but not *de suo*), *commentator* (who mainly copies, but also adds *de suo*, in order to explain) and *auctor* (who writes *de suo*, but also uses the statements of others for support); all of them are legitimate activities, but only the *auctor* takes full responsibility for what he writes.⁶⁷⁷ A similar discussion can be found in the mid-fourteenth-century *Summa de questionibus Armenorum*, written by Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh.⁶⁷⁸ He states that in common parlance *auctor* is used to designate someone who is the *assertor* of a text or passage or who is its *editor* (or *compilator*) or who is both at the same time. Only the third sense is the correct one and only this genuine *auctor* must take responsibility for the text. FitzRalph uses this argumentation to explain how it is possible for the Holy Scripture to be divinely inspired and truthful while also containing obvious lies, uttered by various characters in the Biblical narrative.

⁶⁷⁵ For literary theory in Western Europe in general in the period when *Togail Troí* and *Trójumanna saga* were composed, see P. Mehtonen, *Old Concepts and New Poetics. Historia, argumentum and fabula in the Twelfth- and Early Thirteenth-Century Latin Poetics of Fiction* (Helsinki, 1996).

⁶⁷⁶ E.g. P. Ó Néill, 'The Latin Colophon to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in the Book of Leinster. A Critical View of Old Irish Literature', *Celtica* 23 (1999), 269-75.

⁶⁷⁷ A.J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1988), pp. 94-5.

⁶⁷⁸ Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, pp. 94-5

The applicability of such theories to medieval literature is shown by the fact that many medieval authors insert disclaimers in their works whereby they explain that they do not assume responsibility for the reported assertions of pagan writers, sometimes using terms such as *auctor* and *compiler*; this, of course, is not to suggest that they were necessarily readers of works of literary theory.⁶⁷⁹ This phenomenon is already present in the first half of the thirteenth century, e.g. in the influential encyclopaedic works of Vincent of Beauvais.⁶⁸⁰ In my opinion, a similar understanding of authorship should also be ascribed to the author of *Trójumanna saga*, who is clearly a *compiler* and not an *auctor* (although he is, of course, an original author in modern terms). The Irish author, in handing over an account devoid of contradictions, where his own voice can be heard on ‘doctrinal’ matters, can be said to be a magisterial writer. The Norse author, in assembling different classical sources on the Trojan War and commenting occasionally on their relative merits and on the feasibility of their harmonisation, enjoys a lower authorial status from a medieval point of view, perhaps comparable to a diligent schoolboy writing for an assignment. Unfortunately, the question as to why this difference should exist, as to whether it possibly reflects a difference between an older acquaintance with classical culture in the Irish case and a more recent one in the Norse case, remains without a definitive answer. It opens up, like much of the interpretations found in this chapter, to further research and investigation.

⁶⁷⁹ Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, pp. 190-210.

⁶⁸⁰ Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, p. 193.

6. Importance of the research

The conclusions reached in section 5.1 will contribute significantly to our understanding of the broader literary cultures of medieval Ireland and Scandinavia, particularly the two cultures' interaction with medieval literary theory. The research that has been undertaken on this latter issue in the past feels insufficient for both Ireland and Scandinavia (but more so for the latter). Nonetheless, the present research can prove important in other areas as well. The literary presentation of paganism in general has received due attention from scholarship, but the texts on classical subjects have not always been made to play their full part in this investigation of paganism. With its emphasis on classical tales and its extended use of texts featuring Irishmen and Norsemen as a method of contextualisation (see chapter 4), this research argues for a more extensive fusion of these two aspects into a unified interpretation of Irish and Norse understandings of paganism. Another field of research which the present thesis illuminates is the study of the sources used by medieval Irish and Norse texts. Such research is infrequently undertaken, although the texts themselves are not particularly opaque from this point of view. The importance of this task is perhaps paramount in the case of the Trojan War texts, since, given the status of this classical myth, they are likely to have been more influential than others and to have ranked particularly high among classical adaptations.⁶⁸¹ The constraints of this research mean that my own source study has been limited to certain passages in specific textual witnesses on the Trojan War. Nonetheless, my analysis goes some distance in the exploration of the intellectual foundation that underlies the surface of medieval Irish and Norse texts between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries, an essential component of our understanding of the history and civilisation of these areas.

⁶⁸¹ Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Classical Compositions', pp. 6-7; Baumgartner and Harf-Lancner, *Entre fiction et histoire*, Introduction, pp. 11-20.

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