

Topographical and Thematic Perspectives in the Latin Poetry of the First Anglo-Norman Kings

*Perspectives topographiques et thématiques de la poésie latine à l'époque des
premiers rois anglo-normands*

*Prospettive tematiche e topografiche nella poesia latina all'epoca dei primi re
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**Topographical and Thematic Perspectives
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*Prospettive tematiche e topografiche nella poesia latina
all'epoca dei primi re anglo-normanni*

Roberto ANGELINI

Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino, Firenze
robertoangelini@tin.it

Abstract:

This study deals with Norman poetry: it examines the authors, the texts, and especially the literary genres to which they belonged, in the period between the XIth and XIIth centuries. Following a chronological order, the analysis starts from XIth-century Normandy: the main political and religious centres, Rouen, Caen and Le Bec, were also the most important places of poetic output. Most of these writings are hagiographies or encomia of important figures in the ducal and royal courts. In this regard, Serlo of Bayeux stands out as a clear example: his poems are valuable historical evidence for the Norman relationship with the English and their king in 1105-1106. In England, after the bold enterprise of William the Conqueror, Norman, Flemish, French and Italian learned men had a very important role in cultural life. York and Canterbury were the most prominent centres for versification. The study ends by focusing on the numerous verses contained in the historical works of Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon.

Keywords: medieval latin poetry, Rouen, Caen, Le Bec, hagiography, *Epitaphia*, *Encomia poetica*, Serlo of Bayeux, England, William the Conqueror, York, Canterbury, Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon

Résumé:

Cette étude traite de la poésie normande: elle examine les auteurs, les textes et surtout les genres littéraires auxquels ils appartiennent, aux XI^e et XII^e siècles. Suivant l'ordre chronologique, l'analyse commence à partir de la Normandie du XI^e siècle. Les principaux centres politiques et religieux, Rouen, Caen et Le Bec, sont aussi les chefs-lieux de la production poétique. La plupart de ces écrits sont hagiographiques ou laudatifs de figures importantes dans les cours ducales et royales. À cet égard, Serlon de Bayeux se détache comme un exemple clair: ses poèmes sont une précieuse preuve historique de la relation normande avec les Anglais et leur roi en 1105-1106. En Angleterre, après l'audacieuse entreprise de Guillaume le Conquérant, les savants normands, flamands, français et italiens ont joué un rôle très important dans la vie culturelle. York et Cantorbéry étaient les centres les plus importants pour la versification. L'étude se termine en se concentrant sur les nombreux versets contenus dans les œuvres historiques d'Orderic Vital, Guillaume de Malmesbury et Henri de Huntingdon.

Mots-clés: poésie latine médiévale, Rouen, Caen, Le Bec, hagiographie, *Epitaphia*, *Encomia poetica*, Serlon de Bayeux, Angleterre, Guillaume le Conquérant, York, Cantorbéry, Orderic Vital, Guillaume de Malmesbury, Henri de Huntingdon

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Riassunto:

Lo studio riguarda la poesia normanna: autori, testi, ma soprattutto i loro generi letterari, nel periodo tra XI e XII secolo. L'analisi procede a un esame in ordine cronologico, a partire dalla Normandia del Mille. I principali centri politici e religiosi, Rouen, Caen, Le Bec, furono allo stesso tempo capoluoghi di produzione poetica. In maggioranza i testi riguardano temi agiografici o encomiastici, rivolti alle più eminenti figure delle corti ducali e regali. A questo proposito, Serlo di Bayeux rappresenta un caso esemplare, con i suoi versi, circa le relazioni con gli Inglesi e il loro sovrano nel periodo tra 1105 e 1106. In Inghilterra, in particolare, dopo l'audace impresa di Guglielmo il Conquistatore, intellettuali normanni, fiamminghi, francesi e italiani ebbero un ruolo molto importante nella vita culturale britannica. York e Canterbury furono gli ambiti preminenti anche sotto il profilo della versificazione. Lo studio termina con un esame specifico dei numerosi carmi presenti nelle cronache di Orderico Vitale, Guglielmo di Malmesbury ed Enrico di Huntingdon.

Parole chiave: poesia latina medievale, Rouen, Caen, Le Bec, agiografica, Epithaphia, Encomia poetica, Serlo di Bayeux, Inghilterra, Guglielmo il Conquistatore, York, Canterbury, Orderico Vitale, Guglielmo di Malmesbury, Enrico di Huntingdon

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From the mid-tenth century the two sides of the English Channel forged a closer relationship, especially in conjunction with the insular Benedictine Reform¹, which produced important figures such as Dunstan of Canterbury in Britain². The respective insular and continental contributions in this cultural interchange³ reveal the equal importance of Anglo-Saxon scholars and counterparts from Flanders, Northern France, and particularly from the segment of Neustria acquired by the Viking Rollo⁴ and ruled by his heirs⁵. A witness of the literary connection in the first quarter of the eleventh century is Warner of Rouen⁶, who provides at least two and perhaps five remarkable satirical compositions⁷. The

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1. KNOWLES, 1949, p. 31-190.
 2. HUNT, 1961; DALES, 1988; *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, RAMSAY, SPARKS and TATTON-BROWN (eds), 1992; LAPIDGE, 2004; LAPIDGE and LOVE, 2009.
 3. RIGG, 1992, p. 9.
 4. DOUGLAS, 1942; JONES, 1968, p. 229-232; MCKITTERICK, 1983, p. 228-240; CROUCH, 2002, p. 1-58; BAUDUIN, 2004.
 5. LEBLOND, 1966, p. 179-187, 279-280; BATE, 2000.
 6. MUSSET, 1954; LAPIDGE, 1972, p. 101-102; MUSSET, 1974; MCDONOUGH, 2002; FERRARI, 2006; TILLIETTE, 2012.
 7. The most renowned of these poems is an invective, the so-called *Moriuth, inc.* "*Rotberto domino subnixo praesulis ostro*" (SCHALLER and KÖNSGEN, 1977, no. 14391), from the name of the Irish opponent in the verse: 249 leonine elegiac couplets, ed. in OMONT, 1894, and WARNER OF ROUEN, *Moriuth. A Norman Latin Poem of the Early Eleventh Century*, Chr.J. MCDONOUGH (ed.), p. 109-204. Cf. SCHMIDT, 1988; WOLTERBEEK, 1991, p. 192-218; ÖBERG, 1998; DUMVILLE, 2002; MCDONOUGH, 2006. The second satire is the *Carmen ad Rotbertum, inc.*: "*Rotberto doctis fulgenti semper alumnis*" (SCHALLER and KÖNSGEN, 1977, no. 14390): 80 leonine distichs, ed. in MUSSET, 1954, p. 259-266, and MCDONOUGH, 1997, p. 44-51. The first of the three dubious poems in hexameters is *Iezebel, inc.*: "*Nomen ab Ie (Abie; ab te) sonat, Iaezabel quia corrui ah ah*" (SCHALLER and KÖNSGEN,

Danish conquest in England marked a break, and from 1042 the restored rule of the half-Saxon, half-Norman King Edward the Confessor⁸ stands as a fresh start for the renewed, longer-term dialectic of exchange⁹. A considerable flow of religious scholars to Britain began from Normandy to overseas monastic homes. After the battle of Hastings this movement was overcome by a systematic Norman transformation of the Island.

In fact, since 1066, William the Conqueror¹⁰ had begun the complete occupation of the leading centres of power, not only from a military and political point of view. The more than thirty English abbeys under his reign were progressively filled and ruled by monks from the other side of the Channel¹¹; the new king normanized every diocesan see, especially the prominent ones, which in turn remained vacant, by appointing to them the most prestigious figures not only of the clergy, but also of culture in the Duchy, where in fact the intellectual atmosphere was livelier than one could expect.

In the second half of the eleventh century, Rouen seems to have been the principal centre, and this was not only due to its role as a political capital. It was in fact the pivot of a more complex and articulated circulation of written production. As for poetry, there was a clear distinction of literary themes and schemes among the respective religious institutions of the town, although it is possible to recognize some well-defined shared tendencies. After the deposition of Mauger the cathedral chair¹², which was once of Robert II (ca. 990-1037), had to be covered in 1055 by the high-profile figure of Maurilius (b. ca. 990, d. 9 August 1067)¹³. He was born in the last decade of the tenth century in Reims; although his origin was not Norman, he gathered such an international experience, through long stays in Halberstadt, Fécamp and, above all, in Tuscany (where he met renowned exponents of the Ecclesiastical Reform Party), that William the Conqueror appointed him to the prestigious position: this choice also soothed some recent grievances from the Apostolic See about his wedding with Matilda of Flanders¹⁴. In 1063, only three years before the Norman Conquest, a turning point in the growth of power (and wealth) for the ruling dynasty, the latter

1977, no. 10312; WALTHER, 1959, no. 11912), 142 lines: *Jezebel. A Norman Latin Poem of the Early Eleventh Century*, J.M. ZIOLKOWSKI (ed.), p. 65-78; on the same subject cf. VAN HOUTS, 1992; GALLOWAY, 1999. The second uncertain text is *Semiramis, inc.*: "*Fama puellaris tauri corruptitur extis*" (SCHALLER and KÖNSGEN, 1977, no. 4937; WALTHER, 1959, no. 6255): 181 leonine verses, ed. in DRONKE, 1986, p. 66-113 [in particular, for the edition and English translation p. 66-75]; on this poem cf. RICO, 1973; VAN HOUTS, 1992; ARCHIBALD, 2001. There is one more piece of 76 hexameters, recently found in the ms Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 3232: cf. BOURGAIN, 2013, p. 103-107.

8. *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster, Attributed to a Monk of Saint-Bertin*, F. BARLOW (ed.); BARLOW, 1970; BARLOW, 2004a; LAPIDGE, 2009b.
9. SOUTHERN, 1970, p. 135-157 [chapter 8: "England's First Entry into Europe"]; FLEMING, 1985; FLEMING, 1991; RIGG, 1992, p. 9-12; for a different interpretation cf. ORTENBERG, 1992.
10. STENTON, 1908; DOUGLAS, 1964; ZUMTHOR, 1964; BARLOW, 1965; JÄSCHKE, 1977; BOÜARD, 1984; BATES, 2004b; LAPIDGE, 2014b; BATES, 2016.
11. KNOWLES, 1949, p. 100-144.
12. ALLEN, 1995.
13. BOÜARD, 1959; DOUGLAS, 1964, p. 121-122; ZUMTHOR, 1964, p. 198-200.
14. STRICKLAND, 1850, p. 17-78; DOUGLAS, 1964, p. 393-395; VAN HOUTS, 2004.

enjoyed a sort of return to its original roots: an authentic revival of *Antiquitates Normannicae*, so that the archbishop, who led the *translatio corporum* of the founders, Rollo and his son William Longsword¹⁵, in the cathedral, was also the author of the *epitaphia* for the two Viking *jarls*¹⁶.

In 1067, when Maurilius died, Richard, son of Herluin, wrote for him a short obituary verse, inscribed above the tomb¹⁷. Among the bishop's disciples, William Bona Anima¹⁸ was in many respects the most notable figure. Although the date of birth of this noble Norman is unknown, he flourished in the second half of the eleventh century (and died on February 9, 1110) under William the Conqueror's protection. Through his Rouen apprenticeship and ecclesiastical *cursus honorum*, he was in contact with some of the major centres (and personalities) of ducal power. In 1079 he therefore became archbishop of the city with the approval of the sovereign. It is regrettable that, despite his political relevance, the manuscript tradition has transmitted only a few works of his: not more than three letters¹⁹ and, so far as poetry is concerned, the epitaph²⁰ for Sybil (died 18 March 1103), the wife of Robert Curthose²¹.

More prolific literary activity was undertaken not only in approximately the same period (starting from the 1060s) but also in the environment of Rouen's cathedral by the canon Theobald, who was a native of Vernon, near Évreux. Unfortunately, his written output has for a long time been unclear²²: there would have been a great deal of lost texts, including those in rhythmical verse and the vernacular, about ancient saints (for example Thais, Mary of Egypt, Catherine of Alexandria) or more recent figures (like Wulfram, Archbishop of Sens). In this regard, much doubt still exists, especially after the twentieth-century attribution to him of two acrostic allegorical poems²³. At any rate, the core of his poetry

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15. DOUGLAS, 1942, p. 435; CROUCH, 2002, p. 14, 41.
 16. Both of the two poems, *Epitaphia Rollonis et Guillelmi Longae Spathae*, respectively *inc.*: “*Dux Normannorum, timor hostis et arma suorum*” and “*Quos defendebat Guillelmus, nemo premebat*” (WALTHER, 1959, nr. 5037 and 16366), 10 and 7 leonine elegiac distichs, with monosyllabic or disyllabic rhyme, are transmitted by Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), book V, vol. III, p. 90-92.
 17. The text, *inc.*: “*Humani cives lacrimam nolite negare*”: 4 distichs, is in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), book IV, vol. II, p. 198.
 18. WILLIAMS, George, 1951, p. 102-125; SPEAR, 1989; SPEAR, 1992, p. 56-57, 60; WATKINS, 2006, p. 79-80, 90-93; ANGELINI and LAPIDGE, 2014.
 19. *Epistola ad Anselmum* (dated 1093), ed. in EADMERI *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, M. RULE (ed.), p. 38; two *Epistolae ad Lambertum episcopum Atrebatensem*: ed. in STEPHANI BALUZII *miscellaneorum liber primus [-septimus]*, hoc est *Collectio veterum monumentorum quae hactenus latuerant in variis codicibus ac bibliothecis*, vol. V, 1700, p. 286 and 344 [reimpr. in *Patrologia Latina* (quoted *infra*: PL), vol. CLXII, 1854, col. 650 and 683-684].
 20. The poem, *inc.*: “*Nobilitas species, laus, gloria, magna potestas*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 11870): five distichs, transmitted by *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), book XI, vol. VI, p. 38-39; cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 46.
 21. For Robert and Sybil, cf. DAVID, 1920; THOMPSON, 2004; LACK, 2007; AIRD, 2008.
 22. *Histoire littéraire de la France* par des religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de S. Maur, vol. VII, 1746, p. 512-513, and vol. XIII, 1814, p. 112-114.
 23. About the two poems cf. HERRMANN, 1940, p. 38-40: edition on the basis of the manuscript Bruxelles, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Van België 8883-94. The titles, *Iustorum mores lapides sunt*

consists in hagiography: three metrical biographies, in hundreds of rhymed lines, of Alexis the Confessor²⁴, Theophilus Adanensis²⁵ and Gummar²⁶, although the last of these is still considered among the works whose attribution is doubtful²⁷.

This kind of literary production leads to another centre of the religious and intellectual life of Rouen: the local abbey of Saint-Ouen²⁸. Between 1042 and 1092, when Nicholas of Normandy²⁹ was abbot, in this religious centre, where the poetic production was rich and intense³⁰, almost all of the three main figures that are known dealt with hagiography: Theodoric³¹ composed the long *Vita sancti Audoeni*³², as well as the *Gesta episcoporum Rotomagensium*³³; both of them were attributed also to Fulbert³⁴, who lived a century later and actually compiled only a collection of *Miracula*³⁵; little is known of Maurice, author of an *epitaphium in*

multi colores and *Terra Creatoris sic vim scrutetur amoris*, are formed by the initials of the verses, respectively: 36 rhymed hexameters, which give an interpretation of twelve kinds of stone; 35 leonine hexameters on mystic subjects.

24. *Vita metrica sancti Alexii confessoris* (in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* (BHL), Socii Bollandiani [eds], no. 293): 290 leonine hexameters, ed. in *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur* [AASS], J. BOLLAND, G. HENSCHENIUS *et al.* (eds), *Iul.*, vol. IV, 1725, p. 254-256 [but cf. HERRMANN, 1940, p. 30-32 for important ecdotic remarks and some observations about the mistaken attribution to Marbod of Rennes]; ed. also in WAGNER, 1973, p. 156-169.
25. *Vita metrica sancti Theophili, vicedomini Adanensis* (in BHL, no. 8124): 568 leonine hexameters, ed. in AASS, *Febr.*, vol. I, 1658, p. 487-491; HERRMANN, 1940, p. 30 about the mistaken attribution to Marbod of Rennes.
26. *Vita metrica sancti Gumhari confessoris* (in BHL, nrr. 3696-3697): 655 mostly leonine hexameters, ed. by HERRMANN, 1939; MOREL, 1940 [ecdotic remarks].
27. Cf. BON, 2005, p. 235 for the most reliable list of authentic works. See furthermore the review by ORLANDI, 1973 against the attribution of this work to Theobald of Vernon.
28. POMMERAYE, 1662; BOURASSÉ, 1900, p. 277-287; MASSON and BATTLE, 1927; COTTINEAU, 1935-1937, vol. II, col. 2547-2550; CHALINE, 2009.
29. POMMERAYE, 1662, p. 251-256; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. VIII, 1747, p. 364 [reimpr. in *PL*, vol. CL, 1854, col. 1187-1189]. GAZEAU, 2007, vol. II, p. 244-248.
30. This is the opinion that has spread since POMMERAYE, 1662, p. 337-341.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 339; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. VIII, 1747, p. 365 [reimpr. in *PL*, vol. CL, 1854, col. 1187-1189].
32. *Vita metrica sancti Audoeni* (in BHL, no. 754): 1128 hexameters, partially ed. in *Neustria pia, seu de omnibus et singulis abbatibus et prioratibus totius Normaniae*, A. DU MONSTIER (ed.), p. 23-24, 72-73, 346-347 [prologus, inc.: "Patri sincero tranquilla pace sereno" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 13831) and other two fragments; reimpr. in *PL*, vol. CL, 1854, col. 1189-1192]; cf. DOLBEAU, 2003, p. 239-243, 250.
33. About this work, known also as *Acta* (sive *Chronicon*, sive *Historia*) *episcoporum Rotomagensium*, cf. *Veterum analectorum tomus I*, I, J. MABILLON (ed.), 1676, p. 424-455 [and, for the edition, Paris, 1723³, vol. II, p. 222-226]; *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum moralium, historicorum, dogmaticorum ad res ecclesiasticas, monasticas et politicas illustrandas collectio nova*, E. MARTÈNE (ed.), 1700, vol. I/2, p. 233-249 [the edition is assigned to an anonymous author of eleventh century]; *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (= *Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores*), M. BOUQUET (ed.), 1739, p. 16-17 [edition of some excerpts]; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. XI, 1759, p. xvi-xviii.
34. POMMERAYE, 1662, p. 339-340; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. VIII, 1747, p. 365 [reimpr. in *PL*, vol. CL, 1854, col. 1187-1189]; *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, J. MABILLON (ed.), vol. I, 1739, p. 583; NOCENTINI, 2011.
35. *Miracula sancti Audoeni* (in BHL, no. 760), ed. in AASS, *Aug.*, vol. IV, 1739, p. 625-637; cf. MUSSET, 1962, p. 132-133; VAN HOUTS, 2000, p. 88; DOLBEAU, 2005, p. 750-751, n. 14, and 758-762; TOMEA, 2010, p. 476-478.

*obitu Nicholai de Normannia*³⁶ (a work which still insists on the local coenobitic tradition, even in the widely-practised obituary genre), beyond his name, since modern scholarship has confused named individuals with other distinguished monks belonging to the same regular institution. The mistake concerns a certain Ambrose and John³⁷, who are identifiable with the most celebrated Milanese archbishop and the Neapolitan deacon, and who were both recognised (or supposed) writers of hagiographical works, on the Roman martyr Agnes³⁸ and Nicholas of Myra³⁹ respectively. The origin of the misunderstanding is a book: the famous 11th-first decade of 12th century *Livre Noir*, Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale Y 41 (1406)⁴⁰, which gathers all of the above-mentioned texts (except the epitaph), together with many other anonymous sermons, narrative and rhymed prose, as well as verses (mainly hymns) about the most venerated personalities in the Norman monastery. Such manuscript evidence underlines the predominant interest in writing about saintly women, men and things.

Another monastic figure, Durand, had contact with the contemporary *Rothomagensis* environment but not the abbey of Saint-Ouen; he transgressed many boundaries, and not only geographical ones. Durand⁴¹ was born between 1005 and 1020 near Bayeux, but it was in Upper Normandy that he completed his education: after Saint-Wandrille de Fontenelle⁴², in Rouen, abbey of Mont-Sainte-Catherine (now Sainte-Trinité)⁴³, his personal and ecclesiastical route led him far from the capital, first to Fécamp⁴⁴ and then, starting from 1059, to the Lower part of the Duchy, to become the first abbot in the monastery that Roger Montgomery⁴⁵ had recently founded: Saint-Martin de Troarn⁴⁶. Under the name of *Durandus Troarnensis* there are two *epitaphia*: the older one⁴⁷ is for Ainard, abbot of Notre-Dame de Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives until 1078⁴⁸; the later⁴⁹

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36. *In obitu Nicholai de Normannia, abbatis Sancti Audoeni Rotomagensis, inc.: "Hic amor et pietas, monachorum flos et honestas"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 7850): a leonine tetrastich, in *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, Mabillon (ed.), vol. V, p. 276 [Liber LXVIII, n. xxxv; reimpr. in *PL*, vol. CLXXXVIII, 1855, col. 635]; cf. POMMERAYE, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de S. Ouen de Rouen*, p. 339-340. See reference in GAZEAU, 2007, vol. II, p. 245, n. 31.
37. POMMERAYE, 1662, p. 339; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. VIII, 1747, p. 365 [reimpr. in *PL*, vol. CL, 1854, col. 1187-1199].
38. *BHL*, no. 156.
39. *Ibid.*, no. 6104.
40. DOLBEAU, 2003, p. 239-243.
41. HEURTEVENT, 1912; CONTINI, 2009.
42. GAZEAU, 2007, vol. II, p. 372-374.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. MASON, John, 1963; THOMPSON, 1987; CHANDLER, 1989; LEWIS, 1991; MASON, John, 2004b.
46. GAZEAU, 2007, vol. II, p. 372-374.
47. *Epitaphium in morte Ainardi Sancti Petri Divensis abbatis, inc.: "Hic iacet Ainardus redolens ut pistica nardus"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 7938): 7 leonine distichs, transmitted in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), book IV, vol. II, p. 352.
48. GAZEAU, 2007, vol. II, p. 299.
49. *Epitaphium in morte Mabillae, Rogerii de Montgomery comitis uxoris, inc.: "Alta clarentum de stirpe creata parentum"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 842): 7 distichs (without rhyme), in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), book V, vol. III, p. 136-138.

one mourns the death, in 1079, of countess Mabile, the wife of the founder of the coenobium⁵⁰. The major work by Durand is *De corpore et sanguine Christi*⁵¹, initially written in 1053-1054 in the form of a prose treatise and then, some years later (perhaps between 1055 and 1058), in verse⁵². It is the first confutation of the theological arguments of Berengar of Tours⁵³ against the transubstantiation of bread and wine during the Eucharist. To overthrow such heterodox theses, the learned text by the Norman monk, which uses biblical and patristic quotations alongside examples of miracles, joins a well-known controversy involving the most eminent intellectuals of that time⁵⁴.

An important figure in the controversy was Lanfranc of Pavia⁵⁵. This scholar, as the main counsellor of William the Conqueror, played the key role of the royal intellectual counterpart: the first of several significant Italian contributions to open up new dynamic perspectives, even on the rule of monastic communities: from 1045 to 1063 in Le Bec⁵⁶, then in the abbey of Saint-Étienne de Caen⁵⁷, which he left after the Norman Conquest. In this period the former abbot moved with a great deal of learned monks to the other side of the Channel⁵⁸, to reach and hold the metropolitan see of Canterbury from 1070 until 1089. This leading position is no less important than the entire literary production of the theologian⁵⁹, who wrote, although it is little known, some verses on the canonical hours on the Ash Wednesday⁶⁰.

Before leaving Lanfranc, the environment of his teaching (and governance) in Normandy still deserves a little attention, first of all because not every migrant

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50. WHITE, 1940, p. 86-88; COKAYNE, 1949, p. 233, 683, 686-687, 689, 695, 762; MASON, John, 1963, p. 1-2; DOUGLAS, 1964, p. 414; VAN HOUTS, 1988 [in particular *Appendix 4*]; STAFFORD, 1994, p. 227.
51. The text, transmitted by manuscript Paris, BnF, ms lat. 2720, bears the titles of *Liber de corpore et sanguine Christi contra Berengarium et eius sectatores*, but also *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini*, in BEATI LANFRANCI *Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera omnia*, L. d'ACHERY (ed.), *Appendix*, p. 72-107 [reimpr. in *PL*, vol. CXLIX, 1853, col. 1375-1424]; on this work cf. HEURTEVENT, 1912, p. 217-251; MACDONALD, 1930, p. 121-122, 227, 277-284; D'ONOFRIO, 1996, p. 451-452.
52. The whole text of *De corpore et sanguine Christi, inc.: "Doctorum cunctos labor est inquirere libros"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 4678), amounts more than 900 hexameters in the manuscript Paris, BnF, ms lat. 2720; the only partial available editions are *PL*, vol. CXLIX, 1853, col. 1375 [25 verses of the *Prologus*] and *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, J. MABILLON (ed.), vol. V, p. 103-104 [3 fragments, from an unidentifiable manuscript].
53. MACDONALD, 1930; CAPITANI, 1966; MONTCLOS, 1971; SILVESTRE, 1973; CANTIN, 1974; BEHRENS, 1975; CAPITANI, 1975; CHADWICK, 1990; GIBSON, 1990; MACY, 1990; RADDING, 1992; CRISTIANI, 1993; BROUWER, 1996; HOLOPAINEN, 1998; GAMBERINI, 2005.
54. D'ONOFRIO, 1996, p. 452-453, 477-479.
55. GIBSON, 1978; *Lanfranco di Pavia e l'Europa*, G. D'ONOFRIO (ed.), 1993; COWDREY, 2003.
56. COTTINEAU, 1935-1937, vol. I, col. 316-319.
57. *Ibid.*, col. 550-553.
58. WATKINS, 2006.
59. For a complete handlist of Lanfranc's works, including the spurious ones, cf. GIBSON, 1978, p. 239-248, which limits his production in prose to *Commentarius in omnes Pauli epistolas, Consuetudines, De corpore et sanguine Domini, Decreta, Epistolae*.
60. The poem, *inc.: "Ebdomada prima Martis ieiunia prima"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 5057): 14 leonine hexameters, is edited by GIBSON, 1978, p. 241.

poet moved north: William of Apulia⁶¹, despite this name, seems more probable to have been a Norman gentleman who travelled and wrote his renowned epos, *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*⁶², in Southern Italy, sometime between 1095 and 1099.

Around the same period, in Le Bec, the Caen native Roger⁶³ composed *De professione monachorum*⁶⁴, which is found in many manuscripts⁶⁵. It is a sharp censure of monastic vices, together with an exhortation to the corresponding virtues, in the frame of an authentic *contemptus et fuga mundi*. It is not clear if the subject of the verse is the *Beccensis* abbey or, considering the origin of the author, the monastery of Saint-Étienne.

The latter is indeed the main polemic target of Serlo of Bayeux⁶⁶. His father was a priest, who left him, together with the parish nearby Caen, some landholdings, which are the subject of a poem against an unknown knight⁶⁷ as well as, some

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61. RONCA, 1892, vol. I, p. 372-373; ROSSI, 1904, p. 201-243; GHELLINCK, 1939, vol. II, p. 100-101; FUIANO, 1950-1951; FUIANO, 1960; ROSCINI, 1967; HOFFMANN, 1969, p. 115-119; WOLF, 1995, p. 123-141; ALBU, 2001, p. 110; D'ANGELO, 2003a, p. 13-14; D'ANGELO, 2003b, p. 28-29; ANGELINI, 2014.
62. *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* is a long poem, written in hexameters: a 13-lines prologue, *inc.*: “*Gesta ducum veterum veteres cecinere poetae*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 7197), and 2189 verses of the text, *inc.*: “*Postquam complacuit regi mutare potenti*”, which has been transmitted only by the manuscript Avranches, Bibl. patrimoniale 162 [saec. XII ex., from Mont Saint-Michel abbey]. The text is available in GUILLAUME DE POUILLE, *La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, M. MATHIEU (ed.) [with French translation], and in GUGLIELMO IL PUGLIESE, *Le gesta di Roberto il Guiscardo*, R. LEOTTA (ed.) [Italian translation]. On this work: GUILLELMI APULIENSIS *Rerum in Italia ac Regno Neapolitano Normanicarum libri quinque*, J. TIREMAEUS (ed.) [editio princeps, based upon a lost manuscript from Le Bec abbey]; GUILLELMI APULIENSIS *Rerum in Apulia, Campania, Calabria et Sicilia Normanicarum libri quinque*, I.B. CARUSIUS (ed.); GUILLELMI APPULI *Historicum poema de rebus Normannorum in Sicilia, Appulia, et Calabria gestis*, L. A. MURATORI (ed.); GUILLELMI APULIENSIS *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*, R. WILMANS (ed.), p. 241-298; HIRSCH, 1864, p. 28-37; BOTTINI MASSA, 1889; RONCA, 1892, vol. I, p. 403-409, vol. II, p. 32-34; CATALANO TIRRITO, 1903, p. 97-98; CHALANDON, 1907, vol. I, p. xxxviii-xl; PAGANO, 1909; FUIANO, 1950; MATHIEU, 1950; MATHIEU, 1954; LEOTTA, 1976; OLDONI, 1977, p. 162-166; DE MARCO, 1983, p. 381-382; OLDONI, 1985, p. 367; TILLIETTE, 1985, p. 125-142; BERTINI, 1988, p. 89; SCHALLER, 1993, p. 30; TATEO, 1995, p. 153-165; TRAMONTANA, 1997, p. 22-23, 35-36; ALBU, 2001, p. 111-144; D'ANGELO, 2003a, p. 30-32, 76-77; D'ANGELO, 2003b, p. 29-30; LAULETTA, 2003; TOUBERT, 2006; BISANTI, 2008; STELLA, 2012; D'ANGELO, 2014.
63. HAURÉAU, 1890, p. 78-80; BULTOT, 1964, p. 50-72.
64. *De professione monachorum* [sive: *De contemptu mundi; De vita monachorum; De monachis*], *inc.*: “*Quid deceat monachum vel qualis debeat esse*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 15778), 406 elegiac couplets, ed. under the names of other authors: SANCTI ANSELMI *ex Beccensi abbate Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Opera*, G. GERBERON, (ed.) [reimpr. in *PL*, vol. CLVIII, 1853, col. 687-706: text attributed to Anselm of Canterbury]; *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 175-200 [the work is assigned to Alexander Neckham]. Cf. *Tractatus de professionibus monachorum* (from Le Bec, 1136), in *Three Treatises from Bec on the Nature of Monastic Life*, G. CONSTABLE (ed.), B.S. SMITH (trad.), p. 31-105.
65. Cf. SHARPE, 2001, p. 584.
66. BÖHMER, 1897; RABY, 1934, vol. II, p. 45-48; SERLON DE WILTON, *Poèmes latins*, J. ÖBERG (ed.), p. 1-2; VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 44-45; RIGG, 1992, p. 66; SHARPE, 2001, p. 603-604; VAN HOUTS, 2013; D'ANGELO, 2014; VAN HOUTS, 2016; LUCAS-AVENEL and D'ANGELO, 2017.
67. *Invectio in militem, qui causa paupertatis seculum relinquens in monacatu divitias adeptus est, inc.*: “*Quondam miles erat, sine re (regno) qui nomen habebat*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 16348): 58 leonine hexameters, ed. in BOUTÉMY, 1938 [in particular, for the edition, p. 254-260 and 255-257].

years later (between 1079 and 1080), against the monks⁶⁸ and, on two different occasions, the abbot of Saint-Étienne de Caen⁶⁹. Odo, Bishop of Bayeux⁷⁰, came to Serlo's aid and even appointed him as a cathedral canon. Subsequently, in 1087, the poet addressed to him a famous encomiastic poem to celebrate his release from imprisonment by his half-brother, William the Conqueror⁷¹. The same tone recurs in celebrating the nun Muriel⁷² in a long composition⁷³. In fact, the lyre of the Norman author was not a monochord; it had instead many strings, as the remainder of his output confirms: the (auto-)apology on the priests' sons⁷⁴, which was probably composed after 1095; the satire against sodomites⁷⁵; the complaint about the 1105 conquest of Bayeux⁷⁶ by King Henry I⁷⁷. The initial hostility against the sovereign and his wife Matilda⁷⁸ must have been soothed later, if a short elegy for the Queen⁷⁹ is authentic; there are some other pieces whose attribution is doubtful⁸⁰.

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68. *Invectio in monachos, inc.*: "Que monachi querunt, patrio mea iure fuerunt" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 15005): 186 leonine hexameters, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 202-207 [182 verses]; BOUTÉMY, 1938, p. 260-269 [ecdotical remarks, based on a larger *recensio codicum*].
69. These are both poems in leonine verse: *Invectio in Gillebertum abbatem Sancti Stephani Cadomensis, inc.*: "Secretis mensis ieiunus gaudente lunensis" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 17444): 94 hexameters, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 251-254; the poem, *inc.*: "Questus quos fundo veniunt de corde profundo": 58 elegiac distichs, ed. by BOUTÉMY, 1938, p. 244-247.
70. BATES, 1975; BATES, 1997; BATES, 2004a.
71. *Ad Odonem Baiocensem episcopum versus, inc.*: "Sidereos cives nunc et per saecula dives" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 18175): 15 leonine distichs, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 254.
72. TATLOCK, 1933a; TATLOCK, 1933b; DRONKE, 1984, p. 85; SIGNORI, 1995; STEVENSON, 2005, p. 95-100.
73. *Versus ad Muriel sanctimoniam, inc.*: "Dum nostrum poscis carmen, quod inutile noscis" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 4912): 281 leonine hexameters, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, WRIGHT (ed.), p. 233-240; cf. also BOUTÉMY, 1935, p. 242-243.
74. *Versus de filiis presbyterorum, inc.*: "Rex immortalis quam longo tempore talis" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 16733): 143 leonine hexameters, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 208-212, and SERLO OF BAYEUX, *Defensio pro filiis presbyterorum*, E. DÜMLER and H. BÖHMER (eds), p. 579-583.
75. *In sodomitas, inc.*: "Nos uxorati sumus ad ludibria nati": 44 leonine hexameters, ed. in LENZEN, 1990 [in particular, for the edition, p. 189-190].
76. *Versus de capta Baiocensium civitate, inc.*: "Corde fero tristi, quod tam cito capta fuisti" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 3316): 239 leonine hexameters, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 241-251, and SERLO OF BAYEUX, *Defensio pro filiis presbyterorum*, DÜMLER and BÖHMER (eds), p. 717; SERLO OF BAYEUX, *De capta Baiocensium civitate*, M. ARBABZADAH (ed.), in VAN HOUTS, 2013, *Appendix 3*, p. 86-91; ARBABZADAH, 2017.
77. SOUTHERN, 1962; BRETT, 1975; GREEN, 1986; GREEN, 2003; HOLLISTER, 2004; GREEN, 2006.
78. STRICKLAND, 1850, p. 79-118; HUNEYCUTT, 2003; HUNEYCUTT, 2004b.
79. The poem, *inc.*: "Septem maiores numeramos in aethere stellas" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 17532): 14 elegiac couplets, ed. in BOUTÉMY, 1937 [in particular, for the edition, p. 304-305]; cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 51.
80. *Versus de contemptu mundi, inc.*: "Quisquis amicitiam non vult vitare notandam" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 16152): 36 mostly leonine hexameters and elegiac couplets, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 232-233; *Ad virginem Deo dicatam versus, inc.*: "Pro corrutibili plenoque dolore cubili" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 14745): 34 leonine hexameters, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, WRIGHT (ed.), p. 240-241; *Versus, inc.*: "Rus habet in silva

This literary example shows that in this period the main direction of poetry was north. In this respect, it is worth noting the poetry that goes under the label of *rotuli funebres*⁸¹: the rolls circulating among ecclesiastical institutions to commemorate specific religious personalities by prayers, often in verse, by famous authors or otherwise unknown French, Norman and English versifiers. These literary creations and their respective contents crossed the Channel and gathered a great deal of praise and complaint, as happened on the occasion of the death of Bruno of Cologne⁸², Vitalis of Savigny⁸³ and Matilda, abbess of Sainte-Trinité of Caen⁸⁴.

Throughout this period, which dates back to the Norman Conquest, the transfer to England was constantly increasing, not only from Normandy, but from Flanders too. In fact in the mid-eleventh century many monks from Saint-Omer⁸⁵ entered the English royal court: Hermann, Bishop of Ramsbury⁸⁶, protector of Goscelin of St Bertin⁸⁷, who wrote, in Canterbury, many hagiographies in prose⁸⁸ and, at least in one case, the *Vita sanctae Edithae*⁸⁹, also comprising 14 parts in

patruus meus: huc mihi sepe" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 16947): 79 hexameters, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 255-257; *Ad amicum absentem, inc.: "Si quid in urbe colis, quod ames, quod perdere nolis"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 17899): 12 leonine hexameters, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 257; *Invectio in mordacem cinaedum, inc.: "Audi, fex iuvenum, cuius sunt verba veneno"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 1696): 23 leonine hexameters, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 257-258.

81. *Rouleaux des morts du IX^e au XV^e siècle*, L. DELISLE (ed.); DUFOUR, 2003; for a wide collection of texts (scores of epigrams in hexameters or distichs), cf. *Recueil des rouleaux des morts (VIII^e siècle-vers 1536)*, J. DUFOUR (ed.). See furthermore PARISSÉ, 2007, GOULLET, 2016.
82. RÜTHER, 1936; LANDGRAF, 1940; RAVIER, 1967; *San Bruno e la Certosa di Calabria*, P. DE LEO (ed.), 1995; *Saint Bruno en Chartreuse*, A.R. GIRARD et al. (ed.), 2004; *San Bruno di Colonia: un eremita tra Oriente e Occidente*, P. DE LEO (ed.), 2004; VERMIGLI, 2007; PETERS-CUSTOT, 2014.
83. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 45; MOOLENBROEK, 1990.
84. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 45; GOULLET, 2010.
85. COTTINEAU, 1935-1937, vol. II, col. 2829.
86. GRIERSON, 1941, p. 101, n. 4; BARROW, 2004.
87. HAMILTON, 1973; GOSLING, 1990; LAPIDGE and LOVE, 2001, p. 225-233; HAYWARD and BARNES, 2004; HOLLIS, 2004; VAN HOUTS, 2006a; VAN HOUTS, 2006b; BEARE, 2008; KEYNES and LOVE, 2009, p. 204-207; KOOPMANS, 2011, p. 60-67; LICENCE, 2011, p. 60-63; LOVE, 2013.
88. Works about Amalberga (in *BHL*, no. 323); Augustinus (*ibid.*, nrr. 777-781; a *Sermo* is transmitted by ms London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian B XX, ff. 86r-93v); Deusdedit (in *BHL*, no. 2153); Edmundus (*ibid.*, no. 2398b); Edwoldus (*ibid.*, no. 2429; dubious); Eorcengota (*Vita* transmitted by mss Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 393 [I. 13], ff. 81v-82v and Cambridge, Trinity College O.2.1 [1105], f. 236); Eormmelhilda (in *BHL*, no. 2611); Ethelburga, Hildelitha, Wulfhilda (*ibid.*, nrr. 2630b, 2630d, 2630e, 2631b, 3942, 8736d); Hadrianus (*ibid.*, nrr. 3740, 3742); Honorius archiepiscopus (*Vita* transmitted by mss London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian B XX, ff. 217r-220r and London, British Library, Harley 105, ff. 246v-249r); Iustus (in *BHL*, no. 4601); Ivo (*ibid.*, nrr. 4621-4623); Kenelmus (*ibid.*, nrr. 4641n-4641t); Laurentius (*ibid.*, no. 4741); Letardus (*ibid.*, no. 4892); Mellitus (*ibid.*, no. 5896); Milburga (*Vita* transmitted by mss Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek [olim Forschungsbibliothek], Mbr. I. 81, ff. 166v-175r; Lincoln, Cathedral Library 149 [B.1.9], ff. 83v-87r; London, British Library, Add. 34633, ff. 206r-216r; London, Lambeth Palace Library 94, f. 169); Mildretha (in *BHL*, nrr. 5960-5962, 5964; an *Officium* is transmitted by ms London, British Library, Harley 3908, ff. 35-50); Sexburga (in *BHL*, no. 7693); Theodorus (*ibid.*, no. 8083); Werburga (*ibid.*, nrr. 8855-8856); Withburga (*ibid.*, no. 8979); Wulsinus (*ibid.*, no. 8753).
89. *Vita sanctae Edithae* (*ibid.*, no. 2388), ed. in WILMART, 1938; on this work cf. *The life of King Edward...*, F. BARLOW (ed.), p. 135-138; RIDYARD, 1988, p. 140-148; HAYWARD, 1999, p. 77-79;

various rhythmic metres; Folcard⁹⁰ belonged to the same Flemish abbey, before going to England, first (sometime between 1066 and 1069) to Thorney abbey⁹¹ and later, after 1085, to the Primate Lanfranc. It is very regrettable that such an important author of Norman saints' lives⁹² had left, in terms of poetry (beside the mere notice of some *deperditi versus*) only an uncertain *Carmen de sancto Vigore*⁹³.

All of these texts, together with an anonymous prosimetrum on Edward the Confessor's life⁹⁴, deal with the patron saints of the bold enterprise of William the Conqueror. He is also the focus, often praised as a *novus Caesar*⁹⁵, of a group of short epigrams: they are mostly anonymous⁹⁶, but there are definitely some French poets too, as in the cases of Hugh-Renard of Langres⁹⁷ or Guy, Bishop of Amiens⁹⁸, the author of the famous *Carmen de Hastingsae proelio*⁹⁹.

After William's death, his figure was still central to some epitaphs. The majority of them belongs to unknown authors¹⁰⁰, but there are some exceptions,

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- YORKE, 2003; WRIGHT and LONCAR, 2004; O'BRIEN O'KEEFFE, 2005; HOLLIS, 2006; KARKOV, 2008; EMONS-NIJENHUIS, 2009; LEYSER, 2011, p. 50-51; O'BRIEN O'KEEFFE, 2012, p. 151-156, 158-168, 178-184.
90. LAPIDGE, 1983; LAPIDGE, 1992, p. 180-181; LAPIDGE and LOVE, 2001, p. 235-237; UGÉ, 2005, p. 170-171; VAN HOUTS, 2006b, p. 115-116, 120-123; ANGELINI, 2010.
91. COTTINEAU, 1935-1937, vol. II, col. 3151.
92. He wrote the Lives of Bertinus abbas (in *BHL*, no. 1293); Botolphus (*ibid.*, nrr. 1428-1431); Eduardus Anglorum rex, dictus Confessor (*ibid.*, no. 2421); Iohannes Beverlacensis (*ibid.*, no. 4339). On the hagiographical works about Tancredus, Torhtredus, Tova and other saints of Thorney, beside a lost *Vita Oswaldi Wigorniensis*, cf. LAPIDGE and LOVE, 2001, p. 236.
93. *Carmen de sancto Vigore* (in *BHL*, no. 8614), ed. in *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis delituerant*, L. d'ACHERY (ed.), p. 576-577; on this text, cf. BAUDOT and CHAUSSIN, 1950, p. 50-56.
94. The text of *Vita Aedwardi regis*, already published in *Lives of Edward the Confessor I*, H.R. LUARD (ed.), p. 390-435, is also available in *The life of King Edward...*, F. BARLOW (ed.), p. 2-127; cf. also SOUTHERN, 1943b; RIGG, 1992, p. 12-14; GRANSDEN, 1997, p. 64-66; GRASSI, 2004.
95. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 41-44.
96. They are respectively: 3 hexameters, *inc.*: "Anno milleno sexageno quoque seno"; a distich, *inc.*: "Caesariem, Caesar, si tibi Natura negavit" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 2297); the single leonine verse "Nec pice, nec clavis eget haec argentea navis". All of the short poems are ed. and studied by VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 41 and 43.
97. Hugh is the author of only a distich, *inc.*: "Si quis ante videt qui te circumspicit ex te", ed. by VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 42.
98. LAPIDGE, 2014a.
99. *Carmen de Hastingsae Proelio*, *inc.*: "Quem probitas celebrat, sapientia munit et ornat" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 15366): 417 elegiac couplets, ed. in *Chroniques anglo-normandes*, F. MICHEL (ed.), p. 1-38; GUY OF AMIENS, *The "Carmen de Hastingsae proelio" of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, C. MORTON and H. MUNTZ (eds) [about this edition cf. the review by ORLANDI, 1972]; GUY OF AMIENS, *The "Carmen de Hastingsae proelio" of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, F. BARLOW (ed.). On this text cf. BARLOW, 1967; ENGELS, 1967; DAVIS Ralph H.C., 1978; DAVIS and ENGELS, 1979; HALL, 1980, p. 903-907; HIRSH, 1982; OWEN, 1982; HERMANS and VAN HOUTS, 1983; SAYERS, 1983; VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 53-56; ORLANDI, 1996; D'ANGELO, 2014.
100. In the group of four anonymous epitaphs, two of them are in couplets of rhythmical and rhymed lines, respectively a poem, *inc.*: "Bellatorum fortissimus, Anglorum invictissimus" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 2122): 20 verses 8pp repeated, ed. in *Chroniques des Eglises d'Anjou*, P. MARCHEGAY and E. MABILLE (ed.), p. 139; a second one, *inc.*: "Flete, viri, lugete, proceres" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 6623): 48 lines 10pp, ed. in *Scriptores rerum gestarum Willelmi Conquestoris*, J.A. GILES (ed.),

which come once more from France. One exception, and the first name of great renown, is Geoffrey of Cambrai¹⁰¹, who was active from 1070 onwards and, about ten years later became prior at Saint Swithun in Winchester until his death in 1107¹⁰². He was, at the time, one of the main poets in the English area with his collection called *Liber proverbiorum*¹⁰³, which gathers short pieces dealing with satirical topics: they are often exhortations to wisdom and temperance, in the style of Martial, with frequent recourse to fictional stock characters (like *Damianus*, *Coranus* and *Didimus*). His *Epigrammata historica*¹⁰⁴ contain encomiastic or obituary verses about high-ranking figures, such as Anglo-Norman kings and queens or their relatives and friends, often bishops or abbots. In this poetic group Matilda of Flanders deserves a place of particular honour for the mournful lines dedicated to her¹⁰⁵. Once again William I occupies an important position, because of the short elegy that celebrates his passing¹⁰⁶.

Thomas, sometime Canon of Bayeux and (1070-1100) Archbishop of York¹⁰⁷, is the author of a similar epitaph¹⁰⁸, which gives us the opportunity to examine the environment around his diocesan chair. The first of his two successors, who were both Norman, was Gerhard (died in 1108)¹⁰⁹, a relative of the first Anglo-Norman kings and important dignitaries; he himself soon gained a high position both in the church and at court, even before crossing the Channel. He

p. 73-74; the remaining two texts are in distichs, 18 verses in the whole, *inc.*: “*Clauderis his modico pie Rex Willelme sepulcro*”, ed. in *Guilielmi Neubrigensis Historia*, Th. HEARNE (ed.), p. 685-686, or in part of the 5 hexameters and 7 elegiac couplets, *inc.*: “*O mors! Cui parces cum regna destruis arces?*”, *ibid.*, p. 686-687. Cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 43.

101. MAAZ, 1983, p. 101-113; RIGG, 1992, p. 17-20, 64-6; SCHRÖDER, 1999, p. 222-223; RIGG, 2004b; VALLAT, 2008, p. 966-970; LAPIDGE, 2012.

102. COTTINEAU, 1935-1937, vol., II, col. 3457-3458.

103. *Liber proverbiorum* (sive *Epigrammata*): 238 poems, each of them counts from one to nine elegiac couplets, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 103-147; GERHARD, 1974.

104. *Epigrammata historica: Versus de primatum Angliae laudibus*, texts in hexameters or distichs from 5 up to 28 verses, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 148-155 [19 poems] and LAPIDGE, 1987, p. 69: edition of the two *Epigrammata additicia*, respectively *inc.*: “*Vas virtutis et in vitium non flexile robur*” and “*Vir magni meriti, vir magne strenuitatis*”; cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 46 on the epitaph for Richard, second son of the Conqueror, *De Richardo regis Willelmi filio, inc.*: “*Magnanimo spes laudis eras, Richarde, parenti*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 10575): 5 distichs, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 152; MAAZ, 2001.

105. The epitaph *De Mathilda regina, inc.*: “*Consilii virtus decor oris, gratia verbi*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 3185): 6 distichs, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 150; cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 46.

106. *De rege Gilielmo, inc.*: “*Regnum, forma, genus, cor, dextra, facetia, virtus*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 16544): 6 elegiac couplets, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 149-150; cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 43.

107. HARDY, 1865, p. 91; BARLOW, 1979, p. 33, 250, 283-284; BARLOW, 1983, p. 95, 198-199; CHIBNALL, 1986, p. 39-40, 126-127, 152; RIGG, 1992, p. 10, 35, 52; COWDREY, 1998; NORTON, 2001; COWDREY, 2004.

108. *Versus, inc.*: “*Qui rexit rigidos Normannos atque Britannos*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 15639): 4 elegiac couplets, in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), book VIII, vol. IV, p. 110-112; cf. BARLOW, 1983, p. 51; VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 43.

109. GALBRAITH, 1931; WILLIAMS, George, 1951, p. 88-90; FRÖHLICH, 1970, p. 118-125; BARLOW, 1979, p. 72, 77, 79-81; BURTON, 2004a; LAPIDGE, 2013.

was the author of a *Carmen de David psalmista*¹¹⁰ in elegiac couplets, the same metre that Thomas II¹¹¹, nephew of Thomas of Bayeux, used for an epistle¹¹² to express concord between Canterbury and his own metropolitan see¹¹³. After 1114, under the vigorous Yorkist Thurstan¹¹⁴, who held the archdiocese until 1140, Hugh Cantor *Sotovagina*¹¹⁵, probably a cathedral archdeacon died ca. 1139, wrote his famous works: the *Historia ecclesiae Eboracensis*¹¹⁶, which gathers documents to show that there was no *Cantuariensis* primacy; the *Carmen de proelio Standardii*¹¹⁷; a satirical elegy, which puts together proverbial and moral lore in the manner of *Disticha Catonis*¹¹⁸.

As for the Canterbury side, after the arrival of Lanfranc, Gilbert Crispin¹¹⁹ (a Norman nobleman, between 1070 and 1078 a monk at Le Bec) was a leading figure in the religious and intellectual migration from the continent to England. There he became chaplain of the Italian Archbishop, in contact with his foremost disciples, even after 1085, when he gained and held, until his death in December 1117, rule over Westminster Abbey¹²⁰. At least four poems survive of his own: three of them are reflections about *Genesis*¹²¹ or sacraments (*De confessione*¹²²; *De corpore et sanguine Domini*¹²³). But the last one¹²⁴ is the most relevant, partly for the adonic metre, but mainly for the recipient: Anselm, the Primate of Canterbury¹²⁵, a theologian from Northern Italy like Lanfranc,

110. *Carmen de David psalmista, inc.*: “*Rex citharista David*”: 60 lines, ed. in MOZLEY, 1942, p. 8.

111. BARLOW, 1979, p. 43, 82; BURTON, 2004c.

112. *Disticha Raginaldo, inc.*: “*Affectum mentis, demonstrant (designant) verba loquentis*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 668): 7 leonine distichs, ed. in LIEBERMANN, 1888, p. 548-549, no. XIX.

113. On the contrast between the two archdiocesan sees, cf. BARLOW, 1979, p. 39-44.

114. NICHOLL, 1964; BURTON, 2004d.

115. CLAY, 1941; CLAY, 1946; RIGG, 1992, p. 52; BURTON, 2004b.

116. *Historia ecclesiae Eboracensis* (sive *Historia quattuor archiepiscoporum Eboracensium*), ed. by RAINE, 1886, p. 98-227; furthermore, ed. with translation and commentary in HUGH THE CHANTER, *The History of the Church of York: 1066-1127*, Ch. JOHNSON (ed.). On the historical text cf. SOUTHERN, 1958; TAYLOR, 1961, p. 13; GRANSDEN, 1997, p. 123-125.

117. There is only a surviving distich, *inc.*: “*Dicitur a stando Standardum, quod stetit illic*”, ed. in *The Historians of the Church of York and Its Archbishops*, J. RAINE (ed.), p. 90.

118. *Versus, inc.*: “*Philosophus quidam quesitus, quid sit amicus*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 14077): 362 elegiac verses, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 219-229.

119. ROBINSON, 1911; SOUTHERN, 1943a, p. 14, 19-22; SOUTHERN, 1954; LECLERCQ, 1959; LUFF, 1961; EVANS, 1980a; EVANS, 1980b; EVANS, 1981, p. 31; CHITI, 2013.

120. COTTINEAU, 1935-1937, vol. II, col. 3447-3449.

121. *De creatione sex dierum, inc.*: “*Unde dies, inquam, primus quo condita fit lux?*”: 28 hexameters, ed. in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin Abbot of Westminster*, A.S. ABULAFIA and G.R. EVANS (eds), p. 177.

122. *De confessione, inc.*: “*Crimina deploret sua sic peccator et oret*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 3451): 32 leonine hexameters or rhymed in pairs, ed. in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin...*, A.S. ABULAFIA and G.R. EVANS (eds), p. 180-181.

123. *De corpore et sanguine Domini, inc.*: “*Mysterio magno legali vescimur agno*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 11545): two redactions of respectively 42 and 48 rhymed hexameters, ed. in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin...*, A.S. ABULAFIA and G.R. EVANS (eds), p. 178-180.

124. *Ad Anselmum archiepiscopum, inc.*: “*Que modulando*”: 78 adonics, *ibid.*, p. 182.

125. STOLZ, 1937; SOUTHERN, 1943a; VANNI ROVIGHI, 1987; SOUTHERN, 1990; CORBIN, 1992; BIFFI, 1996; LOVE, 2001.

his predecessor and teacher. Although his surviving writings do not include any poetry, he was undoubtedly of importance to contemporary literature. He was also the subject of another two anonymous poems (once mistakenly attributed to William of Chester¹²⁶): a *Carmen in laudem*¹²⁷ and an *Epicedion in obitum*¹²⁸. The most reliable biographical work is *Vita sancti Anselmi*¹²⁹, by the very prolific hagiographer Eadmer of Canterbury¹³⁰, who was also the author of the poem *Hymnus in honore sancti Dunstani*¹³¹ about an important Saxon saint, one of the most celebrated patrons of the metropolitan chair.

Doubtfully attributed to Herman the archdeacon (b. 1040/1050-d. ca. 1100)¹³² is the poem *On the Heresy Simony*¹³³ about Herbert Losinga¹³⁴, a nobleman who was born and educated in Normandy, before gaining the rule of Ramsey Abbey¹³⁵ and then, about the year 1090, the bishopric of Thetford-Norwich, suffragan of the Primate see. In this ecclesiastical centre, but at the abbey of St Augustine¹³⁶, Reginald¹³⁷, a Frenchman born between 1040 and 1050 (and died in 1109 or 1112) in Faye-la-Vineuse in Poitou, after having received his education in Tours, was

126. SHARPE, 1985.

127. *Carmen in laudem sancti Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, inc.: "Haud habiture parem sumas, pater alme"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 7673): 57 elegiac couplets, ed. in STEPHANI BALUZII *miscellaneorum liber primus...*, vol. IV, 1683, p. 557-560 [reimpr. in *PL*, vol. CLVIII, 1853, col. 135-138]; SHARPE, 1985, p. 271-274.

128. *Epicedion in obitum sancti Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, inc.: "Presulis Anselmi librum fore non dubitetis"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 14486): 110 elegiac couplets, ed. in STEPHANI BALUZII *miscellaneorum liber primus...*, vol. IV, 1683, p. 560-566 [reimpr. in *PL*, vol. CLVIII, 1853, col. 137-142]; SHARPE, 1985, p. 274-279.

129. *Vita sancti Anselmi* (in *BHL*, no. 525-526), ed. in *PL*, vol. CLVIII, 1853, col. 49-117; *The life of Saint Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, by Eadmer, R.W. SOUTHERN (ed.), p. 1-15.

130. KNOWLES, 1949, p. 109 [et ad indicem]; SOUTHERN, 1963, p. 229-240, 274-354, 367-374; SOUTHERN, 1990, p. 404-421; WEBBER, 1995, p. 148-149; GULLICK, 1998; EADMER OF CANTERBURY, *Lives and miracles of saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald, Andrew*, J. TURNER and B.J. MUIR (eds), p. xiii-xxxv; LAPIDGE, 2009a.

131. *Hymnus in honore sancti Dunstani*: 20 elegiac couplets, ed. in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, W. STUBBS (ed.), p. 424-425.

132. On this figure, cf. HERMAN THE ARCHDEACON and GOSCELIN OF SAINT-BERTIN, *Miracles of St Edmund*, T. LICENCE (ed.), p. xxxv-liv.

133. *De symoniaca haeresi* (or *De simonia et nummo*) is transmitted in three different forms: a *recensio longior, inc.: "Crevit in ecclesia monstrum genitore Losinga"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 3440): 50 hexameters, *De symoniaca haeresi carmen*, ed. in SERLO OF BAYEUX, *Defensio pro filiis presbyterorum*, DÜMLER and BÖHMER (eds), p. 615-617, but also in HERMAN THE ARCHDEACON and GOSCELIN OF SAINT-BERTIN, *Miracles of St Edmund*, T. LICENCE (ed.), p. xcvi-cvi, 352-354 [Appendix II *On the Heresy Simony*]; *recensio brevior I, inc.: "Surgit in ecclesia monstrum genitore Losinga"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 18920): 22 lines, in London, British Library, Royal 8.E.XVIII, f. 77v, ed. in WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI *De Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, W. STUBBS (ed.), vol. II, p. 386; *recensio brevior II, inc.: "Petre nimis tardas"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 14029) which misses the first two lines of the previous one, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F.2.14 (S.C. 2657).

134. GOULBURN and SYMONDS, 1878; ALEXANDER, 1969; BATCOCK, 1988, p. 188; HARPER-BILL, 2004; HERMAN THE ARCHDEACON and GOSCELIN OF SAINT-BERTIN, *Miracles of St Edmund*, T. LICENCE (ed.), p. xcvi-cix.

135. COTTINEAU, 1935-1937, vol. II, col. 2401.

136. *Ibid.*, vol. I, col. 587-588.

137. RIGG, 1992, p. 24-30; RIGG, 2004a.

the author of 36 pieces¹³⁸ in scores of hexameters or distichs: mostly *leonini*, *caudati* or *trinini salientes* (one of them is entirely in pentameters¹³⁹) about eminent contemporary political or ecclesiastical personalities and even about his birthplace. The majority has a satirical tone or a connection with specific literary or political circumstances (such as the Anselmian exiles); about twelve poems concern Canterbury saints: Augustine, Lawrence, Mellitus, Justus, Honorius, Deusdedit, Theodore, Hadrian, Mildred, Letard, Ethelbert and Bertha. A relevant lyric exception is a poem in Sapphics¹⁴⁰ for Osbern of Canterbury¹⁴¹. His masterpiece is the famous *Vita sancti Malchi*¹⁴², which he wrote in 1104-1107, on behalf of Abbot Gilbert Crispin. This metrical hagiography is important for the use of the versification displayed in the Loire Valley as a model of reference, as recognised by the poet himself¹⁴³.

During the entire age of the first Anglo-Norman kings, the renowned, and prolific, poets from Northern France, in particular the region crossed by the Loire¹⁴⁴, were of great importance, starting with Fulcoius of Beauvais¹⁴⁵, author of a comparison of William the Conqueror with the biblical Jephthah¹⁴⁶; he also wrote two epitaphs for Queen Matilda of Flanders¹⁴⁷.

Powerful women, more than their husbands or male relatives who held the most of power on either side of the Channel, were not only the main recipients but also subjects of praise in epistles¹⁴⁸ and poems that were sometimes written for other well-known or important figures. This is the case for Geoffrey of Reims¹⁴⁹; he

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138. *Reginaldi monachi Poemata*, ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 259-267 [5 poems]; in LIEBERMANN, 1888 [31 texts: the first 12 also published in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, G.M. DREVES and C. BLUME (eds), vol. L, p. 370-387, nrr. 287-298]; cf. also SZÖVÉRFY, 1965, p. 25-28; KILLINGS, 2010.
139. *Iohanne suo pape Raginaldus, inc.: "Impare cum numero gaudeat ipse Deus"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 8773): 30 pentameters, in LIEBERMANN, 1888, p. 548, no. XVIII.
140. *Exemplar Sapphici metri Osberno, inc.: "Discat Osbernus, studio frequenti"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 4522): 20 strophes long ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 265-267, no. 5.
141. RUBENSTEIN, 1995, p. 27-40.
142. *Vita sancti Malchi* (in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, no. 519ob): 6 books of 3344 leonine heroic lines in the whole, ed. LIND, 1942.
143. The most explicit witness is a letter addressed by Reginald to Hildebert of Le Mans, among the latter's, *Epistolae* III, 15, ed. in *PL*, vol. CLXXI, 1854, col. 292.
144. Cf. WADDELL, 1927, p. 107-116; STEINEN, 1964; STEINEN, 1966; SZÖVÉRFY, 1993, vol. II, p. 106-109; PUGH, 2000.
145. OLLERIS, 1842; LECOMTE, 1897; BOUTÉMY, 1951; COLKER, 1954, p. 191-198; COLKER, 2002; HAYE, 2002; ANGELINI, 2011.
146. The poem, *inc.: "Quae prius audieram, veni quod, mira viderem"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 15023): 50 hexameters, ed. in COLKER, 1954, p. 245-246; cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 42.
147. *Versus Mathildis Anglorum reginae, inc.: "Certe si fortis, si prudens, sobria, iusta"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 2651) and *"Tempore quae nostro spectari posset in ostro"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 19139), respectively 29 hexameters and 14 *leonini*, ed. in OMONT, 1895, p. 223-225, nrr. 9-10; cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 46.
148. HUNEYCUTT, 1996; FERRANTE, 1997, p. 98-103, 109, 111; SESTO YAGÜE, 2012; ANGELINI, 2015; TYLER, 2017; FERRANTE, 2018.
149. WATTENBACH, 1891, p. 101-113; BOUTÉMY, 1945; BOUTÉMY, 1947a; BOUTÉMY, 1947b; BOUTÉMY, 1949, p. 183-189; WILLIAMS, John, 1947; WILLIAMS, John, 1954, p. 670-672; BEZZOLA, 1960, vol. II/1, p. 22; SZÖVÉRFY, vol. I, 1992, p. 375-384; JAEGER, 1994, p. 56-62, 114-115, 139-164; TILLIETTE,

is the most probable author of a short *encomium* of William I as a *novus Caesar*¹⁵⁰; there is no doubt about the authorship of the praises of the royal consort in the *Epistola metrica*¹⁵¹ to Archdeacon Ingelrannus of Soissons, who addressed a now lost poem¹⁵² on the sovereign to his daughter, Adela, Countess of Blois¹⁵³.

In most cases a particular princess was at the same time the literary focus and dedicatee. Marbod of Rennes¹⁵⁴, one of the most celebrated Loire authors, enjoyed widespread appreciation since the age of the sovereigns Henry and Matilda: in fact she was probably the recipient of his poem to the Queen of England¹⁵⁵.

Baudri of Bourgueil¹⁵⁶ too was connected with the Anglo-Norman court, as witnessed by his obituary compositions: in addition to the epitaph for William I¹⁵⁷ he wrote four metrical commemorations¹⁵⁸ of his homonymous son and successor, who was also called *Rufus*¹⁵⁹. The French poet also composed encomiastic lines

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- 2002, p. 450-454; CARLOS VILLAMARÍN, 2002b; BROECKER, 2002; BROECKER, 2003; CARLOS VILLAMARÍN, 2003a; CARLOS VILLAMARÍN, 2003b; BON, 2005, p. 118; ANGELINI, 2012a.
150. About the poem *De rege Willelmo, inc.: "Plus tibi fama dedit, quam posset musa Maronis"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 14209): 11 elegiac couplets, cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 41-42, on the question of authorship, and p. 56-57, for the critical edition.
151. *Epistola metrica ad Ingelrannum archidiaconum de moribus eius, inc.: "Lux mores hodierna tuos Marcelle novavit"* (SCHALLER and KÖNSGEN, 1977, no. 9127; WALTHER, 1959, no. 10512): 78 disticha, ed. in WATTENBACH, 1891, p. 104-105, but there are more recent editions, such as BOUTÉMY, 1947b, p. 340-344, and BROECKER, 2002, p. 179-185; cf. BOUTÉMY, 1938, p. 124; BOUTÉMY, 1947a, p. 240-246; WILLIAMS, John, 1947, p. 32-33, 39-45; DRONKE, 1965, p. 209-210; LATZKE, 1979, p. 56-59; VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 47-49; CARLOS VILLAMARÍN, 2002a, p. 290-291; CARLOS VILLAMARÍN, 2002b, p. 188.
152. On Ingelrannus and a lost poem by him on William the Conqueror cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 43 and 47-49.
153. Cf. EVERETT, 1849, p. 34-71; VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 47-50; LO PRETE, 1990; LO PRETE, 1992a; LO PRETE, 1992b; LO PRETE, 1996; HUNEYCUTT, 2004a; LO PRETE, 2007.
154. ERNAULT, 1889; BEZZOLA, 1960, vol. II/2, p. 384-424; *Carmina Leodiensia*, W. BULST (ed.), p. 5-45; DEVAILLY, 1980; GRÉGOIRE, 1977; DEGL'INNOCENTI, 1990; TILLIETTE, 1992b, p. 982-983; MARBODO DI RENNES, *De ornamentis verborum - Liber decem capitulorum. Retorica, mitologia e moralità di un vescovo poeta (secc. XI-XII)*, R. LEOTTA and C. CRIMI (eds); DALARUN, 2000.
155. *Ad reginam Anglorum, inc.: "Est operae pretium tentasse pericula Ponti"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 5792): 15 elegiac couplets, ed. in *PL*, vol. CLXXI, 1854, col. 1660, no. XXIV, and in BALDERICO DI BOURGUEIL, MARBODO DI RENNES, ILDEBERTO DI LAVARDIN, *Lettere amorose e galanti*, M. SANSON (ed.), p. 96-99, 136; cf. LATZKE, 1979, p. 54-56; VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 50-51; DEGL'INNOCENTI, 1990, p. 8; BISANTI, 2010, p. 100.
156. THUROT, 1876; PASQUIER, 1878; SCHUMANN, 1931; HILBERT, 1967; BOND, 1986; TILLIETTE, 1992a; TILLIETTE, 1994; MOSETTI CASARETTO, 2003.
157. *Super regem Anglorum, inc.: "Indice qui celo, qui presagante comete"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 9274): 3 distichs, ed. in BAUDRI DE BOURGUEIL, *Poèmes*, J.-Y. TILLIETTE (ed.), p. 104, no. 174; cf. *Les œuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil (1046-1130)*, Ph. ABRAHAMS (ed.), p. 74-75; VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 43.
158. Each of the four poems, respectively *inc.: "Nobilitas, regnum, prudentia, copia rerum"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 11886), *"Qui regum magnus fuit admirabilis orbi"* (*ibid.*, no. 15632), *"Qui legis hunc titulum, subtus cognosce sepultum"* (*ibid.*, no. 15518), *"Sub cuius nutu tremuit Normannus et Anglus"* (*ibid.*, no. 18663), is 3 distichs long: ed. in BAUDRI DE BOURGUEIL, *Poèmes*, J.-Y. TILLIETTE (ed.), p. 105-106, nr. 175-178; cf. *Les œuvres poétiques...*, Ph. ABRAHAMS (ed.), p. 75-77; VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 46.
159. FREEMAN, 1882; GRINNELL-MILNE, 1968; MASON, Emma, 1977; HOLLISTER, 1973; GREEN, 1979; CALLAHAN, 1981; BARLOW, 1983; MASON, Emma, 1991; BARLOW, 2004b; MASON, Emma, 2008.

to a couple of Norman noblemen, *Ricardus* and *Guillelmus*, who were perhaps William's offspring¹⁶⁰. Two of his daughters were addressees of well-known poems: two distinct pieces for Adela of Blois¹⁶¹ and an encomium of Cecily, abbess of Sainte-Trinité at Caen¹⁶². It is also worth noting that another learned nun, the above-mentioned Muriel of Wilton, was the recipient of a text in her honour¹⁶³.

The latter three women were also subjects of particular interest in the works of Hildebert of Le Mans¹⁶⁴. For Adela he wrote two short poems¹⁶⁵ and at least four letters¹⁶⁶, which often linger on the contrast between the female weakness and masculine virtue of the Countess, in the very same way as some anonymous lines addressed to her¹⁶⁷. Each of the other two religious figures, Cecily and Muriel, is the addressee of a short elegy¹⁶⁸. The same poetic form recurs more

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160. Two texts *ad Ricardum Normannum, inc.*: “*Si, Ricarde, meis precibus monitisque favebis*”, and *ad Guillelmum Normannum, inc.*: “*Intonsi crines capitis, dissuta lucerna*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 9500): respectively 12 hexameters and 9 distichs, ed. in BAUDRI DE BOURGUEIL, *Poèmes*, J.-Y. TILLIETTE (ed.), p. 57-58, nr. 149-150. RAZZOLI, 1936, p. 37-38, argues that the two noblemen were sons of King William the Conqueror; against this hypothesis cf. BAUDRI DE BOURGUEIL, *Poèmes*, J.-Y. TILLIETTE (ed.), p. 229-230.
161. *Adelae Comitissae, inc.*: “*Vadis ut insolitos videas, mea cartula, fastos*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 19962): famous over 700 elegiac couplets for the tapestries in the Countess' chamber, ed. in BAUDRI DE BOURGUEIL, *Poèmes*, J.-Y. TILLIETTE (ed.), p. 2-43, no. 134. On this work cf. *Les œuvres poétiques...*, Ph. ABRAHAMS (ed.), p. 196-231; DRONKE, 1965, p. 210-212; BROOKS and WALKER, 1979, p. 26-29, J.-Y. TILLIETTE, 1981a; J.-Y. TILLIETTE, 1981b; VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 49. The second text, *Ad Adelam pro cappa quam sibi promiserat, inc.*: “*Quam peto, quam petii, si reddas, Adela, cappam*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 15157): 32 hexameters, ed. in BAUDRI DE BOURGUEIL, *Poèmes*, J.-Y. TILLIETTE (ed.), p. 44-45, no. 135. On the verse cf. *Les œuvres poétiques...*, Ph. ABRAHAMS (ed.), p. 253; VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 49.
162. *Ceciliae regis Anglorum filiae, inc.*: “*Regia virgo, vale, vale, inquam, regia virgo*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 16508): 20 hexameters, ed. in BAUDRI DE BOURGUEIL, *Poèmes*, J.-Y. TILLIETTE (ed.), p. 45, no. 136; cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 46.
163. *Murieli, inc.*: “*Olim fama satis te magnificarat apud nos*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 3165): 23 elegiac couplets, in WOLFF, 1996, p. 68-70, but also in BAUDRI DE BOURGUEIL, *Poèmes*, J.-Y. TILLIETTE (ed.), p. 46-47, no. 137, and BALDERICO DI BOURGUEIL, MARBODO DI RENNES, ILDEBERTO DI LAVARDIN, *Lettere amorose e galanti*, M. SANSON (ed.), p. 118-121 [but cf. also p. 139-140]; cf. BOUTÉMY, 1935.
164. DIEUDONNÉ, 1898; BARTH, 1906; WADDELL, 1927, p. 97-116; RABY, 1927, p. 265-273; RABY, 1934, vol. I, p. 317-329; SCIVOLETTO, 1954, p. 33-226; MOOS, 1965; A.B. SCOTT, 1968; ORLANDI, 1974; SZÖVÉRFY, 1993, vol. II, p. 106-131; ORLANDI, 1997; BERTINI, 2002, p. 221-225; BISANTI, 2005; ANGELINI, 2006; ANGELINI, 2012b.
165. Two poems, which bear the same title: *Ad Adelam comitissam*: the first one, *inc.*: “*Desipit et peccat qui te mortalibus equat*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 4287): a distich, ed. in HILDEBERTUS CENOMANNENSIS EPISCOPUS, *Carmina minora*, A.B. SCOTT (ed.), p. 4, no. 10; the second text, *inc.*: “*Augusti suboles, serie sublimis avorum*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 1754): 4 distichs, ed. in HILDEBERTUS CENOMANNENSIS EPISCOPUS, *Carmina minora*, SCOTT (ed.), p. 5, no. 15; on both verse cf. DRONKE, 1965, p. 209-211; LATZKE, 1979, p. 56-57; VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 50.
166. *Epistolae* I, 3 and 5, ed. in *PL*, vol. CLXXI, 1854, col. 144-149; *Epistolae* III, 2 and 8, ed. respectively in *PL*, vol. CLXXI, 1854, col. 284 and col. 288-289. It is more difficult, but not impossible, to find Adela behind the writing of *Epistolae* I, 6 (addressed in fact to an *Adela comitissa*) and I, 10, ed. respectively in *PL*, vol. CLXXI, 1854, col. 149-153 and col. 162-168. About these texts cf. ANGELINI, 2015, p. 171-173.
167. The poem, *inc.*: “*Cum totus Blesis comitissam praedicet orbis*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 3852a): 23 hexameters, ed. in BOUTÉMY, 1938, p. 126-127; cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 50.
168. The first of the two texts is *Versus ad Ceciliam abbatissam Cathomi, inc.*: “*Qui solet ante homines Cicerone disertior esse*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 15668): 11 distichs, ed. in HILDEBERTUS

than once in his *carmina minora* for Matilda of Scotland. She was the recipient of four epistles¹⁶⁹ and two verse encomia: a tetrastich¹⁷⁰ and the central part of a poem on England¹⁷¹; there is no certainty that the Queen, rather than her homonymous daughter, is the dedicatee of a panegyric¹⁷².

As in Hildebert's poetry, Queen Matilda and, of course, also Henry I, were the main political focuses for other shadowy poets too. Some of them are unknown: they wrote praises¹⁷³ and epitaphs¹⁷⁴ for the Queen. Similarly, as for the King, besides an anonymous poem on peace and happiness in England during his reign¹⁷⁵, there are two poets who shared the name Richard in addition to some unknown characters: regarding the former, *Richardus de Belmeis*¹⁷⁶ (from Beaumais-sur-Dives in Normandy), Bishop of London until 1127, it is not clear whether he or rather his homonymous successor wrote a (now lost) *Tractatus ad regem Henricum ritmice*; the second one¹⁷⁷, probably a monk from Worcester, composed only an obituary¹⁷⁸ for the sovereign who died in 1135, or perhaps for his powerful nephew, Henri de Blois¹⁷⁹, who later held the Winchester cathedral see during and beyond the Civil War, from 1129 to 1171.

Throughout this period of transition, although the deep-rooted influence of Northern France still remained very strong in politics and literature, there was

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- CENOMANNENSIS EPISCOPUS, *Carmina minora*, A.B. SCOTT (ed.), p. 37, no. 46; cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 46-47, 50. The other work is *Ad Murielem litteratam, inc.: "Tempora prisca decem se iactavere Sibillis"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 19127): 14 elegiac couplets, ed. in HILDEBERTUS CENOMANNENSIS EPISCOPUS, *Carmina minora*, A.B. SCOTT (ed.), p. 17-18, no. 26; cf. WILMART, 1937; SIGNORI, 1995; CIZEK, 2005, p. 478-481.
169. *Epistolae* I, 7 and 9, ed. respectively in *PL*, vol. CLXXI, 1854, col. 153-157 and 160-162; *Epistolae* III, 11 and 12, ed. in *PL*, vol. CLXXI, 1854, col. 289-290. About all of these texts cf. ANGELINI, 2015, p. 173-175.
170. *Ad reginam Anglorum, inc.: "Inter opes et delicias populique favores"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 9473): 2 elegiac couplets, ed. in HILDEBERTUS CENOMANNENSIS EPISCOPUS, *Carmina minora*, A.B. SCOTT (ed.), p. 2, no. 4; cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 51.
171. *De Anglia, inc.: "Anglia, terra ferax, tibi pax diuturna quietem"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 1022): 17 elegiac couplets, ed. in HILDEBERTUS CENOMANNENSIS EPISCOPUS, *Carmina minora*, A.B. SCOTT (ed.), p. 24-25, no. 37 [cf. in particular vv. 19-32]; cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 51.
172. *Ad Mathildem reginam, inc.: "Augustis patribus augustior orta Mathildis"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 1765): 13 elegiac couplets, ed. in HILDEBERTUS CENOMANNENSIS EPISCOPUS, *Carmina minora*, A.B. SCOTT (ed.), p. 21-22, no. 35 and BISANTI, 2005 [in particular, for the edition, p. 95]; on the identification of the dedicatee, cf. LATZKE, 1979, p. 50-52; VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 51.
173. The poem, *inc.: "Filia praeteriti, praesentis nupta, futuri"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 6509): 17 distichs, ed. among Hildebert's dubious *Carmina miscellanea*, in *PL*, vol. CLXXI, 1854, col. 1444; HAURÉAU, 1882, p. 135; cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 51.
174. Among the texts, transmitted by the main historiographers of the period, the poem, *inc.: "Vivis, dum moreris, moriens, regina Mathildis"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 20753): a distich plus four hexameters, ed. in BOUTÉMY, 1937, p. 305 in note; cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 51.
175. *De Anglia et eius principe, inc.: "Anglia nunc humilis, terrarum gloria quondam"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 1014): 9 distichs, ed. among Hildebert's dubious *Carmina miscellanea*, in *PL*, vol. CLXXI, 1854, col. 1444; HAURÉAU, 1882, p. 134-135; cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 52.
176. MASON, John, 2004a (cf. NEININGER, 2004).
177. RIGG, 1992, p. 32.
178. *Epitaphium, inc.: "Clerus pastore, monachus patre, plebs monitore"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 2935): 31 hexameters (18 *caudati* and 3 final *leonini*), ed. in WRIGHT, Thomas, 1846, p. 180-181.
179. DAVIS Henry, 1910; VOSS, 1932; KING, 2004.

an incipient reversal of this trend, which brought forward an increasing number of British authors, who then crossed the Channel. The great natural philosopher Adelard of Bath¹⁸⁰, born ca. 1080, travelled first to Laon and Tours, where he wrote the earliest of his three Platonic styled dialogues (*De eodem et diverso*¹⁸¹, a protreptic prosimetrum), before leaving again for Southern Italy, Greece, Spain and West Asia. Then, in 1122, he returned to his Roman-English birthplace, where he died thirty years later. The main model is Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, most of all for the contrast between *Philocosmia*, who advocates worldly pleasures, and *Philosophia*, whose defence of scholarship leads into a summary of the seven liberal arts.

Around the same period, a similar journey, this time straight to Normandy, was made by Orderic Vitalis¹⁸², born in England in 1075 to a French soldier: at the age of 10 he moved to Saint-Évroult abbey¹⁸³ where he worked on his *Historia Ecclesiastica*¹⁸⁴ until 1141 (presumably the year of death). This text, the main source for Anglo-Norman history, has numerous poetical passages¹⁸⁵: often anonymous encomia or epitaphs of bishops¹⁸⁶ and other historical figures¹⁸⁷. The historian was also a versifier himself, authoring about ten short mournful poems scattered throughout his work¹⁸⁸, which is also important because of

180. HASKINS, 1924, p. 20-42, 113-129, 346-355; BLIEMETZRIEDER, 1935; MAURACH, 1982; BURNETT, 1994; COCHRANE, 1994; LANZA, 2000.

181. *De eodem et diverso*, ed. (and translated) in ADELARD OF BATH, *Conversations with his Nephew, On the Same and the Different, Questions on Natural Science, and On Birds*, Ch. BURNETT (ed.), p. 1-79; ADELARDO DI BATH, *L'identico e il diverso. De eodem et diverso*, A. BISANTI and P. PALMERI (eds); cf. also JOLIVET, 1981; DREW, 1987.

182. PELLERIN, 1974b; CHIBNALL, 1984; LETTINCK, 1984; MUSSET, 1984; HOLDSWORTH, 1985; HINGST, 2009.

183. COTTINEAU, 1935-1937, vol. II, col. 2670-2671.

184. *Historiae Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*, A. DU CHESNE (ed.), p. 319-925 [reimpr. in *PL*, vol. CLXXVIII, 1855, col. 15-984] and *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.). On this work cf. DELISLE, 1903; PELLERIN, 1974a; CHIBNALL, 1989; CHIBNALL, 1997; MÉGIER, 2010.

185. The first one is an anonymous epigram, *inc.*: "*Vinea culta fuit, cultores premia querunt*" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 20357): 3 couples of hexameters rhymed in pairs, ed. in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), book I, vol. I, p. 144.

186. 47 distichs, one for each bishop of Rouen, ed. in *ibid.*, book V, vol. III, p. 16, 22, 50-62, 64-70, 74-80, 84, 86, 88, 92, 94.

187. 15 hexametrical or elegiac, often leonine epitaphs, from 5 to 15 lines (only 20 adonics for Hugo of Luxueil ed. in *ibid.*, book V, vol. III, p. 18), transmitted in *ibid.*, book VII, vol. IV, p. 44-46, 63-64, 164 [in particular on Matilda of Flander's obituary poem, *inc.* "*Egregie pulchri tegit hec structura sepulchri*" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 5280): 13 leonine hexameters, ed. in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), vol. IV, p. 44-46, cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 46]; book VIII, ed. in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), vol. IV, p. 180, 304, 310; book X, vol. V, p. 308, 332; book XI, vol. VI, p. 36, 146, 152, 172; book XII, vol. VI, p. 302, 312, 378.

188. Orderic's short poems are in hexameters and distichs, *leonini* and *caudati*, but even in little more unusual forms, such as paroxytone octosyllables, and proparoxytone septenaries, in *ibid.*, book IV, vol. II, p. 350; book V, vol. III, p. 168-169; book VI, vol. III, p. 256-257, 258, 336; book VIII, vol. IV, p. 144-146, 336; book IX, vol. V, p. 6-7, 166; book XI, vol. VI, p. 18-20, 142; book XII, vol. VI, p. 326; book XIII, vol. VI, p. 450, 488-90.

the appearance of otherwise unknown poets¹⁸⁹: John of Rheims¹⁹⁰, Odo of Montreuil¹⁹¹, Giroie Grossivus¹⁹², Peter Leonis¹⁹³, Athelelm, monk of Fly¹⁹⁴, who mostly wrote obituaries for members of Anglo-Norman church and court.

The almost contemporary William of Malmesbury¹⁹⁵, born at some point between 1090 and 1095, was half-Norman through his father, although he spent the whole of his life in England, especially in his famous Wiltshire Abbey¹⁹⁶, where he died around 1142. His historical pages also include numerous verses: in *Gesta Regum Anglorum*¹⁹⁷ he records anonymous short obituaries¹⁹⁸ as well as longer poems in *versus heroic*¹⁹⁹. Only the epitaph for Emperor Henry III (or Lothair I, according to Karl Strecker²⁰⁰), includes a large number of very unusual lines²⁰¹.

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189. Even Audoen, bishop of Rouen, is quoted for a few lines, *inc.*: “*Hi sunt Gildardus fratres geminique Medardus*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 7829): 3 leonine hexameters, transmitted by *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), book V, vol. III, p. 56.
190. Poem, *inc.*: “*Post annos agni centum cum mille superni*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 14303): 11 mostly leonine hexameters for Peter, lord of Maule, in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), book V, vol. III, p. 178.
191. Text of Ansold’s epitaph, *inc.*: “*Si quis erit qui scire velit dum vivus adesset*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 17924): 5 *trinini salientes*, in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), book V, vol. III, p. 198.
192. Elegy, *inc.*: “*Virtutum lampas qua pristina splenduit aetas*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 20618a): 3 couplets addressed to Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux, in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), book VIII, vol. IV, p. 190.
193. He was the author of two, maybe three epitaphs: *inc.*: “*Canonicum Remis, tulerat monachum Cluniacus Odonem*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 2367): 3 elegiac couplets on the death of pope Urban II, in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), book X, vol. V, p. 192; more uncertain is the poem, *inc.*: “*Canonicus Remensis Odo, quem Cluniacensis*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 2368): 8 distichs on the same Roman pontiff, in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), book X, vol. V, p. 194; the last one, *inc.*: “*Nec tibi Roma locum, nec dat Guiberte Ravenna*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 11702): 3 elegiac, obituary couplets on Guibert of Ravenna, in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), book X, vol. V, p. 194.
194. Poem, *inc.*: “*Utilitas et honor Guillelmus in ordine cleri*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 19927): 3 elegiac couplets on the death of William, abbot of Fécamp, in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), book XI, vol. VI, p. 140.
195. FARMER, 1962; THOMSON, 1978; BROWN, 1982; THOMSON, 1987; WRIGHT, Neil, 1991b; WRIGHT, Nigel, 1993; WINTERBOTTOM, 2001; WINTERBOTTOM, 2010; STOPPACCI, 2015.
196. COTTINEAU, 1935-1937, vol. II, col. 1720.
197. Text ed. in WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI *De Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, W. STUBBS (ed.), and WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Gesta Regum Anglorum. The History of the English Kings*, R.A.B. MYNORS (ed.), [in particular, on the author, vol. II, p. xxxv-xxvii].
198. The epitaphs in distichs or hexameters, seldom rhymed, are ed. in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Gesta Regum Anglorum...*, R.A.B. MYNORS (ed.), book I, chapters 24, 62, 85, vol. I, p. 94, 120, 810 (Appendix I); book II, chapter 194, vol. I, p. 192; book III, chapter 262, vol. I, p. 484; book V, chapter 439, vol. I, p. 784-786.
199. There are two poems of over thirty hexameters, ed. in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Gesta Regum Anglorum...*, R.A.B. MYNORS (ed.), book II, chapters 133, 135, vol. I, p. 210, 220-222.
200. *Carmina varia*, K. STRECKER (ed.), p. 1072-1075.
201. The verses are 28 (in a larger version 32) lines, each composed by half a hexameter and an adonic (a kind of metre which also Boethius used for the second poem in *De Consolatione Philosophiae*), ed. in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Gesta Regum Anglorum...*, R.A.B. MYNORS (ed.), book II, chapter 194, vol. I, p. 346-347.

William's other texts incorporate many other poems. Most of them appear in the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*²⁰², finished in 1125: the work quotes some pieces by famous early medieval versifiers²⁰³, in addition to those by the Malmesbury monk Peter Baldwin, who wrote in praise of the Tuscan abbot Faricius²⁰⁴. There is no doubt that the historian himself was the author of a few lines on Elgiva of Shaftesbury²⁰⁵, but the remaining verses are of doubtful attribution²⁰⁶ or anonymous²⁰⁷. The other texts, starting with the Saints' Lives²⁰⁸, show the same uncertain authorship²⁰⁹ in the cases of two epitaphs for Patrick²¹⁰ and Benignus²¹¹.

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202. Text ed. in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum. The History of the English Bishops*, M. WINTERBOTTOM and R.M. THOMSON (eds).
203. There are some short quotations from the works by Cuthbert of Canterbury, Aldhelm and Dunstan: texts in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum...*, M. WINTERBOTTOM and R.M. THOMSON (eds), book IV, chapter 162, vol. I, p. 454-456; book V, chapters 197, 255, vol. I, p. 520-522, 608.
204. The poem, *inc.*: "Vir probus et prudens vir vere consiliorum" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 20418): 30 mostly rhymed hexameters, ed. in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum...*, M. WINTERBOTTOM and R.M. THOMSON (eds), book II, chapter 88, vol. I, p. 302-304.
205. The poem on Elgiva, *inc.*: "Nam nonnullis passa annis morborum molestiam": 8 verses 8p+7pp, ed. in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum...*, M. WINTERBOTTOM and R.M. THOMSON (eds), book II, chapter 86, vol. I, p. 294.
206. The poem, *inc.*: "Ad superos superum cultor sociusque recessit" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 455): 3 distichs, ed. in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum...*, M. WINTERBOTTOM and R.M. THOMSON (eds), book V, chapter 227, vol. I, p. 572; the verse, *inc.*: "Hic iacet orbis honor, patriae dolor, orbita recti" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 7983): 3 distichs, ed. in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum...*, M. WINTERBOTTOM and R.M. THOMSON (eds), book V, chapter 246, vol. I, p. 594; two tetrastichs, respectively *inc.*: "Mortificare decet vitiis carnalia membra" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 11302), an innuendo expressed by an unknown enemy against Malmesbury abbey, and the probably William's retort, *inc.*: "Immo decet quocumque modo cohibere cadaver", ed. in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum...*, M. WINTERBOTTOM and R.M. THOMSON (eds), book V, chapter 271, vol. I, p. 648.
207. Only 4 verses from saint Cuthbert's antiphon, ed. in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum...*, M. WINTERBOTTOM and R.M. THOMSON (eds), book II, chapter 81, vol. I, p. 282-284; the epitaph for Iohannes Scotus Eriugena, *inc.*: "Clauditur hoc tumulo sanctus sophista Iohannes" (SCHALLER and KÖNSGEN, 1977, no. 2573; WALTHER, 1959, pp. 2866, 2869, 3127): a tetrastich, ed. in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum...*, M. WINTERBOTTOM and R.M. THOMSON (eds), book V, chapter 240, vol. I, p. 588-590; the third strophe from the *Hymnus de uno Confessore*, *inc.*: "Iste confessor Domini sacratus" (SCHALLER and KÖNSGEN, 1977, no. 8410): of the 6 sapphic stanzas ed. in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, G.M. DREVES and C. BLUME (eds), vol. LI, p. 134, the third, ed. in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum...*, M. WINTERBOTTOM and R.M. THOMSON (eds), book V, chapter 269, vol. I, p. 638.
208. Texts ed. in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Saints' Lives. Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dungstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, M. WINTERBOTTOM and R.M. THOMSON (eds), 2002.
209. The only exception is a couple of Dunstan's epigrams, respectively *inc.*: "Organa do sancto presul Dunstanus Aldhelmo" (SCHALLER and KÖNSGEN, 1977, no. 11449) and "Idriolam hanc fundi Dunstan mandaverat archi": each of two leonine hexameters, ed. in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Saints' Lives...*, M. WINTERBOTTOM and R.M. THOMSON (eds), p. 258; cf. LAPIDGE, 1996, p. 510.
210. The text, *inc.*: "Calpurnus genuit istum, alma Britannia misit": two hexameters, ed. in WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Saints' Lives...*, M. WINTERBOTTOM and R.M. THOMSON (eds), p. 336.
211. The text, *inc.*: "Hoc patris in lapide Beonnae sunt ossa locata": two hexameters, *ibid.*, p. 354.

Similarly, the *Antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesiae* record, besides some famous lines²¹², a short verse by an unknown poet for Bishop Brithwold²¹³.

For the Anglo-Norman Age the other major historian was Henry of Huntingdon²¹⁴, who lived in Britain at about the same time as Orderic and William: in 1110, when he was not older than thirty, his father “bequeathed” the archdeaconry in the place from which they came; Normandy was regardless significant for him after he found some of the most important sources for his main work²¹⁵ during a 1139 visit at Le Bec: the *Historia Anglorum*²¹⁶, a prose narrative that contains many verses in the first ten books²¹⁷. In six cases Henry translates lines from lost Anglo-Saxon verse (maybe a single poem) about English battles between the 7th and 10th centuries²¹⁸; the poem about the fighting at Brunanburh (937) was translated into prose²¹⁹, which had to reproduce the structure of the original vernacular form, using the same alliterations and rhyme.

The historian was nevertheless a competent poet himself, who placed eighteen poems in the prose of his major work, only some of which are signed²²⁰, even though it is very probable that he was the author of all eighteen²²¹. All

212. Venantius Fortunatus' *Carmen*, III, 7, ed. in *PL*, vol. CLXXIX, 1855, col. 1704.

213. The piece, *inc.*: “*Exiguus presul Brithwoldus onomate dictus*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 6072): 5 hexameters, in *Antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesiae*, ed. in *PL*, vol. CLXXIX, 1855, col. 1723.

214. GREENWAY, 1991, p. 43-50; RIGG, 1992, p. 36-40; GILLINGHAM, 1995; GREENWAY, 1996; GREENWAY, 2004.

215. WRIGHT, Neil, 1991a.

216. Text ed. in HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum. The History of the English People*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.).

217. Cf. *ibid.*, p. cvii-cix.

218. Cf. RIGG, 1991 [in particular p. 64-65] on these short poems (from a single to 3 lines), ed. in HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), book II, chapter 30, p. 114; book II, chapter 34, p. 120; book III, chapters 33-34, p. 184-186; book III, chapter 39, p. 194; book IV, chapter 29, p. 262.

219. Cf. RIGG, 1991, p. 65-72, on edition, commentary and translation of the passage, also published in HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), book V, chapter 19, p. 314.

220. Poems ed. *ibid. Prologus*, p. 6; book I, chapter 6, p. 20, two excerpts from an *Encomium Britanniae*, now lost for the remain; book V, chapters 13, 17, 26, p. 298, 308, 322; book VII, chapters 30, 36, 44, p. 462, 474, 492 [in particular chapter 30, p. 462: obituary for Queen Matilda, wife of King Henry, *inc.*: “*Prospera non letam fecere nec aspera tristem*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 14845): 3 distichs, cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 51; chapter 44, p. 492: King Henry's epitaph, *inc.*: “*Rex Henricus obit, decus olim, nunc dolor orbis*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 16731): 5 elegiac couplets, cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 52]; HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), book X, chapter 12 and 40, p. 724 and 776.

221. Cf. MAAZ, 1983, p. 113-120. This is the opinion expressed in HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), p. cviii-cix about the texts ed. at book II, chapter 33, p. 120; book VII, chapter 27, p. 458, an obituary for the poet's father, Nicholas of Huntingdon, *inc.*: “*Stella cadit cleri, splendor marcet Nicholai*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 18593): a leonine distich; HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), book VII, chapter 31, p. 464: epinicion for King Henry's victory at Brémule, 20 August 1119, *inc.*: “*Henricus regum rex et decus abstulit altos*” (WALTHER, 1959, no. 7702): 8 hexameters, cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 52-53; HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), book VII, chapter 32, p. 466, a lamentation for the sinking of the White Ship in 1120, *inc.*: “*Dum*

of these, and a few other (mostly anonymous) verses²²² are *epica* or *historica carmina*, *epitaphia* and *encomia* (a shadowy Walo Brito²²³ might have written an obituary for William Clito, son of Robert Curthose²²⁴).

In the final part of the History²²⁵, Henry says that he had written many other verses: the majority of them, the *Epigrammatorum iocundorum libri 6*²²⁶ about love, are now lost; instead the collection *Epigrammata seria* forms the final portion of the *Historia Anglorum*, books XI and XII²²⁷, composed of 26²²⁸ and 10 poems²²⁹ respectively. In this context, the author shows his complete

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- Normannigene Gallis clari superati*" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 4911): 3 mournful distichs, cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 52; HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), book VII, chapter 33, p. 468, an encomium of Adeliza of Louvain, second wife of King Henry I, *inc.*: "*Anglorum regina tuos, Adelida, decoret*" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 1040): 5 distichs, that VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 51-52, assigns to Hildebert of Le Mans; HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), chapter 34, p. 470, epitaph for Robert, bishop of Lincoln *inc.*: "*Pontificum Rodbertus honor, quem fama superstes*" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 14261): 4 distichs; HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), book VIII, at the end of the letter on the contempt for the world, chapter 19, p. 618; *ibid.*, book X, chapter 33, p. 760.
222. The epitaph for pope Gregory the Great, *inc.*: "*Suscipe terra tuo corpus de corpore sumptum*" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 18952): 5 distichs, partly taken from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* II, 1, ed. in HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), book III, chapter 12, p. 160; the already mentioned leonine hexameters, *inc.*: "*Anno milleno sexageno quoque seno*", and the distich, *inc.*: "*Caesariem, Caesar, si tibi Natura negavit*" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 2297) ed. in HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), book VI, chapters 30, 41, p. 394, 410; an excerpt, *inc.*: "*Bella Maro resonet, nos paucis dona canamus*", 14 distichs, taken from Bede's acrostic of 54 lines in *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* IV, 18, ed. in HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), book IX, chapter 34, p. 664.
223. Cf. ed. *ibid.*, Appendix I, p. 836.
224. The poem, *inc.*: "*Mars obit in terris, deflent per sydera sydus*" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 10706): 5 distichs, ed. in HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), Appendix I, p. 837 (but cf. also p. 482); cf. VAN HOUTS, 1989, p. 46.
225. Cf. ed. in HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), book XII, *prologus*, p. 804.
226. Cf. *ibid.*, p. cx, cxii-cxv.
227. Cf. *ibid.*, p. cix-cxii.
228. Texts ed. in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets...*, Th. WRIGHT (ed.), p. 163-174, and in HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), book XI, p. 778-802. All of the poems are in hexameters and distichs, except for p. 778-780, no. 1, *De veritate libri, inc.*: "*Otia luxuriam docent, otia livorem movent*" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 13534): each of the verses 1-12 is formed by the first half of a hexameter plus an iamb, repeated; lines 13-14 are hexameters; HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), p. 780-784, no. 2, *Satira communis, inc.*: "*Scribimus hec clero: vos non latrare valentes*" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 17402): 74 hexameters rhyming in pairs or, at verses 57-60, with alternate rhyme; HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), p. 784, no. 5, *Ad lectorem, inc.*: "*Non homicida sis, nec adulter*" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 5556): 4 repeated adonics; HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), p. 794-796, no. 19, *De pressura Anglie, inc.*: "*Non homicida sis, nec adulter*" (WALTHER, 1959, no. 7029): 16 repeated adonics.
229. Texts ed. in HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), book XII, p. 804-825. All of the poems are in hexameters and distichs, except for: p. 810, no. 2, *Laus Dei, inc.*: "*Cantemus Domino carmina glorie*": 3 stanzas of three lesser Asclepiads and one glyconic; p. 814-816, no. 7, *De amore virtutis, inc.*: "*Balsama quod spirant recenter acta*": metrical

poetical ability, using all sorts of metres: distichs and hexameters, often with disyllabic rhyme, and lesser asclepiads, glyconics, adonics and iambs. The wide range of themes goes from the topics (in particular death, the inconsistency and the contempt of the world) of the Roman poet Martial to religious subjects: not only ecclesiastical corruption and simony, but also personal prayers, hymns and metrical versions of Biblical narratives.

The great skill of Henry as a poet has recently emerged, by the discovery in manuscripts of a great deal of poems once considered lost: a composite work²³⁰ in verse on plants and precious stones has finally been found and edited, with the result that more than 3300 lines of the most prolific author of that time are now available.

A consideration of all of Henry's work reveals a large variety of poetic compositions, especially from a technical point of view. As for the subjects, he ranges from historical to medical topics. Regardless, poetry had a very special place in his output, with some outstanding texts: especially encomia and epitaphs of British sovereigns, from the VII century to King Henry I, his two wives, Matilda and Adela, until his homonymous nephew and successor, the first Plantagenet king²³¹. But that, as is often said, is another story.

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experiment, made by a *hemiepes* plus an iambic metron and a final syllable, cf. RIGG, 1991, p. 62; HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, *Historia Anglorum...*, D.E. GREENWAY (ed.), p. 824, no. 10, *Oratio Henrici in mortem vel post mortem, inc.: "Summe Deus, fero digna reus: miserere fatentis"* (WALTHER, 1959, no. 18770): 5 *trinini salientes*, rhyming in couplets aac ccb dde ffe ggh.

230. *Anglicanus ortus* is the title chosen by modern scholars to indicate collectively the three parts found in the mss Cambridge, Trinity College O.9.10 (1422); London, British Library, Sloane 3468; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 13 (S.C. 1614); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 69 (S.C. 1670); Praha, Archiv Prazského Hradu, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituly M. VI (1359). The single sections of the whole are separately ed. by RIGG, 2003 [partial edition of the 8 books of *De herbarum virtute*; cf. also RUPPEL, 1997; GREENWAY, 2005]; BLACK, 2006 [edition of *De gemmis preciosis*, 35 hexametrical poems]; HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, *Anglicanus ortus. A Verse Herbal of the Twelfth Century*, W. BLACK (ed.), 2012 [new edition of 6 among the 8 books of *De herbarum virtute*, together with the third part of the composite poem: *De aromatibus*].

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