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

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Prospettive tematiche e topografiche nella poesia latina all’epoca dei primi re anglo-normanni

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Prospettive tematiche e topografiche nella poesia latina all’epoca dei primi re anglo-normanni

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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 XIe et XIIe siècles. Suivant l’ordre chronologique, l’analyse commence à partir de la Normandie du XIe 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
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, 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 Mallesbury ed Enrico di Huntington.

Parole chiave: poesia latina medievale, Rouen, Caen, Le Bec, agiografia, epitaffia, encomio poetico, Serlo di Bayeux, Inghilterra, Guglielmo il Conquistatore, York, Canterbury, Orderico Vitale, Guglielmo di Mallesbury, Enrico di Huntington

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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

1. Knowles, 1949, p. 31-190.
7. The most renowned of these poems is an invective, the so-called Moriuth, inc. “Rotherto domino subnixo praesulis ostro” (Schaller and Könssgen, 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; Oberg, 1998; Dumville, 2002; McDonough, 2006. The second satire is the Carmen ad Rotberturn, inc.: “Rotherto docto fulgenti semper alumnis” (Schaller and Könssgen, 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 Iezabel, inc.: “Nomen ab le (Abia; ab te) sonat, Iezabel quia corruiit ab ah” (Schaller and Könssgen,
Danish conquest in England marked a break, and from 1042 the restored rule of the half-Saxon, half-Norman King Edward the Confessor stands as a fresh start for the renewed, longer-term dialectic of exchange. 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 Conqueror 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 Channel; 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 chair, 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). 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 Flanders. 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

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11. KNOwLES, 1949, p. 100-144.


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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 Longsword\textsuperscript{15}, in the cathedral, was also the author of the epitaphia for the two Viking jarls\textsuperscript{16}.

In 1067, when Maurilius died, Richard, son of Herluin, wrote for him a short obituary verse, inscribed above the tomb\textsuperscript{17}. Among the bishop’s disciples, William Bona Anima\textsuperscript{18} 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 letters\textsuperscript{19} and, so far as poetry is concerned, the epitaph\textsuperscript{20} for Sybil (died 18 March 1103), the wife of Robert Curthose\textsuperscript{21}.

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 unclear\textsuperscript{22}; there would have been a great deal of lost texts, including those in rhetorical 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 poems\textsuperscript{23}. At any rate, the core of his poetry


\textsuperscript{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, nrr. 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.


\textsuperscript{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.


\textsuperscript{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...
The kind of literary production leads to another centre of the religious and intellectual life of Rouen: the local abbey of Saint-Ouen\textsuperscript{28}. Between 1042 and 1092, when Nicholas of Normandy\textsuperscript{29} was abbot, in this religious centre, where the poetic production was rich and intense\textsuperscript{30}, almost all of the three main figures that are known dealt with hagiography: Theodoric\textsuperscript{31} composed the long \textit{Vita sancti Audoeni}\textsuperscript{32}, as well as the \textit{Gesta episcoporum Rotomagensium}\textsuperscript{33}; both of them were attributed also to Fulbert\textsuperscript{34}, who lived a century later and actually compiled only a collection of \textit{Miracula}\textsuperscript{35}; little is known of Maurice, author of an \textit{epitaphium in memoriam}\textsuperscript{36}.

\textsuperscript{28} Pommeraye, 1662, p. 251-256; \textsuperscript{29} Bourassé, 1900, p. 277-287; Masson and Battle, 1927; Cottineau, 1935-1936.
\textsuperscript{30} This is the opinion that has spread since Pommeraye, 1662, p. 339 about the mistaken attribution to Marbod of Rennes.
\textsuperscript{31} About this work, known also as \textit{Vita Sancti Audoeni}, ed. in AASS, Febr., vol. I, 1658, p. 487-491; Herrmann, 1940, p. 30 about the mistaken attribution to Marbod of Rennes.
\textsuperscript{33} 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.
\textsuperscript{34} This is the opinion that has spread since Pommeraye, 1662, p. 337-341.
obitu Nicholai de Normannia (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 John, 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 Agnes and Nicholas of Myra 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), 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. Durand was born between 1005 and 1020 near Bayeux, but it was in Upper Normandy that he completed his education: after Saint-Wandrille de Fontenelle, in Rouen, abbey of Mont-Sainte-Catherine (now Sainte-Trinité), his personal and ecclesiastical route led him far from the capital, first to Fécamp and then, starting from 1059, to the Lower part of the Duchy, to become the first abbot in the monastery that Roger Montgomery had recently founded: Saint-Martin de Troarn. Under the name of Durandus Troarnensis there are two epitaphia: the older one is for Ainard, abbot of Notre-Dame de Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives until 1078; the later is for Ainead, abbot of Notre-Dame de Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives until 1078; the later...
one mourns the death, in 1079, of countess Mabile, the wife of the founder of the coenobium\textsuperscript{50}. The major work by Durand is \textit{De corpore et sanguine Christi}\textsuperscript{51}, initially written in 1053-1054 in the form of a prose treatise and then, some years later (perhaps between 1055 and 1058), in verse\textsuperscript{52}. It is the first confutation of the theological arguments of Berengar of Tours\textsuperscript{53} 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 time\textsuperscript{54}.

An important figure in the controversy was Lanfranc of Pavia\textsuperscript{55}. 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 Bec\textsuperscript{56}, then in the abbey of Saint-Étienne de Caen\textsuperscript{57}, 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 Channel\textsuperscript{58}, 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 theologian\textsuperscript{59}, who wrote, although it is little known, some verses on the canonical hours on the Ash Wednesday\textsuperscript{60}.

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


\textsuperscript{52} The whole text of \textit{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 \textit{PL}, vol. CXLIX, 1853, col. 1375 [25 verses of the \textit{Prologus}] and \textit{Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti}, J. Mabillon (ed.), vol. V, p. 101-104 [3 fragments, from an unidentifiable manuscript].

\textsuperscript{53} MacDonald, 1930; Capitani, 1966; Montclos, 1971; Silvestre, 1973; Cantin, 1974; Behrends, 1975; Capitani, 1975; Chadwick, 1990; Gibson, 1990; Macy, 1990; Radding, 1992; Cristiani, 1993; Brouwer, 1996; Holopainen, 1998; Gamberini, 2005.

\textsuperscript{54} D’Onofrio, 1996, p. 452-453, 477-479.


\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., col. 550-555.

\textsuperscript{58} Watkins, 2006.

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Commentarius in omnes Pauli epistolae}, \textit{Consectudines, De corpore et sanguine Domini, Decreta, Epistolae}.

\textsuperscript{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 Apulia 61, 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 Roger 63 composed De professione monachorum 64, which is found in many manuscripts 65. 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 polemical target of Serlo of Bayeux 66. His father was a priest, who let him, together with the parish nearby Caen, some landholdings, which are the subject of a poem against an unknown knight 67 as well as, some
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.


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. 231-254; the poem, inc.: “Questus quos fundo veniunt de corde profundo”: 58 elegiac distichs, ed. by Boutémy, 1938, p. 244-247.


72. Tatlock, 1933a; Tatlock, 1933b; Dronke, 1984, p. 85; Signori, 1995; Stevenson, 2005, p. 95-100.


75. In sodomitas, inc.: “Nos uxorati sumus ad ludibria nati”: 44 leonine hexameters, ed. in Lenzen, 1990 [in particular, for the edition, p. 189-191].


77. Southern, 1962; Brett, 1975; Green, 1986; Green, 2003; Hollister, 2004; Green, 2006.

78. Strickland, 1856, p. 79-118; Honeycutt, 2003; Honeycutt, 2004b.


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 Cologne\(^{82}\), Vitalis of Savigny\(^{83}\) and Matilda, abbess of Sainte-Trinité of Caen\(^{84}\).

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-Omer entered the English royal court: Hermann, Bishop of Ramsbury 86 and, at least in one case, the Goscelin of St Bertin\(^{87}\), who wrote, in Canterbury, many hagiographies in prose\(^{88}\) and, at least in one case, the *Vita sanctae Edithae*\(^{89}\), also comprising 14 parts in


88. Works about Amalberga (in *BHL*, no. 323); Augustinus (ibid., nrr. 777-780; a *Sermo* is transmitted by ms London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian B XX, ff. 86r-93v); Deudasedit (in *BHL*, no. 2353); Edmundus (ibid., no. 2398b); Edwoldus (ibid., no. 2429; dubius); Eorcengota (*Vita* transmitted by ms Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 393 [I. 12], ff. 85v-82v and Cambridge, Trinity College O.2.1 [1105], f. 236); Eormmelhilda (in *BHL*, no. 2611); Ethelburga, Hildelitha, Wulfhilda (ibid., nrr. 2630b, 2630d, 2630e, 3942, 8736d); Hadrianus (ibid., nrr. 3740, 3742); Honorius archieпископус (*Vita* transmitted by ms 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-4641s); Laurentius (ibid., no. 4741); Letardus (ibid., no. 4892); Mellitus (ibid., no. 5866); Milburga (*Vita* transmitted by ms Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek [olam Forschungshibliothek], Mbr. I. 81, ff. 166v-175v; Lincoln, Cathedral Library 149 [B.1.9], ff. 83v-87v); London, British Library, Add. 3463, ff. 206r-216v; London, Lambeth Palace Library 94, f. 169v; Mildretha (in *BHL*, nrr. 5960-5962, 5964); an *Officium* is transmitted by ms London, British Library, Harley 1908, ff. 35-50; Sexburga (in *BHL*, no. 7693); Theodorus (ibid., no. 8083); Werburga (ibid., no. 8855-8856); Withburga (ibid., no. 8979); Wulsinus (ibid., no. 8753).

various rhythmic metres; Folcard\textsuperscript{90} belonged to the same Flemish abbey, before going to England, first (sometime between 1066 and 1069) to Thorney abbey\textsuperscript{91} and later, after 1085, to the Primate Lanfranc. It is very regrettable that such an important author of Norman saints’ lives\textsuperscript{92} had left, in terms of poetry (beside the mere notice of some \textit{deperditi versus}) only an uncertain \textit{Carmen de sancto Vigore}\textsuperscript{93}.

All of these texts, together with an anonymous prosimetrum on Edward the Confessor’s life\textsuperscript{94}, deal with the patron saints of the bold enterprise of William the Conqueror. He is also the focus, often praised as a \textit{novus Caesar}\textsuperscript{95}, of a group of short epigrams: they are mostly anonymous\textsuperscript{96}, but there are definitely some French poets too, as in the cases of Hugh- Renard of Langres\textsuperscript{97} or Guy, Bishop of Amiens\textsuperscript{98}, the author of the famous \textit{Carmen de Hastinage proelio}\textsuperscript{99}.

After William’s death, his figure was still central to some epitaphs. The majority of them belongs to unknown authors\textsuperscript{100}, but there are some exceptions,
which come once more from France. One exception, and the first name of great renown, is Geoffrey of Cambrai\textsuperscript{101}, who was active from 1070 onwards and, about ten years later became prior at Saint Swithin in Winchester until his death in 1107\textsuperscript{102}. He was, at the time, one of the main poets in the English area with his collection called \textit{Liber proverbiarum}\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Damianus}, \textit{Coranus} and \textit{Didimus}). His \textit{Epigrammata historica}\textsuperscript{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 her\textsuperscript{105}. Once again William I occupies an important position, because of the short elegy that celebrates his passing\textsuperscript{106}.

Thomas, sometime Canon of Bayeux and (1070–1100) Archbishop of York\textsuperscript{107}, is the author of a similar epitaph\textsuperscript{108}, 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)\textsuperscript{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


\textsuperscript{103}. \textit{Liber proverbiarum} (sive \textit{Epigrammata}): 238 poems, each of them counts from one to nine elegiac couplets, ed. in \textit{The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets}, ... (Wright, ed.), p. 103-147; Gerhard, 1974.


\textsuperscript{105}. The epitaph \textit{De Mathilda regina}, inc.: "Consilii virtus decor oris, gratia verbi" (Walther, 1959, no. 3185): 6 distichs, ed. in \textit{The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets}, ... (Wright, ed.), p. 150; cf. van Houts, 1989, p. 46.

\textsuperscript{106}. \textit{De rege Gillelmo}, inc.: "Regnum, forma, genus, cor, dextra, facies, virtus" (Walther, 1959, no. 16544): 6 elegiac couplets, ed. in \textit{The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets}, ... (Wright, ed.), p. 149-150; cf. van Houts, 1989, p. 43.


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was the author of a *Carmen de David psalmista*\textsuperscript{110} in elegiac couplets, the same metre that Thomas II\textsuperscript{111}, nephew of Thomas of Bayeux, used for an epistle\textsuperscript{112} to express concord between Canterbury and his own metropolitan see\textsuperscript{113}. After 1114, under the vigorous Yorkist Thurstan\textsuperscript{114}, who held the archdiocese until 1140, Hugh Cantor Sotovagina\textsuperscript{115}, probably a cathedral archdeacon died ca. 1139, wrote his famous works: the *Historia ecclesiae Eboracensis*\textsuperscript{116}, which gathers documents to show that there was no *Cantuariensis* primacy; the *Carmen de proelio Standardii*\textsuperscript{117}; a satirical elegy, which puts together proverbial and moral lore in the manner of *Disticha Catonis*\textsuperscript{118}.

As for the Canterbury side, after the arrival of Lanfranc, Gilbert Crispin\textsuperscript{119} (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 Abbey\textsuperscript{120}. At least four poems survive of his own: three of them are reflections about *Genesis*\textsuperscript{121} or sacraments (*De confessione*\textsuperscript{122}; *De corpore et sanguine Domini*\textsuperscript{123}). But the last one\textsuperscript{124} is the most relevant, partly for the adonic metre, but mainly for the recipient: Anselm, the Primate of Canterbury\textsuperscript{125}, a theologian from Northern Italy like Lanfranc,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{110} *Carmen de David psalmista*, inc.: “Rex citharista David”: 60 lines, ed. in Mozley, 1942, p. 8.
\item \textsuperscript{111} Barlow, 1979, p. 43, 82; Burton, 2004c.
\item \textsuperscript{112} *Disticha Raginaldo*, inc.: “Affectum mentis, demonstrant (designant) verba loquentis” (Walther, 1939, no. 668); 7 leonine distichs, ed. in Liebermann, 1888, p. 548-549, no. XIX.
\item \textsuperscript{113} On the contrast between the two archdiocesan sees, cf. Barlow, 1979, p. 39-44.
\item \textsuperscript{114} Nicholl, 1964; Burton, 2004d.
\item \textsuperscript{115} Clay, 1941; Clay, 1946; Birgo, 1992, p. 52; Burton, 2004b.
\item \textsuperscript{117} There is only a surviving distich, inc.: “Dictatur a stando Standardum, quod stetit illic”, ed. in The Historians of the Church of York and Its Archbishops, J. Raine (ed.), p. 90.
\item \textsuperscript{118} Versus, inc.: “Philosophus quidam quesitus, quid sit amicus” (Walther, 1939, no. 14077): 362 elegiac verses, ed. in The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets…, Th. Wright (ed.), p. 219-229.
\item \textsuperscript{119} Robinson, 1931; Southern, 1943a, p. 14, 19-22; Southern, 1954; Leclercq, 1959; Luff, 1961; Evans, 1980a; Evans, 1980b; Evans, 1981, p. 31; Chitti, 2013.
\item \textsuperscript{120} Cottineau, 1935-1937, vol. II, col. 3447-3449.
\item \textsuperscript{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.
\item \textsuperscript{123} *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, inc.: “Mysterio magno legali vescimur agno” (Walther, 1939, 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.
\item \textsuperscript{124} Ad Anselmum archiepiscopum, inc.: “Que modulando”: 78 adonics, ibid., p. 182.
\item \textsuperscript{125} Stolz, 1937; Southern, 1943a; Vanni Rovighi, 1987; Southern, 1990; Corbin, 1992; Biffi, 1996; Love, 2001.
\end{itemize}
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 Chester\(^{126}\)): 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 Canterbury\(^{130}\), 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 Losinga\(^{134}\), a nobleman who was born and educated in Normandy, before gaining the rule of Ramsey Abbey\(^{135}\) 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 Augustine\(^{136}\), Reginald\(^{137}\), 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.


\(^{134}\). 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. xci-xvii.


\(^{136}\). Rigg, 1992, p. 24-30; Rigg, 2004a.
the author of 36 pieces in scores of hexameters or distichs: mostly leoninii, caudati or trinini salientes (one of them is entirely in pentameters) 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 Anglian 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 Sapphics for Osbern of Canterbury.

His masterpiece is the famous Vita sancti Malchi, 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 himself.

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 Loire, were of great importance, starting with Fulco di Beauvais, author of a comparison of William the Conqueror with the biblical Jephthah; he also wrote two epitaphs for Queen Matilda of Flanders.

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 epistles and poems that were sometimes written for other well-known or important figures. This is the case for Geoffrey of Rei...

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139. Iohanne suo pape Reginaldus, inc.: “Impare cum numero gaudeat ipse Deus” (Walter, 1959, no. 8773): 30 pentameters, in Liebermann, 1888, p. 548, no. XVIII.
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.
145. Olleris, 1842; Lecomte, 1897; BOUTÉMY, 1951; Colker, 1954, p. 191-198; Colker, 2002; Haye, 2002; Angelini, 2011.
147. Versus Matthiidi Anglorum reginae, inc.: “Certe si fortis, si prudente, sobria, iusta.” (Walter, 1959, no. 2651) and “Tempore quae nostro spectari posset in osto” (Walter, 1959, no. 1915), respectively 29 hexameters and 14 leonini, ed. in Ömont, 1895, p. 232-235, ntr. 9-10; cf. van Houts, 1899, p. 46.
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 poem\(^{152}\) on the sovereign to his daughter, Adela, Countess of Blois\(^{153}\).

In most cases a particular princess was at the same time the literary focus and dedicatee. Marbod of Rennes\(^{154}\), 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 England\(^{155}\).

Baudri of Bourgueil\(^{156}\) too was connected with the Anglo-Norman court, as witnessed by his obituary compositions: in addition to the epitaph for William I\(^{157}\) he wrote four metrical commemorations\(^{158}\) of his homonymous son and successor, who was also called *Rufus*\(^{159}\). The French poet also composed encomiastic lines

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\(^{150}\) 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 Marcellae 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.


\(^{156}\) Thurot, 1876; Pasquier, 1878; Schumann, 1931; Hilbert, 1967; Bond, 1986; Tilliette, 1992a; Tilliette, 1994; Mosetti Casaretto, 2003.


\(^{158}\) Each of the four poems, respectively inc.: "Nobilitas, regnum, prudentia, copia rerum" (Walther, 1959, no. 11886), "Qui regum magnus fuit admirabilis orbis" (ibid., no. 15652), "Qui legis hunc titulum, subitus cognoscse sepultum" (ibid., no. 15518), "Sub cuius nutu tremuit Normannus et Anglus" (ibid., no. 18665), is 3 distichs long; ed. in Baudri de Bourgueil, *Poèmes*, J.-Y. Tilliette (ed.), p. 105-106, nrr. 175-178; cf. *Les œuvres poétiques...*, Ph. Abrahams (ed.), p. 75-77; van Houts, 1989, p. 46.

\(^{159}\) Freeman, 1882; Grennell-Milne, 1968; Mason, Emma, 1977; Hollister, 1975; 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 offspring. Two of his daughters were addressees of well-known poems: two distinct pieces for Adela of Blois and an encomium of Cecily, abbess of Sainte-Trinité at Caen. It is also worth noting that another learned nun, the above-mentioned Muriel of Wilton, was the recipient of a text in her honour.

The latter three women were also subjects of particular interest in the works of Hildebert of Le Mans. For Adela he wrote two short poems and at least four letters, which often linger on the contrast between the female weakness and masculine virtue of the Countess, in the very same way as some anonymous poems: two distinct pieces for Adela of Blois, William’s of spring to a couple of Norman noblemen, above-mentioned Muriel of Wilton, was the recipient of a text in her honour.

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160. Two texts ad Ricardum Normannum, inc.: “Si, Ricarda, meis precibus monitisque faverebatur”, and ad Guillelmum Normannum, inc.: “Intonsi crines capitis, dissuata 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. Razza, 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.


166. Epistolae I, 3 and 5, ed. in PL, vol. CLXX, 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.


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 epistles\(^{169}\) and two verse encomia: a tetrastich\(^{170}\) and the central part of a poem on England\(^{171}\); there is no certainty that the Queen, rather than her homonymous daughter, is the dedicatee of a panegyric\(^{172}\).

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 praises\(^{173}\) and epitaphs\(^{174}\) for the Queen. Similarly, as for the King, besides an anonymous poem on peace and happiness in England during his reign\(^{175}\), 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 \textit{ad regem Henricum ritmice} ; the second one\(^{177}\), probably a monk from Worcester, composed only an obituary\(^{178}\) for the sovereign who died in 1135, or perhaps for his powerful nephew, Henri de Blois\(^{179}\), 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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\(^{177}\) Rigg, 1992, p. 32


\(^{179}\) 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 Bath\textsuperscript{180}, born ca. 1080, travelled first to Laon and Tours, where he wrote the earliest of his three Platonic styled dialogues (\textit{De eodem et diverso}\textsuperscript{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’ \textit{Consolation of Philosophy}, most of all for the contrast between \textit{Philocosmia}, who advocates worldly pleasures, and \textit{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 Vitalis\textsuperscript{182}, born in England in 1075 to a French soldier: at the age of 10 he moved to Saint-Évroult abbey\textsuperscript{183} where he worked on his \textit{Historia Ecclesiastica}\textsuperscript{184} until 1141 (presumably the year of death). This text, the main source for Anglo-Norman history, has numerous poetical passages\textsuperscript{185}, often anonymous encomia or epitaphs of bishops\textsuperscript{186} and other historical figures\textsuperscript{187}. The historian was also a versifier himself, authoring about ten short mournful poems scattered throughout his work\textsuperscript{188}, which is also important because of

\textsuperscript{182} Pellerin, 1974b; Chibnall, 1984; Lettinck, 1984; Musset, 1984; Holdsworth, 1985; Hingst, 2009.
\textsuperscript{186} 47 distichs, one for each bishop of Rouen, ed. in \textit{ibid.}, book V, vol. III, p. 16, 22, 50-62, 64-70, 74-80, 84, 86, 88, 92, 94.

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the appearance of otherwise unknown poets\textsuperscript{189}: John of Rheims\textsuperscript{190}, Odo of Montreuil\textsuperscript{191}, Giroie Grossivus\textsuperscript{192}, Peter Leonis\textsuperscript{193}, Athelelm, monk of Fly\textsuperscript{194}, who mostly wrote obituaries for members of Anglo-Norman church and court.

The almost contemporary William of Malmesbury\textsuperscript{195}, 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 Abbey\textsuperscript{196}, where he died around 1142. His historical pages also include numerous verses: in \textit{Gesta Regum Anglorum}\textsuperscript{197} he records anonymous short obituaries\textsuperscript{198} as well as longer poems in \textit{versus heroici}\textsuperscript{199}. Only the epitaph for Emperor Henry III (or Lothair I, according to Karl Strecker\textsuperscript{200}), includes a large number of very unusual lines\textsuperscript{201}.


\textsuperscript{200} Carmina varia, K. Strecker (ed.), p. 1072-1075.

\textsuperscript{201} The verses are 28 (in a larger version 31) lines, each composed by half a hexameter and an adonic (a kind of metre which also Boethius used for the second poem in \textit{De Consolatione Philosophiae}), ed. in \textit{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 Patrick209 and Benignus209.


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 lines\(^{212}\), a short verse by an unknown poet for Bishop Brithwold\(^{213}\).

For the Anglo-Norman Age the other major historian was Henry of Huntingdon\(^{214}\), 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 work\(^{215}\) during a 1139 visit at Le Bec: the *Historia Anglorum*\(^{216}\), a prose narrative that contains many verses in the first ten books\(^{217}\). In six cases Henry translates lines from lost Anglo-Saxon verse (maybe a single poem) about English battles between the 7th and 10th centuries\(^{218}\), the poem about the fighting at Brunanburh (937) was translated into prose\(^{219}\), 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 signed\(^{220}\), even though it is very probable that he was the author of all eighteen\(^{221}\). All

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\(^{212}\) Venantius Fortunatus’ *Carmen*, III, 7, ed. in *PL*, vol. CLXXIX, 1855, col. 1704.


\(^{216}\) 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.


of these, and a few other (mostly anonymous) verses\textsuperscript{222} are epic or historica carmina, epitaphia and encomia (a shadowy Walo Brito\textsuperscript{223} might have written an obituary for William Clito, son of Robert Curthose\textsuperscript{221}).

In the final part of the History\textsuperscript{225}, Henry says that he had written many other verses: the majority of them, the Epigrammatorum iocundorum libri\textsuperscript{6} about love, are now lost; instead the collection Epigrammata seria forms the final portion of the Historia Anglorum, books XI and XII\textsuperscript{227}, composed of 26\textsuperscript{228} and 10 poems\textsuperscript{229} respectively. In this context, the author shows his complete

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\textsuperscript{223} Cf. ed. ibid., Appendix I, p. 836.


\textsuperscript{226} Cf. ibid., p. cx, cxxi-cxv.

\textsuperscript{227} Cf. ibid., p. cxxx-cxvii.


\textsuperscript{229} Texts ed. in Henry, Archdeacon of Huntington, 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 virtuitis, 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 iambics. 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 work 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 king. But that, as is often said, is another story.

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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 1468; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 155 (S.C. 1614); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 69 (S.C. 1670); Praha, Archiv Pražského 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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