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Eleventh and Twelfth Century Latin Epigram

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CHAPTER I

AN INTRODUCTION TO MEDIEVAL EPIGRAM

A medieval churchman, musing on man's pride, once wrote:

Unde superbit homo, cujus conceptio culpa?
Nasci poena, labor vita, necesse mori.[1]

The poem breathes a gentle, moderately Christian despair,
tempered by concision, grace, and banality. It found an
audience. Gerald of Wales quotes it, as does Herrad of
Landsberg and Peter of Poitiers; later someone rewrote it as
three distichs. Yet its author is unknown. In its popular-
ity and its anonymity it is an epigram typical of hundreds
written by European clerics during the eleventh and twelfth
centuries.

The bibliographic surveys of Gröber and Hauréau, with
the more recent compilations of Waltner, furnish a key to
the scattered locations of such poems, but scholars have
written little about the epigrams themselves. Both Max
Manitius and F. J. E. Raby are erratic and usually quite
brief in their treatment of epigrams by particular authors,[2]
and the few scholars who have examined individual poems in
detail generally show little interest in the genre as a
whole.[3] This neglect is unfortunate. Some of the epigrams
are good, many are not; yet whatever the quality of the
individual poems, taken together they provide fascinating
insights into the culture which produced them.

Composition of epigram in the eleventh and twelfth

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centuries was part of a cultural renaissance made possible, if not explained, by relative peace and prosperity, and by expansion of the schools. Epigrammatic composition in itself, however, does not appear as a constituent in the blossoming of lyric and vernacular poetry which is associated with the period, for epigram is a conservative, backward-looking, imitative genre. During the period, it was written in Latin, in the most conservative of forms. F. J. E. Raby has suggested one of the reasons for its conservatism in his commentary on a much earlier writer, Callimachus, a Dorian who, like medievals, had to "learn laboriously" a new language. "It was not by accident that he and others like him cultivated the epigram, a small thing that could be polished to to a semblance, at any rate, of brilliance."[4] Certainly, epigram has quite frequently been a form favored by schools, the preservers of the traditional, for the reason that Raby suggests. Yet the conservatism of the genre does not spring solely from its association with the schools. It is by nature a poetic confrontation of the established and the traditional, of the truths of a culture, with the individual and the occasional, a momentary blending of immediacy with permanence. In this respect, it may be contrasted with lyric song, in which the personal expression of shifting, ever varied emotion dominates. It states eternal truth caught in a temporal moment. Then it is done.

In this study, I shall principally explore the traditional roots of eleventh and twelfth century Latin epigram,

the topics and techniques which link it to the past. In the
process, I shall also define the characteristics of the
genre and survey the many types of epigrammatic verse prac-
ticed by medievals.

The study is divided into two major sections, the first
on inscriptional epigram, the second on literary epigram.
The inscriptional section begins in Chapter Two with an
exploration of epigrammatic death verse. Chapter Four
presents other epigrammatic inscriptions, subclassified by
the objects which they were meant to adorn. The second
major section begins in Chapter Five with a study of didac-
tic epigram, useful in the schools. It includes a commentary
on religious epigram, too, which may best be viewed as an
educational phenomenon. The taxonomy concludes in Chapter
Six with a survey of secular epigrams, those based essen-
tially on classic models. Chapter Seven gives a brief sum-
mary of epigrammatic types, specifies their common charac-
teristics, and passes in review development of epigram during
the two-hundred years covered by the study.

Before turning to the body of this work, however, I
would first like to touch briefly on the story of epigram
prior to the opening of the eleventh century and to consider
ways in which authors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries
thought of the genre.

A. Epigram Prior to the Eleventh Century

To understand medieval epigram is to know something of the history of the genre. It began with the Greeks. The inscription of Simonides of Ceos for the dead at Thermopylae and the short satiric and amatory poems of Plato are good examples of early Greek epigram at its best--restrained, polished, and lacking the witty point typical of later classic works. These and approximately four thousand more are preserved in the Greek Anthology, which holds poems written over a period of about 1700 years. It is a combination of the Palatine Anthology, based on a compilation by the tenth century Byzantine scholar Constantinus Cephalas, who worked with earlier collections such as the Garland of Meleager and the Circle of Agathias, and the anthology of Maximus Planudes, fourteenth century envoy to Venice, who rearranged Cephalas' work, preserving some poems missing from the unique extant Palatine manuscript. Although early editors such as Meleager arranged the poems alphabetically, Agathias and those who followed him classified them by subject.[5] The fifteen books of standard modern editions, such as that of Paton, include sections of Christian epigrams (Book I), many of them inscriptions from Byzantine churches; amatory, votive and sepulchral poems (V, VI, VII); epitaphs by the fourth century St. Gregory of Nazianzus (VIII); declamatory and descriptive epigrams, some philosophic, some anecdotal (IX); poems in unusual meters, labeled by verse

form (XIII); and arithmetical problems, riddles, and oracles
(XIV). The earliest epigrams are votive and sepulchral,
showing origin of the type in inscription for votive offer-
ing, monument, and tomb; after the early change to literary
form, amatory, anecdotal, moral, and satiric types appeared.[6]
Like much lyric verse, epigram first had distich form and
the name "elegy"; recognition as a fixed genre came only
later.[7]

Medieval authors and readers knew little of the Greek
epigrams. James Hutton comments that "Erasmus appears to
have been the first writer after Ausonius to make use" of
them.[8] An exception is Paul the Deacon, who gives a three-
distich Greek anecdote of a young boy drowned in ice in his
Latin verse letter of 781 to Charlemagne; he says he heard
it in his childhood, spent in southern Italy.[9] The influence
of Greek epigram on medieval poetry, however, is largely
indirect, through the work of Ausonius and the _Epigrammata
Bobiensia_, and, at a further remove, through Martial.[10]

Latin writers before Martial experimented with the
form, imitating the Alexandrian Greeks. Ennius, one of the
first, wrote an inscription for his own portrait and several
epitaphs.[11] Catullus wrote more than forty short poems in
elegiac distichs, found at the end of his collection,[12] and
a number of others in varied meters scattered through his
lyrics. He does not specifically call them epigrams, how-
ever, and in tone and technique they resemble his other
lyric poems, albeit a few have the pointed wit typical of

Martial's verse. Cicero, Caesar, and Tibullus also wrote
epigrams, and a number are attributed to Virgil in the
Appendix Vergiliana. Ovid's epigrams are lost, apart from
introductory verses and the epigrammatic sequences in his
longer poems.[13]

These writers prepared the ground for Martial, the
Spanish born, Silver Age specialist in epigram who developed
the wit which many readers believe lies at the very heart of
the genre. He is of the first importance to the medieval
writers. As Raby remarks, "The spasmodic occurrence of epi-
grams throughout the Middle Ages is directly related to the
study of Martial in the schools, especially in the eleventh
and twelfth centuries."[14]

Familiar with the poetry of both his Greek and Latin
predecessors, Martial was especially indebted to Catullus.
His use of hendecasyllabics for poems of personal emotion, of
iambic scazon for those showing love of country and the
simple life, is probably due to direct imitation,[15] as is
his preference for personal satire, though the bitterness of
Catullus is largely lacking in his attacks.[16] Martial estab-
lished as characteristic epigrammatic devices the witty turn
of phrase and thought--the sting or point--at the end; the
satiric, humorous, realistic observation on particulars of
person or institution; and the liberal use of names, real or
fictitious. Of his fifteen books, two are made up of mottos
for Saturnalia and banquet presents (Xenia, Apophoreta), one
gives descriptions of the Colosseum (Liber Spectaculorum),

and the remainder contain about twelve hundred literary
epigrams. The majority of these are personal satire and
commentary, directed to a specific individual; some are des-
criptive; about one-tenth are erotic. The typical poem is
elegiac and two to twelve lines long, though there are many
departures from this norm. Contemporary criticisms of form
and length evoked a typical response:

> "Hexametris epigramma facis" scio dicere Tuccam.
>   Tucca, solet fieri, denique, Tucca, licet.
> "Sed tamen hoc longum est". Solet hoc quoque,
>   Tucca, licetque:
>   Si breviora probas, disticha sola legas.
> Conveniat nobis, ut fas epigrammata longa
>   Sit transire tibi, scribere, Tucca, mihi.[17]

Seneca (4-65) and Petronius (+66), two of Martial's
contemporaries, also wrote epigrams. Philip Schuyler Allen
and Howard Mumford Jones characterize some of them as the
earliest of the Romanesque lyrics.[18] Raby notes that those
by Petronius show influence of the Greek epigrammatists.[19]
Those of both writers have, at any rate, hints of fugitive
states of consciousness which are rare in Martial. Of the
two writers, Seneca enjoyed the greater popularity in the
Middle Ages. To him, as to Martial, were attributed a number
of imitations.[20]

Romanesque epigrams of the following centuries are of
two major kinds: traditional, following after Martial and
Greek models, and Christian, in the inscriptional tradition.[21]
They developed together, and a number of authors wrote both
types, but I shall speak of them separately.

Ausonius (c. 310-c. 395), schoolman and statesman of

Bordeaux, is the most prominent of the traditional epigram-matists of the fourth century. His Epitaphia heroum qui bello Troico interfuerunt[22] is a free translation of a Greek series, joined with a few epitaphs of his own. The Epigram-mata de diversis rebus[23] shows Greek influence in its satire, particularly of the professions, in its versified sayings and stories of strange deaths, and in its arrangement of epigrams in series treating a single theme--Myron's heifer, for example--or addressed to a single person, though there are echos of Martial, too.[24] The epigrams addressed to his wife (XXXIX, XL) and the memorial verses of his Parentalia and Professores are freer and more personal.[25]

Ausonius was a friend of the heathen Symmachus, around whom clustered a group of Italian epigram writers. Among them was Naucellius. His work appears with that of others in the Epigrammata Bobiensia,[26] a collection of seventy-one epigrams, including thirty translations from Greek, similar in spirit to those of Ausonius.[27] Gennadius, who revised Martial's text in 401, may also have been in this circle;[28] less closely associated with it was Claudian, who came to Italy from Alexandria about 395. F. J. E. Raby notes that Claudian departs from traditional themes, turning to "things that had a real meaning and relevance--a landscape, a river, a building, a statue, or even an unusual phenomenon of nature."[29]

Traditional Romanesque epigrams also appear in the Anthologia Latina,[30] a modern compilation of poetry from

early medieval manuscripts. It contains the Salmasian
codex, a copy of the "African Anthology" made in Carthage
about 530. The manuscript is entitled Libri epigrammaton,
but its contents are varied. Its 382 poems include Virgi-
lian centos, long love letters, lyrics such as the Pervigi-
lium Veneris, Hosidius Geta's drama Medea, and epigrams of
many types. The last are by Roman writers of the Augustan
period and later--Caesar, Virgil, Seneca, Petronius, Martial
--and post-classic authors, particularly African grammarians.[31]
Best represented is Luxorius, who imitated Martial to some
extent in his satiric poems.[32] His themes range from obscen-
ity through moral thought, description, and anecdotes of
classic myth; his verse forms vary, but the epanaleptic verse
and numerous hexameters are noteworthy as being typically
medieval. The codex also contains the hundred three-hexameter
enigmas of Symphosius, the only complete ancient riddle
collection by a single author.[33] They are carefully written,
with considerable rhyme, assonance, and word play, as can be
noted in his version of the old riddle of the louse:

> Est nova nostrarum cunctis captura ferarum,
> Ut si quid capias, id tu tibi ferre recuses,
> Et quod non capias, tecum tamen ipse reportes.[34]

The earliest Christian epigrams are epitaphs, which
appeared in growing number from about the fourth century.
Their themes and styles evolved gradually, preserving much
from pagan epitaph, and their diction shows frequent borrow-
ing from the Aeneid, probably because the work was used in
schools.[35] Damasas (Bishop of Rome, 366-384) is noted for

his martyr inscriptions,[36] which differ from epitaphs in that they usually mention the person who found the grave or built the altar. Some are narratives, and most are in hexameters. Although, as Raby comments, they "contain many sins against pure prosody and show little or no poetical feeling,"[37] they decorated monuments much visited by pilgrims to Rome and had a great influence on later inscriptional poetry.[38] Building epigrams, whose pagan antecedents lay in temple inscriptions, frequently give the purpose of the building-- a baptistry, for example--or its symbolic significance.[39] Decorations within and outside the church also had their appropriate titles. On fascades of early Roman churches, for example, the painting of God's hand was common, accompanied by a verse such as the following:

Continet ista manus mundum prosternit elatos
Et humiles erigit iuste miserata roganti[40]

Within the church were picture inscriptions. Basilicas of fourth and fifth century Spain and Italy displayed verse by accomplished poets such as Prudentius (384-405) and Paulinus of Nola (355-c. 431), Ausonius' former pupil.

Prudentius' Dittochaeon,[41] a series of forty-nine hexameter tetrastichs presenting scenes from the Old and New Testaments, was probably written "for mosaics or pictures in a Spanish basilica" based on Palestinian prototypes.[42] Paulinus also wrote a Biblical series, described and partially incorporated in a poem for St. Felix's feast day.[43] He transcribes many other inscriptions for the old and new

basilicas of St. Felix in a letter to his friend Severus, living in Gallia-Narbonensis, who had asked to have them for his own new church.[44] By such borrowing the inscriptional tradition spread from southern Europe northward.[45] As pictures of apostles, saints, and churchmen found their way into the church, they too received their portion of identifying verse.[46]

Christian literary epigram appears first in the work of Prosper of Aquitaine (born c. 390). He brought the traditional forms into the service of theological polemic with two satiric epigrams directed against opponents of Augustin and a mock tomb inscription, Epitaphium Nestorianae et Pelagianae haereseon.[47] His moral Epigrammaton ex sententiis Augustini[48] became popular in medieval schools.[49] Apollinaris Sidonius (430-479) and Magnus Felix Ennodius (473-521), sophisticated rhetoricians who became bishops, wrote both traditional and Christian poems. Rarely, pagan myth creeps into their inscriptions, Christian sentiment into their normally frivolous and occasionally obscene traditional epigrams.[50]

Venantius Fortunatus (c. 540-c. 600) fused and transcended the two traditions in his little occasional pieces and verse letters inspired by friendships and daily events. Typical is his motto for a gift of violets presented to the highborn abbess Radegund:

> Tempora si solito mihi candida lilia ferrent,
>   aut speciosa foret suave rubore rosa,
> haec ego rure legens, aut caespite pauperis horti,

misissem magnis munera parva libens.
sed quia prima mihi desunt, vel solve secunda,
profert qui vicias, ferret amore rosas.
inter odoriferas tamen has quas misimus herbas
purpureae violae nobile germen habent.
respirant pariter regali murice tinctae
et saturat foliis hinc odor, inde decor.
hae, quod utrumque gerunt pariter habeatis utraque
et sit mercis odor flore perenne decus.[51]

Although twelfth century poets knew little of Fortuna-
tus,[52] the Carolingians admired and imitated his work.[53]
They particularly favored occasional verse, suited to the
cult of friendship at Charlemagne's court, producing many
short eulogies, greetings, and verse letters. The letters
varied in length, but most were short, differing from epi-
gram primarily in their stylized salutations and farewells.
Walafrid Strabo's Ad amicum is a charming example of the
type:

Cum splendor lunae fulgescat ab aethere purae,
Tu sta sub diva cernens speculamine miro,
Qualiter ex luna splendescat lampada pura
Et splendore suo caros amplectitur uno
Corpore divisos, sed mentis amore ligatos.
Si facies faciem spectare nequivit amantem,
Hoc saltim nobis lumen sit pignus amoris.
Hos tibi versiculos fidus transmisit amicus,
Si de parte tua fidei stat fixa catena,
Nunc precor, ut valeas felix per saecula cuncta.[54]

One can here note the irregular, one-syllable leonine rhyme,
which began its rise to prominence in Carolingian times.

The early Carolingians were also familiar with Martial
(apparently brought from Spain by Theodulf), with the "Afri-
can Anthology," and with Ennodius. Second generation Frank-
ish scholars were acquainted with Ausonius and Paulinus of
Nola, introduced by the Irish.[55] However, epigram in the

manner of Martial and Ausonius appears rarely in their work. Riddles, suited, like the friendship letter, to the literary mood of the court, were more popular. These had been developed by English writers such as Aldhelm, whose models can be traced back through Irish writers to Symphosius.[56]

The Carolingians wrote many inscriptions, too. Alcuin composed a number for monastic buildings and the beginning and end of manuscripts, as well as epitaphs.[57] Raban Maur specialized in altar and cross inscriptions,[58] suggesting the new importance of chapels and cross altar in early Romanesque churches.[59] New inscriptional subjects and techniques emerged. Dungal wrote titles for pictures of the seven liberal arts and medicine;[60] Ermoldus Nigellus, a second generation Carolingian, incorporated modified titles for both sacred and secular scenes in his long elegiac poem In honorem Hludowici.[61]

Monastic schools of the ninth and tenth centuries, instituted or encouraged by Charlemagne and his followers, fostered the spread of epigram. The third century Disticha Catonis,[62] a collection of proverbial admonitions toward a life of prudence, was adopted as a standard primer, to continue as such until the Renaissance.[63] Allied to this were a number of other proverbial collections, such as the Praecepta vivendi per singulos versus quae monastica dicuntur, ascribed to Columban.[64] These were supplemented by florilegia, containing excerpts from longer works. Mico of St. Riquier, a writer of epigrams himself, used for teaching an

Opus prosodiacum,[65] illustrating unusual words with single lines from both classic and medieval poets, his own revision of the Lombard Exempla diversorum auctorum, used in other versions at Reichenau and Laon.

Students were taught to write verse on such models. Ekkehard IV tells how boys at the festival of the Holy Innocents extemporaneously composed distichs for the visiting abbot Salomo (890-920) of St. Gall.[66] Teachers and students may also have been responsible for most of the varied descriptive series inspired by early works such as the Septem sapientum sententiae[67] and the Testrastichon de singulis mensibus,[68] ascribed to Ausonius, and the lost Latin translation of the Greek Physiologus.[69] In any event, Ennodius included a short series, on virtues and studies, in his didactic treatise Paraenesis didascalia,[70] and the writer of the Hisperica famina, telling of school life in Ireland, gives a somewhat similar collection of topics.[71] Raban Maur's distichs on the four cardinal virtues,[72] Walafrid's poems for plants in De cultura hortorum,[73] and Notker's Versus de quinque sensibus[74] are, each in their way, variations on the pattern.

Thanks to schools, the inscriptional tradition, and the growing number of syllogae collecting work of earlier authors,[75] epigram survived the tenth century to appear with fresh vigor in the eleventh and twelfth.

B. Eleventh and Twelfth Century Concepts of Epigram

Sidonius, writing in the fifth century, thought of the epigram as necessarily short and witty. _Praeterea quod ad epigrammata spectat_, he remarks in a letter to his friend Lupus, _non copia sed acumine placens, quae nec brevius disticho neque longius tetrasticho finiebantur, eademque cum non pauca piperata, mellea multa conspiceres, omnia tamen salsa cernebas._[1] No one further characterizes the genre until the Renaissance, but it is clear that Carolingian writers had a different understanding of it. In the middle of the ninth century Florus of Lyons titles five poems with the word _epigramma_.[2] One is a book inscription, _Epigramma libri omeliarum_, which runs to 195 hexameter verses, summarizing the homilary it introduces.[3] The other titles are less explicable. His _Epigramma ymni sanctorum trium puerorum_, sixty-seven hexameters in length, is an expanded Biblical paraphrase, as are the three Psalm epigrams, two in hexameters and one in fifteen iambic dimeter quatrains.

The term is rarely used in the eleventh century. The only collection with the label is the _Epigrammata cuiusdam scolastici_,[4] a series of twenty-three picture inscriptions on the miracles of St. Maximin for the old chapter-hall of the abbey of St. Maximin at Trier, each two to eighteen verses in length. Manitius, largely because of its leonine rhyme, assigns it to the eleventh century.[5]

Benzo of Alba, writing in Italy about 1085, still

gives the word an inscriptional connotation in his <u>Ad Hein-</u><u>ricum IV imperatorem libri VII.</u>[6] After a fairly long prose and verse preface, Benzo writes the title, <u>Epygrama libri</u><u>primi,</u>[7] parallel with a <u>Praefaciuncula libri secundi</u>, <u>Pro-</u><u>logus libri quarti</u>, and <u>Praefatio libri quinti.</u>[8] A pun is in his head, for he begins, <u>Sine errore in eam domum intra-</u><u>tur, cum nomen possessoris super portam scriptum monstratur.</u><u>Eodem modo prologi codicum et tituli indicant sequentia</u><u>cuiusque libri. Quapropter ammonendi sunt lectores ut ea,</u><u>quae in libris habentur, fideliter interpraetentur.</u> He con-tinues for a page of rhymed and rhythmic prose, ending with half a Catonic distich.[9] Throughout the first book--but not thereafter--he gives each short chapter its appropriate title in hexameter verses, ornamenting the text, too, with an occasional short rhythmic poem.

The most prolific eleventh century writers of tradi-tional epigram seldom use the word. It does not appear in Hildebert's work; in Marbod's poetry it crops up once, as title:

<div align="center">V. Epigramma de domo lignea</div>

Condita de lignis domus esse potest cibus ignis,
Quem si non pascit, tamen it cito: nam veterascit,
Sed quid prodesset, si murus ferreus esset,
Cui mors dura tamen foret inventura foramen?
Ergo non curet quantum sua mansio duret,
Qui modicum durat, etiam si talia curat.[10]

Although the poem is philosophic, it also carries suggestions of the building inscription. Peter Damian (1007-1072), on the few occasions when he refers to his epigrams or labels

them by type, uses formal terms: <u>Scribite, si placet,</u>
<u>disticon istud in refectorio sub pedibus apostolorum</u>, he
writes to Desiderius; in another prose work he quotes his
poem on the horrors of "Roman fever" and calls it a tetras-
ticon; he entitles his sibylline death-wish for a hated
papal aspirant, <u>Triste tristichon Cadaloo</u>.[11] Godfrey of
Winchester (1050-1107) refers to his collection of epigrams[12]
modeled on Martial as <u>nostra pagina</u> in the introduction;
incipits and explicits speak of <u>opus</u>, <u>libellus</u>, <u>versus</u>;
manuscripts, when titled, present either <u>Liber proverbiorum</u>
or <u>De moribus et vita instituenda</u>.[13]

Traditional as well as inscriptional connotations appear
in the twelfth century. William of Malmesbury quite properly
refers to Godfrey's poems as <u>epigrammata</u>.[14] And Henry of
Huntington (c. 1084-1155) plays with the word in his prose
introduction to Book XI of the <u>Historia Anglorum</u>.[15] <u>Epi-</u>
<u>grammata varietate gaudent</u>, he begins, noting they have put
on their Sunday best for the book. In the poetic introduc-
tion which follows he tells of their moral value:

> Otia luxuriam docent . . .
>   . . .
>   . . . Causam quippe rogantibus,
> Vir dixit venerabilis, semen sunt necis improba,
> Rumpant quaelibet otia; semper desidiam fuge,
> Nec pravum tamen effice; et nos hoc studium tenet,
> Ut rumpant epigrammata, se discentibus otia.
> Quae si non aliud ferant, hoc saltem,
> Ac si commoda plurimus dent, non improbo carmina.[16]

The book contains four long poems of satire and moral dia-
tribe and eighteen epigrams, mainly satire of vices. The
influence of Martial is apparent in their elegiac form,

direct address to specific individuals, concision, and occasional wit. A further linking of epigram with the satiric appears in Gerald of Wales' _Epigramma Philippicum_,[17] a juvenile poem of eleven distichs, rhymed and full of word play, against the bestial savagery of a man raised by undeserved good fortune to a position of importance.

The term epigram doubtless appears elsewhere in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but it is certainly not common. Epigrams are. The question arises, what did the writers of this period call their little poems?

The medieval writers had no single name which they could apply to any type of epigram. However, they had a number of terms which designated particular types. Generally speaking, inscriptional epigrams are spoken of as _tituli_, a classic word used interchangeably with _epigrammata_ by earlier writers such as Paulinus of Nola.[18] In the later middle ages, it had a number of denotations. DuCange gives nine different meanings; it appears, for example, as a legal term for inscribed boundry markers, and as the designation of a clerical office. Gerald of Wales (c. 1147-1223) applies it to prose résumés of the virtues and accomplishments of various rulers,[19] taken from the end of the _Topographia Hibernica_ and placed in his _Symbolum electorum_ with letters and poems.

Yet _titulus_ was still accepted to indicate poetic inscription. DuCange specifically tells of its application to death roll inscriptions, _versus lugubres de morte_

insigniorum personarum, quos scribebant monachi variorum monasteriorum, quibuscum initia erat societas, cum ad eos deferebantur rotuli, mortem illarum personarum nunciantes.[20] Whether the meaning of inscriptional death roll verse led to the standard heading, titulus followed by the name of the inscribing institution in the genitive, for all roll inscriptions, whether poetry or prose, toward the end of the eleventh century, or whether the term titulus for the verse was adopted because of the standard heading is not clear.

Titulus was also applied to epitaphs and other types of inscription. Baudry of Bourgueil on several occasions refers to his epitaphs as tituli, within the epitaphs.[21] And tituli is used by Fulcoius of Beauvais (c. 1020-1082) in the subtitle for his collection: Ivoni, Sancti Dionysii abbati, versus Fulcoii in titulis.[22] Of the forty-nine inscriptions which follow, forty-two are epitaphs. Two epitaphs for Mathilda, wife of William the Conqueror, could conceivably have appeared on death rolls; a joint inscription for Ogier the Dane and Benedict seems designed for a tomb, to judge by its closing distichs:

> Fortes athletae, per secula cuncta valete,
>   Par crucis est species, par erit et requies.
> O quam par pulchrum! par vivere, parque sepulchrum,
>   /Par fui/t et tumulus, par erit et titulus.[23]

An epitaph for Fulcoius' younger brother Tetricus is even suggestive of classic sepulchral epigram, though it is elegiac only in tone:

> Tetrice, pucher eras, Phebes vel Apollinis instar
> Pucher eras, formaque potens, in utraque vic/issim/

Dignus amare puer, vel amari digna puella;
Una dies, inimica dies, cum perdit utrunque
Ad quod eras, faciendo puer, patiendo puella.
Si te non aliu, felix est non alio tu,
Speque ruens duplici, nec amare potes, nec amari.[24]

The poems which follow the epitaphs are largely illegible.
One of the best preserved invokes the favoring presence of
the Fates on a household; a table inscription speaks of
Ceres and Bacchus. Elsewhere, Fulcoius calls his little
poems elegi.[25] This was, however, a quite uncommon term
for such works.

The epitaphs, of course, had the much more common
generic title of epitaphium. Quite frequently, epitaphs are
so labeled, with the name of the deceased in the genetive.
Peter Damian marks his two epitaphs in this way; all other
metric verses he either leaves untitled or heads with a
reference to form, content, or addressee.[26]

Nugae is one term which occasionally refers to epigram
of all types, though not in any narrow sense. Martial had
used it in speaking of his own poems.[27] One of Fulcoius'
contemporaries, writing a notice of his life, tells of the
content of Uter, which contains the title series, using the
word to refer either to the last, illegible epigrams or to
other small poems which have been lost. He explains, primum
volumen simplex in epistolis, in titulis, in quibusdam quasi
nugis quod experientiae causa Utrum nominavit.[28] An echo of
such casual characterization may perhaps be found in John of
Salisbury's introduction to the Metalogicon, in which he quotes
Martial (I.16) on the varying quality of any book's contents

and then remarks, _Sic Marcialis: sic et ego, malens sic nugari quam ad formam Ganimedis lepores agitare_ . . . .[29] These instances, of course, all show that the term primarily suggests "trifles," not a specific type of verse.

Frequently products of youth and the schools, epigrams are often in fact trifles, or might so be regarded by their authors. This is particularly true of Gerald of Wales' epigrams. In the preface to his _Symbolum electorum_, a collection of fugitive pieces which Gerald made himself, he modestly tells his readers, _Alii vero ut metrica carmina neve labores illi tempore primaevi incuria perirent, revocando connecterem_ . . . _precibus importunis efflagitabant_ . . . .[30] At the close he explains that he wrote verse only when young, turning his talents later to prose. With few exceptions, the _metrica carmina_ seem to be school assignments or poetry inspired by grammatical and rhetorical studies. A number have titles which present rhetorical types: _descriptio_, _consolatio_, _responsio_, _invectio_, _excusatio_.[31] His description of a girl is long and stereotyped; that of fame is also conventional, but shorter (ten distichs); a third, unusual in its subject, may have been an exercise in abbreviation:

Duelli descriptio

Armat amor juvenes, pretium stat virgo, minantur
  Crux et aves, merces unica, poena duplex.[32]

One _responsio_ is a six distich reply to some friend who has sent him poetry, a not uncommon subject for a verse letter:

Versibus imparibus respondet amicus amico
  Bis senis totidem reddit agitque vices.
. . .
  Et versus laudo versibus arte minor.
. . .
Eligo sic igitur cunctos et praefero nullos,
  Extollens titulis singula quaeque suis.[33]

The simple term <u>versus</u>, used in this poem, appears to have been Gerald's usual name for such short poems, whether inscription (<u>Versus stallo suo suprascripti et ab ipso compositi</u>), epigrammatic eulogy (<u>Versus Giraldi in laudem Papae Innocentii III</u>), epitaph (<u>Versus epitaphii Magistri Geraldi</u>), or casual thought (<u>Versus excepti de Hibernica Topographia</u>). In lemmas, he reserves the word <u>carmina</u> for a few longer, more ornate poems. For Serlo of Wilton's epigrams, some the lively poetry of youth, others pious inscriptions and religious verse of later life, <u>Versus Serlonis</u> is the usual manuscript designation.[34] And <u>versus</u> is also used occasionally in the death rolls, especially to title satiric inscriptions and the work of students.

Among the non-inscriptional epigrams, only proverbs were singled out by a special name. As the manuscript title, <u>Liber proverbiorum</u>, for Godfrey's collection of epigrams suggests, a clear distinction between popular sayings trans- lated into Latin, such as those in Serlo of Wilton's <u>Pro- verbia</u>,[35] and original, short epigrams on moral and pruden- tial topics was not observed by the medievals.

The proverbs were quite frequently gathered into large collections.[36] So, too, were the other epigrams. The gatherings, or <u>florilegia</u>, served primarily as school texts,

though authors occasionally had other purposes in mind.
Geoffrey of Vinsauf indicates their utility for preachers
and poets,[37] and Gerald of Wales says he has collected his
poems at the request of friends, <u>ut</u> . . . <u>eligere flosculos
possent</u>,[38] suggesting that his collection is primarily for
the reader's simple enjoyment. At no time did a medieval
deliberately set out to make an inclusive collection com-
parable in scope to the <u>Greek Anthology</u>, yet the material
for that hypothetical collection was certainly written, and
at no time with greater enthusiasm than during the eleventh
and twelfth centuries.

CHAPTER II

INSCRIPTIONAL DEATH EPIGRAM

Epigrammatic death poetry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries can be divided into three major kinds: death roll inscriptions, epitaphs, and calendar inscriptions. The roll inscriptions vary in tone from sober consolation to satiric humor, but all share common topics. Epitaphs are of three types: tomb epitaphs, containing a reference to the tomb itself; obituary epitaphs, with a death day but no reference to the tomb; and commemorative epitaphs, lacking both topics. Calendar inscriptions, a relatively unimportant type of death epigram, are modeled on the epitaph.

A. Death Roll Inscriptions

From the time of St. Boniface until the early Renaissance, the _rotliger_, or roll bearer--_gerulus_, _brevetarius_, _scedaforus_, _pellifer_, _portitor_, as the poets call him[1]-- brother of a monastic order or appointed servant of a church, made his way about Europe, bringing news of death.[2] Visiting monastic houses and churches in confraternity with the house that sent him on his way, he would present his roll (_rotulus_)headed by a letter announcing the death (_breve mortuorum_, _encyclica_, _brevia_,[3] prepared in large monastaries by the _armarius_[4]) to the members of each house that he entered, for them to inscribe it and learn for whom they should say masses and prayers.[5]

In the later Middle Ages, the inscription on the roll might be no more than a simple indication of the name of the church or abbey: _titulus Sancti Stephani_, for example. In an earlier period it was more ornate, in verse or prose, giving the name of the house, quite infrequently the date of the roll's arrival,[6] usually some commentary on the dead, and if appropriate a list of the recent dead at the institution or in the immediate area, so that these, too, could receive their due from the other houses of confraternity. Some member of the house would inscribe names of important dead, taken from the roll, in the house's obituary calendar, so that they might be properly remembered with prayers at the anniversary. Then the _rotliger_, provided with a new entry on his roll and fortified, perhaps, by money and a few days of rest from the road, made his way to the next establishment.

Baudry of Bourgueil viewed the _rotliger_ and his mission with distaste:

> Obsecro, jam parcat tam saepe venire veredus,
> Per nimios usus nimium sua verba veremur.
> Vivant praelati, pro quorum morte vagatur
> Vultur edax, corvusque niger, volitansque veredus,
> Necnon bubo canens dirum mortalibus omen.
> Significant mortes, praesaganturque cadaver--
> Sic rotulus semper mortem cujuslibet affert.
> Ergo sit a nostris penitus conventibus exul,
> Qui semper mortem, qui nuntiat anxietatem.
> Nam si saepe venit, nummi mercede carebit.[7]

Relatively few of the medieval death rolls have survived the centuries, judging from the names entered on medieval obituary calendars.[8] Léopold Delisle's comprehensive

summary, <u>Rouleaux des morts du IXe au XVe siécle</u> (Paris, 1866), tells of 106 rolls known in their entirety, through fragments, or simply by mention in other works. A few others, primarily from the thirteenth century and later, come from Spain, Germany, and England.[9]

In the following analysis of poetry in the rolls, that from the rolls of St. Bruno (+1101) and Bishop Oliva (+1046) has been omitted from consideration. Bishop Oliva's roll, omitted from Delisle's collection, has been published only in part. St. Bruno's roll, which may best be considered an edited collection, is discussed below, in Chapter Three.

The earliest roll fragment, an encyclical formula from Murbach Abbey in Basel, Switzerland, dates from the eighth century; five encyclical formulae, from Reichenau and northern France survive from the ninth century; six roll fragments and one collection of <u>tituli</u> formulae, the earliest poems, all from northern France, are left from the tenth century.

What evidence we have shows that the rolls were most popular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A total of twenty-two known rolls, preserved, fragmentary, or mentioned, are listed by Delisle from the eleventh century, five from the first half, seventeen from the second. The twelfth century contributes a total of thirty, seventeen from the first half, thirteen from the second. The number drops off thereafter: from the thirteenth century, six; from the fourteenth, eleven; from the fifteenth, eight; from the

sixteenth, three.

From the rolls of the eleventh and twelfth centuries come a total of 429 poems, not counting those in the rolls of Oliva and Bruno. The majority were written between 1050 and 1150. This number may be contrasted with the ten poems remaining from before the eleventh century and the ten from after the twelfth.

Three fragments from the first half of the eleventh century present a total of 21 poems, but of these 18 are short death epigrams embedded in an encyclical; only 3 are titles. All were written in northern France--Reims, Tours, Fleury.

From the second half of the eleventh century come a total of 160 poems. Of these, 32 are found in five fragments written in north central France, at Angers, Corbie, Tournai, and Châlons; 3 are part of a collection of formulae, also from France; 7 were written by Baudry of Bourgueil; and 118 are preserved in the complete extant roll of Guifred, Count of Cerdagne (+1050-51).

Not all entries on these eleventh century rolls contain poetry. In the five fragments, there are a total of 53 inscriptions; of these, 26 (50%) are wholly verse or include one or more lines of verse along with prose. In Count Guifred's roll, 69 out of 133 titles (again, about 50%) include at least one poem; the encyclical has a poem; and of the 69 titles with poetry, 17 have multiple selections of from 2 to 14 poems.

The late eleventh century poems were written primarily in France. A fragment (XX)[10] from Angers went south to the mouth of the Rhone, picking up poems in Avignon, Mageulone, and Béziers; another (XXV) from Corbie has poetry from Gand, in Flanders, and from Saintes, near the Atlantic coast beyond Angoulême. Although the death rolls of this period are associated primarily with northern and central France, Guifred was head of a county on the very border of Spain, and his roll was sent out by the Abbey of Canigou, in the diocese of Elne on the Mediterranean. It reached Metz and Toul, in the Lorraine, part of the Holy Roman Empire; Namur and Liège, in North Lorraine; many churches in north central France; and at length came back to the Rhone valley.

In summarizing the distribution of eleventh century death roll poetry, we can say with some certainty that a poem was apt to appear in about half the titles on a death roll of any importance, and that the poems were written over a fairly large area, reaching from southern France north to Flanders and east to the Lorraine.

The popularity of death roll poetry continued into the first half of the twelfth century. St. Bruno's roll apart, it has left us a total of 220 poems: 11 from five fragments; 147 in the nearly complete roll of Mathilda (+1113), daughter of William the Conqueror and abbess of Trinity, Caen; and 62 in the roll of Vital, abbot of Savigny (+1122). This number, omitting the hundred odd poems of Bruno's roll, seems significantly higher than that for poems of the

preceding half century. The proportion of entries containing poems to purely prose titles continues about the same in Mathilda's roll (52%). The French inscribers were more apt to write verse (54% of French titles have poetry) than were the English (38% of English titles have poetry). In the fragments and in Vital's roll, however, only a quarter of the entries contain poetry. In all of these rolls and fragments from the first half of the twelfth century, the proportion of entries with multiple poems is lower than in the late eleventh century rolls, and the number of poems in such titles is less. Vital's roll contains only seven titles with two poems, none with more; Mathilda's roll has 20 titles with multiple poems, but the greatest number of poems in any entry is six.

Both Mathilda's roll and Vital's are more traveled than their eleventh century predecessors, though they did not reach as far east or south. If the order of the poems reflects the actual route of the roll bearer, Mathilda's roll was sent almost at once to England, stopping in the diocese of Bayeaux for only a few entries before it crossed the channel; back in France it circulated through Brittany and central France, went south to Saintes and north to Gand, but never reached the Rhone valley or the Lorraine. Vital's roll circulated through the north-central regions of the Loire and Seine, and in addition appears to have been sent on two different trips to England.

Poetry preserved from rolls of 1150 onward show poetic

inscriptions dropping out of favor. Three fragments written in the fifties show poetry in 14 out of 43 entries (32%), a few with multiple poems. An 1180 fragment has one poem in seven entries. If Delisle's partial publication of the complete roll of Bertrand of Baux (+c. 1181), married into the house of Orange, shows all poetry, the roll has only 6 out of 229 titles ornamented with verse, one of the entries having four poems. In total, there are only 28 poems preserved from rolls dating between 1150 and 1200. Bertrand's roll, sent out by the abbey of Silvacane, diocese of Aix, collected its poems from Nimes and the north central area of France.

Verse Form and Length

If the ten poems preserved from the tenth century are in any way typical of their kind, tenth century death roll verse is remarkable for its length and variety. Five are in unrhymed hexameter; one of these is fragmentary, the rest are 11, 36, 51, and 67 lines in length. A leonine hexameter poem is limited to 5 lines; a leonine elegiac inscription stretches on for 57 distichs. Three poems are rhythmic, one of these 99 lines of eight and seven syllable trochaic tetrameter; one 38 lines of mixed rhythms and meters; and one too fragmentary for adequate description. The rhythms are noteworthy, for in later centuries rhythmic poems rarely appear.

The twenty-one roll poems of the first half of the eleventh century are, again, too few in number to yield any

significant statistics. Again, however, three poems in titles are remarkably long: two poems of unrhymed hexameter of 14 and 25 lines, one of mixed leonine distichs and hexameter extending to 45 lines. The 18 poems included in an encyclical (XV) for the abbot of St. Remi of Reims (+1005), on the other hand, are short and homogeneous in structure: 9 are two lines in length, the others one, three, or four; all are hexameter, with irregular leonine or caudati rhyme. All rhyme in the early eleventh century poems is of one syllable, as it is in the tenth century ones, and it is apt to be irregular, either assonanced or omitted in a sporadic fashion.

Poems from the second half of the eleventh century begin to show formal traits which characterize death roll verse at its height. The poems, to begin with, are now normally short. Of the 35 poems from fragments and formulary, all but four are complete. Of these 31, 21 (65%) are 8 lines or less in length; 7 (26%) are from 9 to 16 lines; 3 (9%) are 20, 28, and 32 lines in length. Of the 118 poems in Guifred's roll, 68 (56%) are 8 lines or less, 20 of these being of 6 lines; 34 (31%) are 9 to 16 lines; 11 (8%) from 17 to 24 lines; and 5 (4%) from 26 to 66 lines in length. Baudry of Bourgueil's poems are slightly longer than average. There is no observable correlation between metric form and length. In Guifred's roll and Baudry's poems, even numbers of lines are slightly preferred over odd numbers, even when the verse is simple leonine or unrhymed hexameter.

Metric forms and rhyme in the late eleventh century

are relatively restricted until the fourth quarter of the century. Guifred's roll features the hexameter in 72 poems (61%); 57 of these are leonine, 14 are unrhymed, and one has unisoni couplets. Elegiacs are used for 42 poems (35%); 40 are leonine, one unrhymed, one serpentine.[11] Three combine hexameters and distichs, with at least partial leonine rhyme. One poem is rhythmic, seven and eight syllable iambic with irregular rhyme, the only rhythmic death roll poem from the eleventh century. Imperfect or irregular rhyme appears frequently in Guifred's roll (one or more irregular rhymes or instances of omitted rhyme in 48 of the poems), and regular two-syllable rhyme is rare (once in an elegiac poem).

Of the 35 poems in fragments and formulary from the latter half of the eleventh century, two are fragmentary hexameters. Of the remaining 33, 23 (70%) are written in some form of hexameter: 16 are leonine, 2 caudati ventrini couplets (ab/ab), 2 trinini salientes, and 3 unrhymed. Leonine elegiac distichs appear in 6 poems (18%); leonine distichs and hexameter are combined in 3 more (10%). One isolated monostich is irregular in meter and rhyme. In all the leonine distichs and hexameters, rhyme is apt to be imperfect or occasionally omitted from a line; one in four poems contains some irregularity of this type. Two-syllable rhyme is used mainly in poems from the roll fragment of Foulques, abbot of Corbie (+1095), where it is common in elegiacs and varied types of rhymed hexameter. Most of the variant hexameter rhyme schemes are from this roll, too.

Of Baudry's poems, one is in distichs, three are un-
rhymed hexameter, three are hexameter caudati couplets with
two-syllable rhyme. Insofar as Baudry highly favors elegiacs
in his other poetry, his use of hexameters in the roll verse
seems to indicate that he felt the meter most appropriate to
the genre.

In general, one may set the poems of Foulques's roll
and those by Baudry against the other, apparently earlier,
poems of the time; care for rhyme, use of two-syllable rhyme,
and interest in slightly unusual or more difficult rhyme
schemes, such as unisoni and caudati ventrini, apparently
appeared some time between 1076 and 1095 as a customary
feature of death roll verse. Throughout the period, hex-
ameters account for 60-70% of the poetry, with the remainder
elegiac distichs or a combination of distichs and hexameters.

Bruno's roll apart, death roll verse from the first half
of the twelfth century appears primarily in the two rolls of
Mathilda and Vital. Of the eleven poems from fragments men-
tioned or published by Delisle, all but one are less than
18 lines in length and all are largely leonine hexameter or
a combination of hexameter and elegiacs. Of these, the 84
line inscription of the Reading church for William Gifford
(+1129) is most interesting, composed of 28 hexameter coup-
lets with two-syllable rhyme and 28 unrhymed distichs.

Poem lengths in Mathilda and Vital's rolls are quite
similar to those of the late eleventh century, and there is
no notable difference between those poems written in France

and those from England. In Mathilda's roll, 70 poems (48%) are 8 lines or less; 52 (35%) are 9 to 16 lines; 15 (11%) are 17 to 24 lines; and 10 (7%) are over 25 lines, the longest poem being 88 lines in length. In Vital's roll, the poems are slightly shorter: 35 poems (56%) are 8 lines or less; 18 (29%) 9 to 16 lines; 4 (6%) 17 to 24 lines; and 5 (8%) over 25 lines, the longest 50 lines. As in earlier work, even numbered lines are favored over odd numbered.

Verse form in the two rolls is somewhat more varied than in earlier rolls, though the same general pattern is apparent: dactylic hexameters predominate, elegiacs and a combination of the two account for most of the others. In Mathilda's roll, a total of 114 poems are hexameter or hexameter with one added pentameter; 93 of these are from France, 21 from England. A decrease in simple leonine rhyme is evident, in favor of more complex schemes. Half of the hexameter poems (54) are leonine, with two-syllable rhyme in about a fourth, some imperfect rhyme in a fifth. Four poems are unrhymed, the others show more elegant schemes: caudati (24) or a combination of leonine and caudati (12), tirade (2), and all or partial caudati ventrini (5), unisoni (2), trinini salientes (6), and trinini dactylici (3), or a combination of three of those rhyme schemes (2). All but one of the tripartite rhymes come from France. Practically all of the poems with an end rhyme (97%) have regular two-syllable rhyme. Distichs, or distichs with an extra pentameter or hexameter, are used exclusively in 22 poems (14%)

in Mathilda's roll; of these, 7 are unrhymed, 13 are leonine, usually with two-syllable rhyme. Two others are trinini salientes and caudati. Mixed hexameters and distichs account for another 7 poems, 2 leonine, 4 at least partially caudati, one partly tirade. The remaining four poems in Mathilda's roll, all from France, are exceptional: one (XXXVI, 213) contains three sapphic stanzas followed by two-syllable rhyme caudati couplets; the others are rhythmic, eight and seven syllable trochaic (XXXVI, 122), iambic tetrameter (XXXVI, 182), and trochaic tetrameter (XXXVI, 217). These may all be student work.

The proportional patterns of meters and rhyme schemes in Vital's roll are quite similar to those in Mathilda's. Hexameter appears in 44 poems; half of these (23) have leonine rhyme. The others are caudati or partially caudati (13), partially trinini salientes (2), tirade (1), or unisoni (1), or unrhymed (4). Elegiacs are used exclusively for 10 poems; of these, 5 are unrhymed, 4 leonine, one a caudati and unisoni couplet. Hexameters and distichs are mixed in the remaining 8 poems. One of these is apparently a student work, exhibiting all of the rhyme schemes tabulated in this study; the rest are largely leonine. Two-syllable rhyme is used in only a half of the rhymed poems,

and imperfect rhyme can be noted in 7; both facts suggest that a little less care was taken with poetry for Vital's roll than with that for Mathilda's.

The 28 poems in Delisle's collection coming from the second half of the twelfth century seem to reflect the rapidly declining interest in death roll poetry. They are universally short. Twenty-one are 8 lines or less in length; the longest extends to 30 lines. The meters and rhymes follow in established patterns, with rhymed hexameter predominating.

The surviving poems are only a small sample of the death roll poetry that was written, and the sample is not controlled, but picked solely by the accidents of manuscript survival. Two facts, none the less, strongly suggest that the sample gives a fairly accurate picture of death roll verse in general: certain statistical proportions, such as the relationship between hexameter and elegiac poetry, or the relative lengths of poems, remain fairly constant from one small sample to the next; and those relationships which shift during the two centuries suggest a coherent pattern of development. This pattern might be described as follows: Poems written in the early part of the eleventh century were apt to be long hexameter or elegiac works, unrhymed or rhymed in one syllable, usually leonine. As the century progressed, short poems became more popular, though the longer poem was not entirely abandoned; hexameter became established as the most usual meter, and remained so. Rather suddenly,

toward the last quarter of the century, poets began to give
more attention to form; they came to prefer two-syllable
rhyme and to experiment with more complex rhyme patterns,
though still faithful to the established metric patterns.
Through the twelfth century, type of verse changed little,
and the writing of roll poetry, having reached a peak of
popularity toward the beginning of the century, was largely
abandoned toward the end, with no new innovations from the
periods of popularity and decline.

This pattern of development does not reflect the growth
of poetry in the period, or even the development of inscrip-
tional verse as a whole. The fairly constant proportional
relationships between hexameter, elegiac, and the almost
non-existent rhythmic verse, for example, is not typical of
poetry as a whole at the time, when rhythms flourished in
hymn and secular lyric; it is not mirrored in epitaphs, where
the elegiac distich is much preferred over hexameter; nor
does it appear in the collected works of any major poet,
such as Hildebert, Baudry, or Peter Damian. The development
of rhyme, with its growing complexity and sloughing off of
irregularities at the end of the eleventh century, might be
taken as more representative of poetic practice as a whole,
but even it fails to reflect the abandonment of rhyme in
favor of unrhymed verse that appears to a certain extent in
twelfth century epitaph. The patterns define the development
of the genre, but they do not necessarily typify other work.[13]

Generic Topics

Death roll inscriptions have a seemingly arbitrary limitation of themes. The themes may be divided into three broad types: generic themes suited specifically to the purpose of the roll; death topics, which also appear in epitaph, elegy, lament, and philosophic epigram; and the topics of eulogy. The first type provide the basic structure of the poem; the others appear as ornament.

The typical poem begins with some indication of the place of writing, in title or the poem itself. It mentions the name of the deceased. It is written from a group to a group, using first and second persons plural in epistolary style. "We of ____ are sad to hear of ____'s death; but consider, with us, that death comes to all, so put away your grief. Rather, rejoice. ____ lived a good life; he is certainly in heaven. Yet, as you request, we have prayed for him; do you pray for our dead." The names of the local dead then follow, sometimes with a prose repetition of the request for prayers. If the poem is a simple monostich, it will be reduced to the request for prayers or the hope of heaven; if moderately short, its topics may be abbreviated, sometimes omitted, often rearranged. In a longer poem, one or more of the themes will be expanded; the death reference, for example, may lead to fading flowers, the fall of Adam, and perhaps Christ's redemption.

The model poem sketched above is an exact translation of no inscription, a general paraphrase of hundreds. The

major generic themes which give structure are: "Weep not but
rejoice," and "We have prayed for yours; pray for ours."
There are other, less common topics, too, which are specifi-
cally designed for roll verse. One little used but quite
distinctive is that of the messenger's arrival, tied to the
expression of sorrow at news of death.

Guifred's roll, which contains most of the extant exam-
ples of the messenger topic, is peculiar: the usual heading,
Titulus . . . , is omitted from most of the prose and verse
entries, with the name of the inscribing institution worked
into the body of the text, usually in conjunction with a
greeting:

> Patribus ac dominis Martini dulcis alumnis
> Grex fratrum sancti Leuchorum presulis Apri,
> Gaudia perpetuae poscit felicia vitae.[14]

> Barcelona fratres in Christo vivere semper
>   Contio vult Montis quam Genovefa regit . . .[15]

The greeting of this type appears frequently (22 times) and
borders on the formulaic. A little series of phrases, for
example, rounding off lines of greeting, show much in common:
devote salutant,[16] de more salutant,[17] sint munera sancta
salutis,[18] felicia dona salutis,[19] libamus vota salutis.[20]
However, there are no repetitions in the roll for this topic
beyond that of one half-line, aeterna gaudia lucis.[21] On
other occasions, the monastery is simply identified, with
the explicit greeting omitted.

Following such an introduction, the messenger theme
appears:

. . . cupimus vobis fore notum
Scedaforum vestri nostres fine/s/ penetrare,
Enucleando quidem funus sat justiciale . . .[22]

On other occasions the motif is used by itself to open a
poem:

Sol Ledeorum veniebat ad ultima fratrum
Cum vester nostri Nicolai tecta subivit
Portitor, et profert retinet quos corde dolores[23]

Once it appears at the end:

. . .
Tyndaridus medio plus hauserat altus Apollo
    Interitum fratris cum gerulus retulit.[24]

If the sun is included, the topic is still recognizable even
when the _rotliger_, per se, is left out:

Dum medium Phoebus coeli penetraret anhelus
    Nos mortis solitus sollicitat gemitus.[25]

The sun, which is quite as important as the _rotliger_ him-
self in the developed topic, may mark either the time of day
or the time of year:

Orbis ad occiduas solis rutilaverat horas,   ·
Fessus et antipodum penetrabat lampade regnum,
Cum vester gerulus nobis depromere questus
Curavit nemios, Wifredi funere dignos.[26]

Thomiferum vestrum numeratis sole kalendis
Vidimus aprilis tribus denisque diebus,
Et legimus teretum Guifredi funere fantem.[27]

A poet from the church of St. Servais, in Maestrich,
diocese of Liège, writing a complex series of ten poems,
touches on the theme in four, twice after an opening greet-
ing, twice to begin:

. . .
Idibus augusti laetum miserabile justi
    Comperimus . . .[28]

> . . .
> Idibus Augusti nobis est cognita vestri
>   Patris mors . . .[29]
>
> Quod jam prelatus vester sit carne solutus,
>   Narravit nobis nuncius adveniens.[30]
>
> Abbatem vestrum dixit fore morte gravatum
>   Vester legatus, quod graviter ferimus.[31]

Once the same formula is used in two different entries,
widely separated, first in a highly corrupt form, later
clearly and grammatically:

> . . .
> Ad quod se gerulus vester veniens patefecit
>   Ostentans scedam conscriptam funere fratrum.[32]

Delisle comments in a note on the first version that he has
corrected it by the second. One must assume that the writers,
the first in Poitiers, the second in Le Puy, were both copy-
ing another or other versions of the verse, possibly from
memory.

In its fullest development, the theme includes a date
or time of arrival, a reference to the sun, notice of the
messenger's coming to a certain place, showing of the roll,
an allusion to or statement of its content, and an expression
of sorrow. It appears in both prose and poetic entries on
Guifred's roll; it is used once, too, in Mathilda's.[33]
Certainly, it is admirably suited to the genre, with its
evocative symbolism of the setting sun, combining thoughts
of both death and resurrection, and its equation of messenger,
sun, and death itself, those hurrying messengers who visit
the farthest outposts of humanity. Although it seems to
have been generally abandoned when a title giving the place

of inscription came into general use, Baudry of Bourgueil
was apparently familiar with it, as it appears to be the
inspiration for his <u>Invectio in rolligerum</u>.[34]

By far the most popular and most durable formula of all
is the simple "We have prayed for yours; pray for ours,"
which normally precedes the listing of the dead. There are
preserved two examples from the tenth century; 69 from the
eleventh (all from the last half); 42 from the first half of
the twelfth; and one, coming as a belated echo of a time long
gone, from the fifteenth century.[35] The topic is highly
stylized, from the beginning to the end of its course, so
that minute changes of fashion in vocabulary and sentiment
show up quite clearly. It takes only two significant varia-
tions, the simple addition of the clause, "whose names are
written below," and an explanation of why prayers are desired,
"that they may rest . . .". Normally it is limited to a
single line or couplet, though occasionally it extends for a
few more lines. Sometimes it appears as a single monostich,
the only line of poetry in the entry. A typical example,
from Guifred's roll:

> Que dedimus vestris, ea dentur mutua nostris,
> Nomina sunt quorum quae pandit pagina presens:[36]

In a sense, of course, these two lines are slightly
unusual, for both are repeated almost verbatim in separate
poems,[37] the only exact repetitions of whole lines in Gui-
fred's roll. The grammatical construction is repeated
several times more, however: <u>Quod vestris petitis nostris</u> ...,[38]

Quod fac(fec)imus vestris, id nostris . . .[39]; or with small

variation: _Et (sed) petimus nostris_ . . . ,[40] _Vestris quod_

petitis . . . .[41] The favorit verb for the request in

Guifred's roll is _peto_ (15 times), usually grouped with

vestris or _nostris_; for the act of prayer: _facio_ (10 times);

reddo (7 times) and _do_ (twice); and _solvo_, with its variants

persolvo and _exsolvo_ (10 times). A typical example of the

concatination of favorit verbs:

> . . .
> Cujus participes ploratus atque sodales
> Gratanter vestris et solvimus ut petiistis;
> Nostris et talem petimus reddi talionem:[42]

There is a fairly wide range of other verbs, too, however:

suscipiamus, succurrite, capiant, fundant, cognoscite, sub-

veniatis, commendat, attulimus, referto, ferte juvamina,

annue voto, tribuamus, impendere, poscite; and, for the

request itself (in place of _peto_), _desiderat, quaesumus,_

precamur.

Several subsidiary motifs are included with some regu-

larity, usually subsumed in a single word or short phrase.

In Guifred's roll these appear as a reflection on mutual

(and legally covenanted) duty, reference to the dead, the

letter, the prayers or other observations to be made, and

the reason for the prayer. Mutuality of the contract appears

in Guifred's roll in sixteen different adverbs, adjectives,

or particles--_mutua, idem, itidem, et (vos), (nos, vos) quo-_

que, parilem, for example--on thirty different occasions,

and is sometimes slightly expanded: _jure rependi_,[43] _foedus_

mandatis and pignus et hoc cupitis,[44] justae condebita Laethes,[45] quod subgerit ordo,[46] and twice as in the above quotation (talem . . . talionem). Usually the dead are simply referred to, in the dative plural, as nostris, vostris, but sometimes the reference is specific—functis or defunctis (3 times each), funeribus (twice)—or the personal pronouns are qualified—(vestris, nostris) carne solutis (twice), (defunctis) terrena labe gravatis (XIX, 38). Only once does a writer mention the roll—cartula quod petiit[47]—within this topic, but a reference to the list of following names, usually expanded to a full line, is more frequent, appearing six times in Guifred's roll, usually grammatically linked to the nostris, as in the quotation on page 42, above. The prayers may be referred to obliquely—prece . . . succurrite, for example—or named as the object of do and its synonyms: planctus, suffragia, debita vota precesque, libamina, exeguias animae, mencio, solamina. The explanation for the prayers, given ten times in Guifred's roll, is normally a half line or line, usually framed with ut and the subjunctive:

vivere quo valeant ac prefrui gaudia Christi[48]

ut pariter cuncti mereantur gaudia coeli[49]

. . . capiant ut dona salutis[50]

The explanations are quite similar in diction to the pious hopes and wishes, in the singular, common at the end of epitaphs. They appear to be quite old; dona salutis, for example, was used by Damasus in martyr epigram.[51]

The mutual request for prayers appears forty-seven

times in Guifred's roll. The farthest departure from the
norm is marked by its short length and rhyme link with an
amen, not commonly included in the topic:

Pace fruatur amen. Nostros cognoscite tandem![52]

Only once in Guifred's roll does the topic appear as
the whole poem. By Mathilda's time it was accepted as a
fitting tribute in itself. It appears six times as a mono-
stich, twice more in slightly expanded versions by itself,
and in addition it is attached in seventeen instances to its
usual place at the end of a longer poem. There are signs
that it is settling into old age. Quod structures are
common (used 13 times):

Quod petitis vestris, nostris impendite cunctis:[53]

Quod vultis fieri vestris, hoc reddite nostris[54]

A more cultured sentiment has also crept in. The verbs have
changed subtly: the blunt facio is dropped, verbs of prayer
are added--pensent . . . rependi, intercedite, orare, con-
ferre, dicite--and all the old ones retained. References to
prayer, the dead, the list of names, and the hope remain
approximately the same. The "in turn" motif, common in
Guifred's roll, appears seldom (4 times). A trend toward
urbanity is further marked by the development of a new
formula from the old, a simple prayer for the specified dead
and "the others, too." Typical examples:

Consocientur ibi fratres hic subtitulati:[55]

. . . tibi detur vita perhennis.
Denique fratribus atque sororibus hic titulatis
Det vitae munus Deus, est qui trinus et unus. Amen.[56]

The actual request for prayers for these local dead is
omitted, yet the expressions imply the request, and like the
more common topic from which they seem to have developed,
they serve (eleven times) as an introduction to the list of
dead. One writer, lacking a list of the dead, simply con-
cludes her poem

. . . Amen.
Nomina, si nossem, defunctarum titulassem.[57]

Then, in prose: _Requiescant in pace_. Other writers during
the early twelfth century, lacking a complete local necrology,
use plainer prose conclusions to the listing of names, " . . .
and the rest, whose names God knows." Still others make the
formal request for prayers, sometimes "for those named
below," and then omit the names.

Second in frequency to the request for mutual prayers
comes another generic topic, "Do not weep." The theologic
basis for the command may derive from Paul (Thess. I.iv.13-
18), though the proscription of tears is already present in
classical epitaph.[58] Fortunatus touches on the theme once
in an epitaph.[59] It is rare in epitaph of the eleventh and
twelfth centuries, however. An instance from another genre,
an angel's consolation of the sorrowing Rachel in the eleventh
or twelfth century _Ordo Rachelis_ of Limoges, appears to be
modeled on the death roll verse.[60]

In simple form, the prohibition of tears is a kindly
admonition: _Luctum deponite_. _Sistite planctum_.[61] Guifred's
roll again, with forty-seven instances of the advice,

illustrates the major variations. Typically, a reason is given: tears cannot revive the dead, death is natural and therefore not a cause for grief, or, more frequently, the dead has led a good life, died a good death, and gone to a better life. The first reason gives rise to the added advice, "Say prayers"; the last brings with it exhortation to rejoice. Some examples from Guifred's roll:

> Nunc cesset gemitus, cesset conquestio fletus[62]
> Si moritur mundo, quem scimus vivere Christo.

> Sed quia non lacrimis mitescunt Tartara fusis,
>   Nec fuit intratas jus rependasse vias
> Laxentur gemitus et aneli pectoris aestus:[63]
>   Debita jungamus vota precum potius . . .

After a summary of virtues:

> Quapropter, fratres, vanos cohibete dolores.[65]

After an assurance that Guifred has not gone to Hell:

> Quocirca, fratres, lacrimas ponamus inanes.
> Hic non flere pium potius quam fundere fletum. . .[66]

The topic is equally frequent (44 instances) in Mathilda's roll, but there varied with two new and related thoughts: "tears don't help, rather prayers," and an apparent development from that idea, "poems don't help." The observation on the futility of tears dates at least as far back as Augustan Rome,[67] and Fortunatus was acquainted with the topic.[68] None the less, it appears seldom in eleventh and twelfth century epitaphs. Sometimes the poets couple the vanity of tears with that of poems, as did Fortunatus on one occasion[69]; at other times they omit the tears and let the poem's vanity stand alone:

> Si quit defuncto versus lacrimaeque valerent,
> Versus ac lacrimas effundere quique studerent;
> Sed quia nil prodest versus lacrimasve notare
> Sic etenim vitam nullus poterit reparare,
> Votis instandum, precibus reor invigilandum . . .[70]

> Nil prodest animae metri genus omne Mathildis;
> Se prosunt animae pia vota precesque Mathildis.[71]

Twice the thought is given a satiric turn by coupling it with the demands of the roll bearer; once, by a humorous reference to the roll:

> Abbatissae psalmi, missae, conferent suffragia,
> Non scriptura vel pictura rotuli, quem bajulas,
> In quo versus tu perversus supplex scribi postulas[72]

> Rollifer, audito, non debet versificari,
> Quisquis pro Domino cupit hic bene mortificari.[73]

> Si lacrimae cuiquam coelestia regna pararent,
> Defunctum quemquam si carmina nostra juvarent,
> Unusquisque sibi tot carmina composuisset,
> Sicut, et ipse reor, quod cartula plena fuisset.
> Sed quia nil prosunt lacrimae nec versificari . . .[74]
> (let us rather pray and sing psalms).

In Vital's roll, prohibitions against both tears and poems appear, but the two are not linked, and indeed one poem sets the two in opposition:

> Cum sint nota satis preconia strenuitatis,
> Cur a tantillis scriptis insistitur illis?
> Est potius flendum . . . [75]

In a fragment from 1157, for an abbot of Anger, we again find the poem topic, with humorous exaggeration:

> Versibus abbatis si posset vita novari,
> Non hodie nec cras cessarem versificari . . . [76]

The continuing popularity of the prohibition against poetry in the twelfth century accompanies, perhaps by chance, a lessening popularity of poetry in the rolls and the substitution of a prose account of prayers, psalms, masses and

Pater Nosters promised or performed, especially prominent in

Bertrand of Baux's roll, toward the middle of the century.

In Mathilda's roll, generic topics are coupled with

satire, each satiric entry building on what has gone before.

Absent from the opening portion of the roll, mild scholarly

humor first appears in the 118th entry, where the first per-

son singular, not plural, is used:

> Si mors est aliquid, aut est substantia praesens
>   Aut est acciduum, vel nichil esse liquet.
> Res enim ambigua est quoniam substantia non est,
>   Subjectumque suum non nocet occiduum.
> Conveniens /et/ enim est haec diffinitio morti:
>   Non igitur superest nomen habere rei.
> Ergo nil esse dicendum credo necesse,
>   Dicat Aristoteles, vel Plato, vel Socrates.[77]

The writer continues in a sober vein, requesting the stricken

nuns not to weep. The next poet alludes to Mathilda's sex

with a commonplace of epitaph:

> Femina femineum domuit non femina sexum,
> Mathildis, mente non femina, femina carne . . .[78]

The female topic broached, a writer at the cathedral in

Poitiers links it to the roll bearer's request:

> Nunc quoque pro more solito mihi stabat in ore
> Carmine detegere probra quae scio de muliere;
> Sed pro rolligeri precibus placet ista taceri,
> Qui nil turpe sibi cogit prece supplice scribi.[79]

Two entries later, another writer makes Eve, who has already

appeared in the roll as cause of death or progenitor of the

Virgin, an opening to the satire against females which the

Poitiers writer avoided:

> Proh dolor! Eva, parens humanae conditionis,
> Fons et origo fuit horrendae perditionis.
> . . .
> Femina tota malum, res atra, miserrima, vilis.

> Qui se credit eis, est ille nimis puerilis.
> Dum quid sit mulier per singula scribere vellem,
> Rolliger a nobis conatur tollere pellem.[80]

Soon a writer brings up the small generic topic, "if she is

as the letter says, she is assuredly in heaven"; following

poets begin to link this theme with what has gone before:

> Hic titulus Cephae, Pauli simul et Genovefae.
> Quod mundum vicit Mathildis epistola dicit.
> Sed si . . .
> Jam leve purgamen det sibi Christus. Amen.[81]

> Forsitan est verum quod fertur de muliere:
> Unde rogat rotulus? Voluit devota placere
> Coelesti sponso . . .
> Quod ne sit verum non immerito dubitamus,
> Cum talem sexum nimium fragilem videamus.
> Femineus sexus nobis mortem generavit:
> Nam gustans vetitum . . .
> Coelis ista tamen pace requiescat. Amen.[82]

There follows a curious poem from Saintes, with a long dis-

cussion of Eve, twenty-six obliterated verses,[83] and reference

to the roll's testimony:

> Quae, si credatur rotulo, quod testificatur,
>   Moribus enituit, femina sancta fuit . . .[84]

A plain satire, four entries later, also lengthy, concerns

corruption in the writer's own monastery of St. Vivien, in

Saintes:

> Si praesens rotulus monachi de morte fuisset,
> Mors illius mihi monachi multum placuisset:
> . . .
> Cetera quae faciunt, non est fas hic modo dici.
> Ergo, musa, tace, quamvis mihi sint inimici;
> A populo cupiunt sancti justique videre
> . . .
> De quo quam monachi fecerant perditionem,
> In populo magnam simulantes religionem,
> Dicere non possum, jam rolligero properante.[85]

The poem, partly unreadable, contrasts the virtues of the

early monks with certain unnamable corruptions at St. Vivien;

by mentioning hypocrisy and pride by name, the poet success-
fully gives an aura of unimaginable degradation to the
charges. He concludes with four lines of specific praise
for Mathilda, who on the whole is neglected in his work.
Two entries later, the unspeakable is again brought up, now
in problematic conjunction with Mathilda:

> Nescio quid scribam de tam sacra moniali;
> Nescio quid dicam de virgine tam speciali:
> Nam si sic vixit ut primitus intitulatur,
> Nosco procul dubio quod in alta sede locatur.
> Nam si sic vixit ut monstrat epistola prima,
> Nosco procul dubio quia non descendet ad ima.[86]

A nun of St. Ausony at Angouleme returns the wandering themes
to their origin, "Do not weep."

<div align="center">VERSUS</div>

> Si moriatur anus, non est plangenda puellis:
>   Illarum votis haec inimica fuit.
> Quippe dolebat anus, si quas vidisset amari.
>   Causa fuit livor: nullus amabat eam.
> Est serpens inter ranas anus inter amantes:
>   His serpens, illis insidiatur anus.
> Haec obiit, laudate Deum, gaudete puellae,
>   Jam modo liberius vivere quaeque potest.

Iterum versus facti post pocula vini.[87]

The roll subsides, almost with an audible sigh, to
prayers and commonplaces-- enumerations of virtues, charac-
terizations of death, requests for mutual prayer. Someone
at the cathedral of Paris, however, saw fit to touch upon
the whole question of Mathilda's place in life in a more
serious, reflective vein:

> Quilibet ex nobis plene si discutiat rem,
> Quilibet inveniet quare de rotulo nichel ad rem.
> Hic labor et vacuus et inutilis esse videtur:
> Mortuus omnis habet quod vivas quisque meretur.[88]

The topic of the letter's testimony continues to appear periodically. More and more, the verses are marked as the work of students. Then, like a coda, comes the _Titulus sancti Juliani monacharum_, from Auxerre:

> Abbatissae debent mori,
> Quae subjectas nos amori
> Claudi jubent culpa gravi.
> Quod tormentum jam temptavi.
> Loco clausa sub obscuro,
> Diu vixi pane duro.
> Hujus poenae fuit causa
> Quod amare dicor ausa.[89]

A less personal contribution from Auxerre cathedral follows at once:

> Insipiens plorat monachae si forte gravantur;
> Pro monacha sola defuncta mille parantur.
> Si quas non raperet mors de numero monacharum,
> Non orbis totus numerum sufferret earum.[90]

The entries from the end of Mathilda's roll are not readable.

Mathilda's roll presents the practical problem faced by poet and institution alike: not every poet felt that news of death merited the lugubrious commentary that was traditional, and yet none could bring himself to completely desert the formal demands of the roll. The escape to generic humor which came as a natural result is first touched on in a tenth century roll from Fleury, where an inscriber writes:

> . . . pilatores spernimus, exuvias
> Qui complent pecudum scedis quas non bene norunt,
> Et dum plena vident verba, chachinna movent.
>
> . . .
> Dicimus en ebetes hos asinisque pares,
> Necnon molosi lapidandos stercore inormis,
> Et dignos fetidis plaudimus esse thoris.
> Quos cuncti patres simul et compescite fratres,
> Planaque nunc vobis grata poemata sint.[91]

Encyclicals from the twelfth century plainly ask that

inscribers refrain from writing light verse. That for
Bernard, abbot of Marmoutier (+1100), calls attention to
Bernard's personal distaste for vanities:

> . . . Et quoniam pius pater noster vir sanctae
> severitatis fuit, et non solum verba peccatricia,
> sed et vana et scurrilia, et quocumque modo in-
> utilia exosa habuit, et ab auditu suo, quantum
> potuit, rejecit, sanctitatem vestram precamur
> ut versuum nenias et derisiones, quae, potius
> quam prosint defuncto, facientibus accumulant
> damnationem, ab hac charta summoveatis, tantumque
> simpliciter locorum vestrorum nomina, et quid
> pro defuncto patre nostro et pro nobis feceritis
> annotetis . . .[92]

Marbod's encyclical stresses the serious purpose of the
roll:

> Insuper admonemus ut vanitantium vanitates et
> nugarum naenias penitus recidatis, ne quod
> utiliter nimis institutum est notam habeat
> levitatis.[93]

Both seem to suggest that poems of any type were considered
inappropriate, though undoubtedly the satiric and humorous
ones were most objectionable.

St. Vital's roll is free of humor, except that inherent
in the inevitable puns.[94] One writer manages to work in a
complicated commentary on Vital's living love for the vine,
ending triumphantly, <u>Vivat Vitalis, qui fuit agricola</u>.[95]
Bertrand of Baux's roll, which contains little poetry, has
one witticism:

> Villior est huma/na/ caro quam pellis ovina:
> Extrahitur pellis et scribitur intus et extra;
> Si moriatur homo, moritur caro, pellis et ossa.[96]

Here the death roll inscription is independent, satiric
epigram in the classic mold.

B. Epitaphs

Unlike the death roll inscription, which was primarily a literary phenomenon of France and areas bordering on France, the epitaph was at home all over Europe during the eleventh and twelfth century. Further, it was written with moderate enthusiasm from the earliest years of the eleventh century to the opening of the thirteenth century, and for centuries before and after. On the whole, the epitaphs are universally serious works, more consistent in tone than the death roll inscriptions. The modern reader, like the medieval, might well agree with Samuel Johnson when he observes that "In the monkish age, however ignorant and unpolished, the EPITAPHS were drawn up with far greater propriety than can be shown in those which more enlightened times have produced."[1]

Many of them were designed for practical use on tombs. However, they had other uses. They made a fitting close to vitae, and ornamented cloister chronicles.[2] They provided simple poetic commemoration, written as if for a tomb but intended from the first for preservation in a book.[3] They served as models for the practice of poetry in school, or were the result of such practice.[4] They were sent to those in grief as a mark of sympathy.[5] They were read at graveside burial services. For the last use, we have the testimony of one medieval writer in the Vita Ganzlini abbati Floriacensis (+1029):

> Cuius super sepulcrum unus suorum spiritua-
> lium tyronum inter angores dolentium pede
> dactilico hos profudit versiculos . . .[6]

All, however, are in some sense literary works. To classify them as inscriptional epigrams is simply to comment on their historic genesis and on certain generic themes which mark them.

The generic themes stem from the epitaph's inscriptional origin. Primary in age, import, and frequency, is the tomb marker, a simple reference, like hic jacet, to a particular object or body which is hypothetically before the eye of the reader as he peruses the poem. I have classified all epigrams containing a tomb marker as "tomb epitaphs." The distinction is purely literary; it has only a minimal relationship to the actual placement and use of the poem. Of next importance, again in terms of significance and frequency, is the death day topic, the mention of the day of the year on which the person commemorated died. I have called those epitaphs which contain this topic, but lack a tomb marker, "obituary epitaphs." Epitaphs which contain neither generic topic I have called "commemorative epitaphs." These generic topics, and others, are discussed in greater detail below.

Distribution of European Epitaphs of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

The following section is based on a careful study of 200 selected epitaphs. About half come from France, slightly less than a third from Germany, the rest from England, Italy, and Spain, in about equal number. They are listed in Appendix B by the initia numbers of Hans Walther's

Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum
(Göttingen, 1959), arranged by probable country of origin.

French epitaphs. For the purposes of this study, I
have considered 87 single epitaphs from France, 17 of these
apparently from the first half of the eleventh century, 21
from the second half, 27 from the first half of the twelfth
century, and 22 from the last half. Omitted are all of the
epitaphs from sizable collections, such as those by Fulcoius
of Beauvais and Baudry of Bourgueil, the majority of those by
Peter Riga, and a number of others in scattered locations.
However, there are several authors who are well represented.
Odorannus of Sens is the reputed author of seven of the
epitaphs here considered; Hildebert and Arnulf of Lisieux,
of six each; Peter Riga, of five. Five poems are attributed
to Marbod. Several authors have two or three poems to their
credit. Approximately half of the epitaphs are anonymous
works.

Most of the people commemorated are known by name.
Over half of them are clerics, for the most part bishops and
abbots; less than a third are noble; about a sixth are un-
identified people whose occupations are not specified, the
majority of whom would probably be from the lower clergy,
and lay figures. Eleven epitaphs are for women, most of
them noble. Abelard, with five epitaphs, is the favorite
subject. By and large, only one epitaph is found for any
one individual.

The general proportion of major generic types remains

fairly stable throughout the period: tomb epitaphs, with clear reference to the place of burial, account for half or more of the total written in each half century; commemorative epitaphs, lacking tomb reference and death date, are more common than obituary epitaphs, with death date only, except in the last half of the twelfth century.

A few of the epitaphs deserve special comment. Although in the first half of the eleventh century most of the epitaphs are for contemporary people of some importance, five, attributed to Odorannus of Sens, are for bishops of the preceding centuries.[7] They may have been written for new monuments. An "epitaph for Charlemagne," of uncertain date, is actually three separate two-line epitaphs, of a general kind, joined.[8] Hesitantly placed at the opening of the twelfth century are a quite exceptional satiric epitaph for an unnamed simoniac, probably a school exercise[9]; a very general epitaph for *cujusdam probi viri*, again perhaps an exercise[10]; and an *Epitaphium cujusdam mulieris*, by Hildebert.[11] The last contains a death day and is surely for practical use, though the omission of the name is unusual. Also from the twelfth century, perhaps of slightly later date, come three exemplary tomb epitaphs for general use.[12] Included in the list, as well, is the following distich:

> Metra darem Petro, nisi deficeret petra metro.
> Si quis amat Petrum, det ei petram, dabo metrum.[13]

Insofar as it neglects to say that Peter is dead, it is not properly an epitaph at all.

As a group, the French epitaphs are more uniform in
length than the roll inscriptions, more varied than epitaphs
from other countries, and notably shorter than Fortunatus'
epitaphs.[14] Sixty (67%) are from 4 to 12 lines long; another
12 (14%) from 13 to 20; 8 poems (10%) run beyond twenty
lines, the longest extending to 52 lines. Six epitaphs are
couplets or distichs. One is of three lines; no monostichs
appear. The exceptionally long poems are for the most part
tomb epitaphs for important people, such as Pope Gelasius
II[15] and Helias of Le Mans,[16] although the Epitaphium cujus-
dam simoniaci in excommunicatione defuncti[17] is also lengthy.
One of the short ones, for Peter, is cited above. Another
is attributed to Odorannus of Sens, for Bishop Egilo:

> Artus almiflui conduntur hic tumulati
> Praesulis Egilis, quem capit aula poli.[18]

Other two-line poems, all of doubtful date, suggest work
of the schools:

> Consilium populi, vox plebis lingua senatus,
> Hic jacet Hervaeus magna ruina suis.[19]

> Francia, quae totum superat, me judice, mundum,
> Anselmo similem non est habitura secundum.[20]

> Non sum sub terris. Ubi tunc? sub compare stella.
> Unde locus? quia virgo fui simplexque puella.[21]

> Cum fuit in mundo, per mundum vixit eundo,
> Et prostrema dies hec sibi prima quies.[22]

Comparable, though without precise parallels, are Latin
Anthology epigrams, such as that which appears in the
twelfth century St. Gatien florilegium:

> Filius Euandri, Pallas quem lancea terni
> Militis occidit, more suo iacet hic.[23]

The proportions of hexameter to elegiac and rhythmic
verse in the French epitaphs differ notably from that in the
death roll inscriptions. To begin with, there are no rhyth-
mic epitaphs. Approximately three-fourths of the epitaphs
are written in elegiacs, the remaining fourth in hexameters,
with the proportion of hexameters slightly higher in the
eleventh century, lower in the twelfth. This contrasts
sharply with the death roll proportions, where hexameters
are favored and mixtures of hexameters and elegiacs appear.

Rhyme, too, varies somewhat from that in the death rolls.
During the early eleventh century leonine rhyme is favored
in both hexameters and distichs over unrhymed verse; usage
is approximately the same in the last half of the century;
in the twelfth, a solid majority (88%) of the poems are
unrhymed, suggesting a strong influence from classic models.
As in the roll, the rhyme which is used becomes more perfect
and more complex toward the beginning of the twelfth century.

Irregular rhyme and assonance is limited to the period
before 1085, except for a late appearance in an epitaph for
Count Helias of Le Mans.[24] Typical of the early period is
Odilo of Cluny's partial leonine rhyme (in the pentameter
only of distichs),[25] and his use elsewhere of assonance, as
in his Epitaphium Ansegisi Archiepiscopi:

> Anseisus Senonum praesul hic clausus habetur.
> Judicio Christi surget et ipse sui.
> Galliarum primax papa Joanne levatus,

> Egregiis meritis hoc fieri meruit.
> Hic Karolum regem Romanis imperatorem
>   Constituit, Francis principibus placuit.
> Gregorii papae secum caput adtulit istuc.
>   Pacis amator, obit flebilis ipse piis.[26]

The development of complex rhyme in epitaph is similar to that in the roll inscriptions. From the first half of the eleventh century come one caudati ventrini hexameter poem[27] and a somewhat exceptional example of imperfect unisoni.[28] Only one of the leonine poems uses even partial two-syllable rhyme.[29] In the latter part of the century appear distich poems with perfect two-syllable caudati rhyme[30] and with mixed leonine and two-syllable caudati,[31] as well as one, of doubtful date, mixing hexameters and distichs and both leonine rhyme and trinini salientes.[32] Although rhyme of any type is less common during the twelfth century, there are many variations: two-syllable caudati,[33] mixed leonine and caudati,[34] and trinini salientes[35] from the early years; two-syllable leonine distichs,[36] leonine and trinini salientes or other ornamental interior rhyme,[37] and two-syllable caudati hexameter[38] verse from the latter half of the twelfth century.

A typical example of rhymeless verse from the twelfth century is provided by Arnulf of Lisieux's epitaph for Queen Mathilda of England (+1167):

> Regia progenies, stirps regia, Caesaris uxor,
>   Hic est magna brevi clausa Matilda loco.
> Virtutum titulis humani culmen honoris
>   Excessit mulier, nil mulieris habens.
> Septembris decima regno post regna recepto,
>   Creditur aeternum continuasse diem.[39]

An example of more complex rhyme is the anonymous epitaph

for Heloise:

> Hoc tumulo abatissa jacet prudens Heloyssa.
> Paraclitum statuit, cum Paraclito requiescit.
> Gaudia sanctorum sua sunt super alta polorum.
> Nos meritis precibusque suis exaltet ab imis.[40]

Germany. From Germany, an area for the purposes of this

study including Flanders, Switzerland, and the Lorrain, I

have chosen a total of sixty-three epitaphs.[41] Only a few

other German epitaphs, in scattered publications, have come

to my attention. Of the chosen epitaphs, twenty-seven,

slightly less than half, come from the first half of the

eleventh century; eighteen are from the second half; eighteen

are from the twelfth century, all but two of these clearly

from the first half. Included as German are seven epitaphs

falsely attributed to Philip of Harvengt.[42] Three are by

Froumund of Tegernsee. The others are largely anonymous.

The accuracy of this sample in representing German epitaph

as a whole is open to question, as can be seen from a com-

parison with the first thirty epigrammatic epitaphs listed

among the first 400 inscriptions by Franz Xaver Kraus, Die

Christlichen Inschriften der Rheinlande, II (Freiburg, 1894).

Only one of the epitaphs considered in the chosen sample

appears in Kraus' work. The temporal distribution is much

more even: of Kraus' 30, 15 come from the eleventh century

(11 from the first half, 4 from the second) and 15 from the

twelfth (6 from the first half, 9 from the second).

As in French epitaphs, members of the clergy, primarily bishops and abbots, with a scattering of popes, deacons, and monks, are the subjects of thirty-two, about half, of the epitaphs; another twenty-two, about a third, more than in French epitaphs, are noble; teachers and unidentified individuals account for the others. Four or perhaps five epitaphs are for Charles the Good of Flanders, who was murdered; otherwise, individuals have only a single epitaph. Among the Ottonian epitaphs of the sample, taken from Karl Strecker's collection, there are the same number of epitaphs for nobles as for clergy, and women, all noble, are the subject in seven. Among Kraus' epitaphs, twenty-seven poems are for churchmen, two for nobles; one is for a woman, the female monk St. Hildegund.

Distribution of generic epitaph types in the selected sixty-three German epitaphs of this study differs markedly from that in the French ones. All of the twenty-seven from the first half of the eleventh century are tomb epitaphs, as are twelve (65%) from the latter half of the century and six (33%) from the twelfth century. Apart from two obituary epitaphs of the late eleventh century, the remainder are commemorative. Two from the second half of the eleventh century are of a general nature, without name; all others are written for historic contemporaries or dead of a slightly earlier date.

The German poems vary less in length than do the French ones. Only one poem, for Charles the Good of Flanders,[43]

is a distich; only five (8%) exceed 20 lines. The longest, although labelled _Epitaphium Domni Sygeberti_ by its author, contains no generic topics, following instead the general themes of a lament. In its anagram, the author identifies it simply as _versus_.[44] The remaining poems range between 4 and 20 lines, with 41 (65%) 4 to 12 lines long, 15 (24%) 13 to 20 lines. Included in the sample is one fragment. Kraus' epitaphs differ slightly. Of his thirty, one is a distich, one a hexameter couplet; 2 are three lines long; 24 (80%) are 4 to 12 lines long; 2 (6%) exceed 12 lines.

Verse forms and rhyme schemes are not remarkably different from those of France. Distichs predominate over hexameters, but not to the same extent; approximately a third of the poems are in hexameters, the rest elegiac, with the proportion of hexameters slightly higher toward the end of the eleventh century. As in France, leonine verse is favored over unrhymed in the eleventh century; the proportion is about equal, however, in the twelfth. Imperfect rhyme is typical of the first half of the eleventh century (in 9 out of 21 rhymed poems), yet there are two more instances later, one from the twelfth century. In variety of rhyme, German epitaphs have less to offer than the French ones. From the first half of the eleventh century come two partially two-syllable rhyme leonine distich poems[45]; from the second half, one partial and two perfect poems of the same type,[46] and five two-syllable rhyme leonine hexameters, one partially so[47] and four perfect.[48] The twelfth century

provides one of two-syllable leonine distichs and one of hexameters with the same rhyme,[49] one a combination of two-syllable hexameter leonine and trinini salientes,[50] one tripertiti dactylici,[51] one caudati ventrini,[52] and two which combine rhymed hexameter and distichs.[53]

In the group of epitaphs from Kraus, an increase in popularity of hexameter verse comes not in the late eleventh century but in the early twelfth, when hexameters outweigh elegiacs four to two, though a return to distichs in the second half of the century reverses the proportion again. Leonine verse in Kraus' group is favored throughout the two centuries. Only six poems are completely unrhymed; two have caudati rhyme (both two-syllable, from the twelfth century); the other twenty-two are leonine. Six poems have imperfect rhyme, two from the eleventh century, four from the twelfth. In general, the rhymes of these veritable inscriptions are quite conservative, with nothing more remarkable than two-syllable leonine rhyme from the first half of the eleventh century.

England. To all appearances, the epitaph was not greatly favored in England during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, except by Godfrey of Winchester, who composed a small book of eighteen obituary epitaphs, to be considered later in this study. Eighteen miscellaneous epitaphs have been chosen for analysis here, but several of these are not, in all probability, English.[54] In the list

are included one for King Canut IV of Denmark, apparently
Danish; three for Herluinus of Bec, quite possibly French;
three for St. Anselm from a Bec manuscript; three for Henry
I, quoted in an anonymous appendage to the Frenchman William
Calculus' Historia Northmannorum (source, too, for one of the
Herluinus epitaphs); and four by Giraldus of Wales, found
among his juvenile works and quite possibly written while he
was in Paris. Four other epitaphs are indisputably English
work.

The earliest death date, that of Herluinus, is 1078.
Five epitaphs come from the end of the eleventh century,
eight from the first half of the twelfth, five from the last
half. Thirteen of the poems are tomb epitaphs; two from the
late eleventh and early twelfth century are commemorative;
three, from the early twelfth century, are obituary epitaphs.
The only ones of special note are the tomb epitaphs of
Giraldus: one is written for himself; two others are quite
general, without name, for a scholar, and may have been also
intended for the author; the fourth is an inscription for
his tombstone, to be affixed for contemplation while he yet
lives.

In form these English epitaphs resemble the French.
They range from four to twenty-two lines in length, except
for one distich for William Gifford, Bishop of Winchester,
transcribed from his tomb. Distichs predominate over hex-
ameters eleven to seven; rhymed or partially rhymed (usually
leonine) verse over unrhymed fifteen to three. The only

poems with imperfect rhyme are from the late eleventh century,[55]
which also furnishes a slightly unusual hexameter tirade
rhyme.[56] Patterned leonine or leonine and caudati rhyme is
used in five poems of the mid twelfth century[57]; two hex-
ameter poems with perfect two-syllable rhyme come from the
second quarter of the twelfth century[58]; one example of
imperfect two-syllable leonine distichs is slightly earlier.[59]

Italy. There are few published Italian epitaphs from
the twelfth century. Of the fifteen Italian works selected
for this sample, eight are from the first half of the eleventh
century, seven from the last half. Although a number of other
epitaphs from Italy have been ignored, they, too, are largely
eleventh century work. All of the sample are tomb epitaphs,
except for one commemorative work from the first half of the
eleventh century and two obituary epitaphs from the last half.
Four of the poems are by Alphanus of Salerno, three by Peter
Damian; seven are anonymous. Ten of the deceased are church-
men, four of them popes; four are nobles; one, apparently a
commoner, is unidentified by calling.

Formally the poems are less elegant than those of the
French. One poem extends to twenty-four lines; the rest
range from four to eighteen lines. All but one, in imper-
fectly rhymed leonine hexameter,[60] are written in elegiac
distichs, eight with at least partial leonine rhyme. Imper-
fect rhyme appears throughout the poems, in five examples.[61]
Three poems use sporadic leonine rhyme;[62] others are leonine

throughout or unrhymed.

Spain. The sample of seventeen Spanish epitaphs here considered are all taken from Amador de los Rios' Historia Crítica de la Literatura Española (Madrid, 1862). Some are transcribed from actual inscriptions. Only a handful of other Spanish epitaphs have been published. With the exception of one commemorative epitaph, all of the sample are tomb epitaphs. A group of four, written by Alfon Gramático, celebrate Queen Constanza, wife of Alfonso VI; one other is by the known author of a life of St. Domingo de Silos; the rest are anonymous works. Seven are for clergy, one of these a Jewish convert; nine are for nobles; the remaining one is for a church architect. One comes from the first half of the eleventh century, nine from the last half, two from the first half of the twelfth century, four from the last half. The architect's epitaph is of uncertain date.

In length the Spanish epitaphs are unremarkable. Sixteen are from four to sixteen lines in length; one extends to twenty-four lines. In other formal respects, however, they are set apart from the northern European verse. Twelve (71%) are written in hexameters, the others in elegiacs. This reverses the ratios of northern Europe and Italy. The earliest poem, from 1018, is in perfect two-syllable leonine hexameter,[63] an early date. Imperfect rhyme, however, appears later in the century,[64] and in the middle of the next.[65] The twelfth century works are notable for their major

departures from regular scansion,[66] and one poem is written
out by half lines, to help the semi-educated in reading,
according to the editor.[67] The rhymes show some variety
throughout the period: from the late eleventh century come
two poems with partial leonine rhyme,[68] one two-syllable
caudati hexameter poem[69]; from the first half of the twelfth
century, one poem with mainly two-syllable leonine hexameter[70];
from the last half of the twelfth century, two poems of two-
syllable leonine elegiacs, the one perfect, the other quite
irregular,[71] and one caudati ventrini.[72] In general, the
Spanish epitaphs seem to have reached their technical peak
before the turn of the twelfth century and declined rapidly
in quality, if not in number, thereafter.

Generic Topics.

Address. As a general rule, modes of address are not
directly connected with generic topics in eleventh and twelfth
century epitaphs. Most of them are written in an objective
fashion, with no hint of the writer's personality or sugges-
tion of the person addressed. But minor generic topics, some
quite old, do appear when the dead addresses the reader, or
the writer addresses the deceased, the reader, or someone
else, such as Christ or a personification.

In eighteen of the 200 epitaphs of the sample, the dead
addresses a reader. Italian and Spanish epitaphs are more
apt to be of this type--there are three from each country--
than are those from northern Europe. Such address was

typical of classic epitaph, with the dead frequently asking
the wayfarer to stop, take time to read the verse, and
perhaps shed a tear or say a prayer.[1] In classic times,
this "address to the wayfarer" was directly inspired by the
placement of tombs along highways. In medieval times, the
address is presumably to a reader entering a church. A
close approximation to classical formulae is offered by an
Italian work of 1007:

> Siste gradus, itor, paucis te fabor; abito
>   Et retine mente, qui iacet hoc lapido;
> Post orans 'Eius,' dic dic 'deus esto misertus.'[2]

A German epitaph of 1030 hints less closely at the classic
expression:

> Preteriens miserere mei, qui vis misereri
>   Atque mihi requiem tu deposce piam . . .[3]

In three French poems of the twelfth century, the address
to the wayfarer is linked to the classic _memento mori_ theme,
"What I am, you will be":[4]

> Respice qui transis et quid sis disce vel unde
>   Quod fuimus nunc es, quod sumus illud eris.[5]

> Respice qui transis: cineri cinis indico, quam sis
>   Res umbre similis . . .
> . . .
> Quo veni, venies . . .[6]

> Respice qui transis, in me circumspice, quid sis . . .[7]

Other examples of the "What I am" theme without the address
to the wayfarer come from Italy,[8] Spain,[9] and England.[10]
The device in Italy and Spain could have been taken from
classic inscriptions at hand, but might also have been sug-
gested by Carolingian epitaphs. One Italian epitaph is

apparently based on the well-known epitaphium Alchwini.[11]
Coupling of the address to wayfarer with the "what I am"
topic appears in Walafrid Strabo's work.[12]

Apart from the examples cited above, addresses of dead
to reader in the sample simply employ the familiar medieval
topics, put in the mouth of the deceased.[13] The mode of
address is usually preserved throughout the poem, though
there are two examples of the dead replying to a question
put by the author,[14] and the Spanish epitaph which uses
"What I am" (*8349) begins in an impersonal style.

The author's address to the dead, a convention used by
Fortunatus[15] and Carolingian writers,[16] is slightly more
common, occuring in 27 epitaphs of the sample: 11 are from
France, 7 from Germany, 4 from Italy, 3 from England, 2 from
Spain.[17] It appears in roll inscriptions, and furnishes no
generic topics. Topics used in such poems are the common
ones, with verbs and pronouns adjusted as necessary. Nor-
mally the whole poem is written from a consistent point of
view, as is the case with the dead's address to the reader.

The author's address to the reader occurs in 21 poems:
10 are from Germany, 4 each from France and England, 2 from
Spain, 1 from Italy.[18] The device is often an appeal, a
generic variant of the dead's address to the wayfarer; it
makes use of similar phrasing:

Lector, fige gradum, qui voto tendis in altum . . .[19]

Quisquis huic tumulo succedes pneumate simplo,
Respice, quem titulus designet forte propinquus:[20]

> Scire volens, lector, tumulo quis conditur isto,
> Noveris hic magni Frederici membra locari . . .[21]

An exceptionally ornamented example comes from the tomb of

Pope Sergius IV:

> Quisquis ad hec tendis sublimia limina lector
> Et caperis tante nobilitate domus,
> Intentis oculis aule percurrere raras
> Desine materias arte iuvante manus.
> Lumina cum gressu prudens arguta cohercens
> Respice sollicitus, quis velit hic titulus:
> Hic tumulata iacent pastoris membra sereni,
> Quem decus ecclesie contulit omnipotens . . .[22]

Such address to the wayfarer by the author has a rich

history. Classic writers used it early[23]; Damasus employed

it for martyr inscriptions,[24] Fortunatus for epitaphs,[25]

Alcuin for both epitaph and altar inscription.[26] The device

is most characteristic of the Ottonian epitaphs. Apart from

the few lines where the address is made, the epitaph will

not differ from the usual objective account of the dead,

making use of the usual topics. Closely related are the

exhortations to remember death, for example:

> Mente revolve simul quod tu peregrinus et exul
> Hic iaceas terris expulsus propriis . . .[27]

So, too, are the infrequent exhortations to virtue, some-

times linked with address to the wayfarer:

> Moribus iste tuis speculum vitale ministrat.
> Hujus adesto viri: hunc properato sequi.
> Here, siste gradum, qui curris ad impia, freno
> Justitiae cohibens hujus ad instar equum:[28]

In a fourth type of address, the author calls on other

persons or abstractions in apostrophe. Most frequently,

God is addressed in a prayer at the end of the poem:

> Unde, precor, parce, Deus, famulo.[29]

Deposuit carnem, cui presta, Christe, quietem.[30]
However, other personages are also apostrophied. Churches, monasteries, and cities--Chartres,[31] Cluny,[32] Fulda,[33] Gembloux,[34] Rome,[35] Ariminus,[36] Monte Cassino[37]--are asked to mourn or rejoice, protect or simply remember. Saints are called on for prayers:

> Da Petre claviger, ut polus astriger huic reseretur,
> Flexerat huc iter, ut tibi dulciter obsequeretur.[38]

Abstractions may be addressed. The writer of the epitaph for the simoniac[39] invokes the stone, the _manes_, Tartara, and Terra for reassurance that the man will not rise from his grave; elsewhere, moribund flesh,[40] Thalia,[41] death,[42] the wicked world,[43] and metaphoric stars (to grieve for the setting of Abelard, their Lucifer)[44] are addressed. Such apostrophies, though not used in Spanish or English epitaphs, appear in 10 French poems, mostly from the twelfth century; 11 German ones, evenly distributed in time; and 4 eleventh century Italian works. Like the author's address to the reader, the apostrophies are limited to a single line or two, except in one poem which is throughout a prayer.[45] The prayers are one variant of a broader topic, "may he rest in peace," to be discussed later.

Tomb Markers. The formulae which link an epitaph to the place of burial belong only to epitaphs, though not necessarily to metric ones. I have used them to distinguish a particular type, the tomb epitaphs.

The most common tomb marker is the traditional,

unornamented <u>hic iacet</u>, which appears, with occasional per-
mutations of person, order, and placement in the verse, in
18 epitaphs of the sample: 10 are from France, 5 from Germany,
2 from England, 1 from Spain.[46] Slight variations either
change the verb--<u>hic tumulatur</u>,[47] <u>hic recubat</u>,[48] for exam-
ple--or preserve the <u>iacet</u> and add mention of the tomb by
an appropriate noun and a change of <u>hic</u> to <u>hic/haec/hoc</u>--
<u>iacet hoc tumulata sepulchro</u>,[49] for example. The latter
type of variation is more popular, appearing in all fifteen
times.[50]

Quite common are differing expansions of the <u>hic iacet</u>
formula which link <u>hic/haec/hoc</u>, a word for the tomb (both
normally in the locative), and a distinctive verb other than
<u>iacet</u>, as in the following example:

Hoc tegitur loculo divus et maximus Otto. . .[51]
The words used are varied, particularly among the Ottonian
epitaphs. Verbs in the sample number seventeen, not count-
ing <u>iacet</u>. <u>Tego</u> (usually <u>tegitur</u>) is most common; nine
verbs, mainly in the German epitaphs, occur only once.[52]
Twenty-four different words in the sample indicate the tomb,
ten of them used only once; most of the unusual ones are
from Spain, Germany, or Italy, not France. By far the
commonest term is <u>tumulus</u>.[53] Another variation on the
formula speaks not of the person himself but of his ashes,
using either the usual "lies buried in this tomb" or a more
allusive passing reference to the remains:

Pulvis et ossa iacent tumulo quem cernis humata . . .[54]

> Praesulis Algari cineri natura sepulto
>   Non potuit meritum consepelire viri . . .[55]
>
> . . . tunc terror, nunc cinis idem.[56]

A reduction in the topic common in Germany presents the simple hic/haec/hoc as locative or modifier of person or tomb:

> Hic Zabalab dictus, cum morte ensis fuit ictus . . .[57]
>
> . . . hic tibi facta quies . . .[58]
>
> Haec huius tecti structrix . . .[59]

Usually the tomb markers give the name of the deceased; they are often expanded by enumeration of his virtues or calling. Sometimes the classic contrast between the small size of the tomb and the greatness of the person interred is brought out:

> Regia progenies, stirps regia, Caesaris uxor,
>   Hic est magna brevi clausa Matilda loco.[60]

Except when an appeal to the wayfarer appears, the tomb marker is usually the first major topic of a poem.

The tomb markers are quite old.[61] Richmond Lattimore, in his Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs (Urbana, 1962), notes that hospitium, used twice by eleventh century German writers in reference to the tomb, is identified with the classic concepts of life or of the grave as an inn. He gives several examples from Rome.[62] The thought of the grave as aeterna domus, which he points out is somewhat inconsistent with Christian doctrine,[63] is not retained in the epitaph of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The common classic contrast of the simple tomb with the great

man who lies within it, and the reverse, is found in both Greek and Latin.[64]

Damasus[65] and Fortunatus[66] limit themselves entirely to hoc tumulo . . . iacet (quiescunt). Tumulo . . . membra quiescunt was particularly wide-spread in Damasus' time.[67]

Carolingian epitaphs furnish tomb markers quite similar to those of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, for example:

> Conditus ecce iacet tumulo vir nobilis isto
>   Einhardus nomen . . . [68]

Radelchis princeps monumento clauditur isto . . .[69]
The classic contrast of the important person in the small grave, used once by Fortunatus,[70] is particularly evident in the German works of Carolingian and Ottonian times.[71] The coupled tumulo . . . tegitur is also typically Carolingian.[72] The combination was used by Ovid, Ossa tegit tumulus (Amor. II, 6, 59).

Death Day. Indication of death day, found in many tomb epitaphs and also alone, without the tomb marker, in what I have called obituary epitaphs, is by no means as old as the tomb marker. It entered into epitaph at approximately the time that death rolls and death calendars came into use in Europe, apparently in the nineth century, though the topic itself, for obvious reasons, does not appear in either of the other two epigrammatic death genres. The day of death was a man's birthday into life eternal; it was also the most appropriate time for prayers. The year of death, however, was of less moment. It seldom appears in poetry of the eleventh

and twelfth century, though it is common enough in prose.[73]
As a general rule, the death day topic stands by itself at
or near the end of a poem, compressed into a distich or
couplet, the first line giving the day itself, the second
saying, frequently in figurative language, that the person
died.

Methods of dating vary. The oldest is by the classical
system of ides and kalends of the month. An eleventh cen-
tury example:

> Dum Mars bis binas renovasset sorte kalendas,
> Deposuit carnem, cui presta, Christe, quietum.[74]

The modern method of dating by the day of the month began in
the eleventh century:[75]

> Septembris decimo sub prima transiit hora
> De nostra ad verum nocte revecta diem.[76]

A third variation, dating by the position of the heavenly
bodies, is most typical of the eleventh century[77]:

> Ante dies septem quam sole in piscibus esset
> Annos triginta natus et octo fuit.[78]

A fourth method, typical of the twelfth century, gives
the day of the church calendar:

> Cum tibi Laurenti, vigilat plebs sobria Christi,
> Transit, et in caelis laurea festa colit.[79]

And sometimes only the month, not the day, is mentioned:

> De mundo fragili sub mense vocatur aprili
> Eloquii flos, consilii ros, ingenii cos
> . . .
> Hinc abiit, sed non obiit, nec desinit esse . ...[80]

The classical form of dating is most popular in Ottonian
epitaph; it was the usual method, when used, in Carolingian

works.[81] The day of the month is most typical of French epitaphs of the twelfth century. Dating by constellations, though again not unknown elsewhere, shows up most prominently in the Italian poems, where also a prose day and year of death may appear.

Throughout the death day topics, imagery of day and light is particularly notable, sometimes contained in the specification of the day itself--<u>Tertia lux aderat Februi</u> . . .[82], <u>Cum lux Andraeae terras infunderet</u> . . .[83], <u>Luce sub undena Februi</u> . . .[84]--sometimes in a more developed figure, such as that in the example of modern dating, above (France 16528). This imagery is a reversal of the classic <u>lucem caruit</u>, a reversal which took place in early Christian times, though not coupled then with the death day motif.[85] It is associated with the wide-spread light imagery of all death verse in the eleventh through thirteenth century, perhaps as an expression of mysticism.[86] It also corresponds with the pinpointing of time of day by the position of the sun in the roll bearer's arrival motif of the rolls.

<u>Requests for Prayer, Pious Wishes, Prayers</u>. Structurally associated with the generic tomb markers and death day topics, though common in roll inscriptions and laments, as well as in epitaphs, are the requests for prayer, the pious wishes for the soul's good, and actual prayers.[87] Prayers were a common part of Christian epitaph from the second century on; these topics are modeled, or were at their

inception, on the classic requests for tears and remembrance and the formulaic sit tibi terra levis.[88]

The request for prayers is not uncommon in France. Eight examples from that country appear in the sample, evenly distributed in time, similar to the following:

Et quia nunc opus est defuncto ferre juvamen
Quisquis amicus adest subveniendo probet.[89]

One request comes from England.[90] But it is in Germany, Italy and Spain only that the request for prayer can be considered standard. There, the request usually appears at the end, following or preceding the death day, if one is present. Early eleventh century epitaphs from these countries are apt to use dico formulae, modeled on Carolingian epitaph prayer requests,[91] such as the following:

Lector: Huius culpae Deus auctor, dic miserere!
Vivat et in Christo! clamitet omnis homo.[92]

Quisquis ad hunc tumulum devexa lumina vertis,
"Omnipotens domine," dic, "miserere sui"![93]

Later in the century the indirect poscite precibus formulae appear:

. . . mihi requiem tu deposce piam[94]

Poscas cum prece, frater . . .[95]

. . . precibus poscite . . .[96]

The Vergilian fundite preces (Aen. VI, 55), common in Carolingian poetry,[97] appears in altered form three times.[98]

There are several variants on the request for prayer. One is directed to a saint:

. . . o Winfride . . .
Tu sibi nunc presto pius intercessor adesto,
Mortuus ut mundo vivat in empyrio . . .[99]

A request for tears is made in a French epitaph of the eleventh century:

> Humani cives, lacrymam nolite negare
> Vestro pontifici . . .[100]

A third variant shows the writer asking the dead to pray for him or others, such as the builder of the tomb. One of these comes from Spain, where the dead Alvitus is asked to pray for the person who donated his monument:

> O sacre Alvite, memor esto gentis avitae,
> Et da Laevitae Fernando gaudia vitae. Amen.[101]

Two others are from Italy:

> Ecclesiae speculum, vivus lapis, hostia, templum
> Nos precibus releva, quos mala nostra gravant.[102]

> Te Desiderius transfert, locat his reverendus:
> Propitius nobis sis, o reverende colende.[103]

This latter device is apparently taken from altar inscription and martyr epigram, though it also appears in Fortunatus' epitaphs.[104]

Closely related to the request for prayers from the reader is the pious wish of the author, framed in the subjunctive or directly addressed to God or a saint. Like the request, these are placed normally at the end, usually after the death day, if that appears:

> Dum sexto bifrons idus januarus egit,
> Decidit. Unde, precor, parce, Deus, famulo.[105]

> Ultima fulsit ei tua lux penultima Mai.
> Qui vixit Domino, dormiat in Domino. Amen.[106]

The prayers and pious wishes are slightly more favored than the request for prayers as a closing theme, especially after the middle of the eleventh century. They are most common in

Germany, though not uncommon elsewhere, too.[107] Although
the basic thought is <u>requiescat in pace</u> of early Christian
verse,[108] which is used occasionally in prose roll inscrip-
tions, that formula does not appear, for metric reasons.
There is considerable variation, if not originality, in
expression. Dr. Obizo (+c.1138), for example, is appropri-
ately blessed with the wish,

Huic igitur medico sit medicina Deus.[109]

However, the wish that the dead may have, or the belief that
he already has <u>gaudia vitae</u>, <u>praemia vitae</u>, <u>gaudia vera</u> and
the like, popular in Carolingian times[110] and retained in the
"reasons for prayer" formulae of death roll inscription, does
not appear in the epitaphs of the sample. Nor is there a
trace of Fortunatus' typical closing reassurance that the
dead is already in heaven, except as it is suggested in the
topics of body and soul.

<u>Body and Soul</u>. Statements about the location of body
and soul, although most suited to epitaph and early developed
for that genre, are shared with the roll inscriptions and
other poems about death. The most common type says simply
that the body is buried in the earth, the soul has gone to
heaven:

Ossa recepit humus, animam Deus intulit astris.[111]

Corpus ad ima redit, spiritus alta petit.[112]

Sometimes, the reflection on the body is omitted, and only
the last half of the topic appears:

> Luce sub undena Februi resolutus habena
>   Carnis, ad angelicam dirigitur patriam.[113]

In this form, the specific reference to the soul is given up for simple reference to the person, and the topic may well appear as part of the death date. Variations on the body and soul theme are most popular in northern Europe. Two examples come from Spanish epitaphs of the sample, one from the Italian ones; it occurs in about a quarter of the French, German, and English epitaphs.[114] In roll inscriptions, the reference to the body is usually omitted.

The basic thought is classic.[115] In a classic way, the eleventh and twelfth century dead may seek the stars:

> . . . migravit in astra locandus[116]
>
> . . . petit astra vocatus.[117]
>
> Exemptus terra sidera liber adis.[118]

These expressions may have come partly by way of Fortunatus' membra sepulchra tegunt, spiritus astra tenet (colit),[119] echoed by Carolingian writers,[120] yet they are also given support by Ovid's astra petebat (Fasti II, 496).

The soul also seeks the sky, the pole, and the upper air, perhaps following Ovid, Volat altus in auras spiritus (Trist. III, 3, 61). Eleventh and twelfth century examples, of course, clearly identify celos, alta, and the like with a Christian heaven, yet the upper and lower connotations of classic thought remain:

> Spiritus ad celos migravit sorte beata[121]
>
> . . . quem capit aula poli.[122]

Pneuma locat superis, et recubat cinis hic.[123]

. . . tumba cadaver
Optinet; exuit hic ima, superna tenet.[124]

Corpus ad ima redit, spiritus alta petit.[125]

The last formula, spiritus alta petit, is one of the most popular of the entire Middle Ages,[126] with a most impressive family tree, related as it is in some degree to the spiritus astra petit, to Virgil's alta petens (Georg. I, 142) and petierunt aethera pennis (Aen. XI, 272), and to Ovid's petit aethera victor (Met. II, 437), perhaps by way of Damasus' aetheris alta petit christo comitante in his monument inscription for Tiburt.[127] Raban Maur also liked the phrase.[128]

Other eleventh and twelfth century expressions are more specifically Christian:

. . . tumulus . . . membra continet . . .
. . . animam paradisus . . . possidet[129]

ad angelicam dirigitur patriam[130]

. . . Hierosolymam . . . tenet[131]

Nunc Sabahot domino pungit Osanna polo[132]

Against these may be set unambiguously pagan expressions:

Transit, et in caelis laurea festa colit[133]

Soma subit solium, flamen conscendit Olympum[134]

Et quem nil supra nisi regni sola corona,
Mater habet terra, vermis edit latera.[135]

Now and again, the man is divided into other than the expected dichotomy. Henry I of England, for example, is so dispersed:

In tria partitus sua jura quibusque resignat
Partibus, illustrans sic tria regna tribus.

> Spiritui coelum, cordi cerebroque dicata est
> Neustrai, quod dederat Anglia corpus habet.[136]

Two other examples of diverse division, less corporeal in nature, come also from twelfth century France:

> Consignata brevi clauduntur membra sepulcro,
> Non tamen acta viri claudit uterque polus[137]

> Nunc requies animam, plebs famam, tumba cadaver
> Optinet; exuit hic ima, superna tenet.[138]

The topic of body and soul, and its step-brother which tells only of the soul, endemic in medieval epitaph, is also commonplace in death literature of other types. Noteworthy early examples are provided by Jerome's consolatory epistle, Ad Heliodorum, where Jerome observes, Corpus terra suscepit, anima Christo reddita est,[139] and by Prudentius' Hymnus circa exequias defuncti:

> resoluta sed ista seorsum,
> prioprios revocantur in ortus;
> petit halitus aëra fervens,
> humus excipit arida corpus.[140]

Although the topic may be considered generic in its specific reference to location of the body and its apparent origin in classic epitaph, it cannot be used to differentiate epitaph from other types of death verse.

C. Calendar Inscriptions

Epigram in death calendars is unusual, but it appears occasionally in southern France and northern Italy from the late eleventh century through the fourteenth. My knowledge of this verse comes primarily from two sources, Auguste Molinier's Les Obituaires Francais au Moyen Age (Paris, 1890)

and the published obituary calendar which Molinier mentions, "L'Obituario della Cattedrale di Cremona."[1]

From the middle of the eighth century onward,[2] French monasteries began to celebrate the anniversary of deaths of church figures with appropriate services; by the tenth century, secular figures of note were also commemorated. Monasteries and churches kept names of dead to be remembered on obituary calendars. Lay figures might be noted as _frater ad succurrendum_ in acknowledgement of gifts, benefits, or high station; a lay figure who took the habit by prearrangement just before death was designated as _monachus ad succurrendum_ on the calendars.[3] The calendars contained names of members of the congregation, members of associated houses, and lay figures. Names of people not living in the area came from the death rolls. Usually, the notification on the obituary calendar was limited to the deceased's name and office; residence was frequently omitted before the end of the twelfth century, making identifications difficult.[5] The year of death was never considered important in northern France; in Italy and southern France it sometimes appears during the twelfth century and later.[6]

Molinier comments that he has seen calendars with verse from the Languedoc, citing in particular Carcassone.[7] The one published calendar with verse, as far as I am aware, is the Cremona obituary. There eight poems can be dated prior to the thirteenth century. The earliest is for a known lawyer and canon, Teutaldus, highly respected in his time,

who died toward the end of the eleventh century:

VIII Id. (Junius)

> Egregius doctor Teutaldus nomine dictus,
> Hic moritur, mundo ductus ad astra poli.
> Ordine levita, cujus sanctissima vita
> Virtutum multis jure magistra fuit.[8]

Of uncertain date is one for Archbishop Arnaldus, living in

1108 and possibly in 1119:

X Kal. (Januarius)

> Hic obit Arnaldus venerabilis Archisacerdos,
>   Cuius in hac aula vita benigna fuit.[9]

Other entries come from the last half of the twelfth century:

XVII Kal. (Aprilis)

> Presbiter hic obiit celebris sacrista Ioannes
> Cuius in hac aula vita beata fuit.[10]

II Non. (Februarius)

> Transitus amborum, vide, lector, proborum:
> Belencasa unus Ardicioque alius.
> O quam laudandos doctores et venerandos!
> Eximit una dies: urna eademque tegit.[11]

XVIII Kal. (September)

> Hic obiit noster bonus archidiaconus Oddo,
> Munera qui plura huic dedit Ecclesie.[12]

V Id. (Augustus)

> Scribitur hic obitus nobis merito memorandus
> Nobilis Ofredi presulis eximii,
> Qui, donante deo, sapiens mitisque, pudicus,
> Iustitie cultor, pacis amator erat.
> Hereticis stimulus, redeuntibus umbra salutis,
> Debilibris gressus, os, oculusque manus.
> Conscilium /sic/ cleri, commisse gloria plebis,
> Solamen miseris pauperibusque pater.[13]

VII Kal. (Iunius)

> Presbiter Andreas obit hic simul et Zacharias.

> Transitus hic par et venerandi fratris Azonis
> Qui levita pius cononicusque fuit.[14]

III Kal. (Majus)

> Presbiter Ambrosius obiit hic pietate jubente,
> Natura mitis, nobilitate pius.[15]

In addition to these datable entries, there are approximately twenty more undated and unidentified poems of one or two lines which are quite similar. One of these is followed by a year, MCCXVIIII.[16] Other poems, though sometimes similar in wording, usually give a date and a note on contributions, a thirteenth century trait. These are apt to be longer, too. Two from the fourteenth century are in goliardic stanza.

The language is quite similar to that of the epitaphs. Hic obiit is apparently suggested by hic iacet. Certain other tags are retained: ad astra poli, urna . . . tegit. From one of the undated poems comes Terra tegit corpus, spiritus astra petit.[17] The virtues and designations for office are conventional ones of death verse. The repetitions from entry to entry would indicate that composers took inspiration from earlier entries with fair regularity.

In addition to these poems from the Cremona obituary, I have seen one further calendar entry:

> Marte perit duro Vichart occisus in illo.

The poem appears, without lemma, as No. 14 in Karl Strecker's "Grabschriften."[18] Strecker takes it from an earlier editor, who comments:

> Sed et pugna Florinensis, quam Lamberto comite
> Lovaniensi caeso felicissimam eventu Godefridus
> edidit, in fastos relata. Verba diarii sunt:
> Pridie Idus Septembris commissum est bellum in

> Florinis a Godefrido duce, in quo occisus est
> Lambertus. Additur versiculu: Marte perit . . .
> Quem ex Treverica nobilitate virum fuisse prin-
> cipem, non difficilis sit coniectatio.[19]

The Saxon Duke Gotfrid died in 1005; we may assume the diary
or _fasti_ is of the late tenth or early eleventh century.
The precise relationship between this entry and the later
obituary calendar verse is hard to estimate. The verse sug-
gests, however, that metric calendar poetry was not unknown
in Italy at the beginning of the eleventh century, and that
it was then, as later, admirably short.

CHAPTER III

DEATH VERSE AS EPIGRAM

If all roll verse appeared only on rolls, all epitaph
only on tombs, and if death were never mentioned except in
those two places, the preceding chapter would give an ade-
quate characterization of inscriptional death verse of the
eleventh and twelfth centuries. But death epigram was not
thus set apart. The two major types share much with each
other, and much with other types of verse. Many of their
topics are common to all poetry on death written during the
middle ages; something of their tone is mirrored in secular
literary epigram. Further, the inscriptional forms appear
in contexts which divorce them from an inscriptional object
and establish them as independent literary types.

A.   Common Death Topics

The thought of death in the middle ages brought in its
train a host of commonplaces. Many of them have been collec-
ted and examined in detail by Hereswitha Hengstl in a com-
prehensive survey, <u>Totenklage und Nachruf in der mittella-
teinischen Literatur</u> (Wurzburg, 1936). Here, I shall simply
comment on a few common to all death inscription, as well as
to other verse, which are characteristic of the eleventh and
twelfth century or of particular interest because of their
history and use. Some of them are funerary topics, linked
with death and burial. Others are the topics of biography

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and eulogy, used to tell of the dead when they yet lived.

<u>Funerary Topics</u>.

Several topics of interest in the eleventh and twelfth
centuries are closely related to the generic epitaph topic
of body and soul. Another major group tells of death in its
universal and at times personified reality. Although the
following discussion will show these topics primarily as they
appear in inscriptional verse, none was limited, as were the
generic topics discussed above, to inscriptional verse alone.

Associated with the generic epitaph topic of body and
soul are "Abraham's bosom," "heaven and hell," "the Last
Judgment," "dust, ashes, and worms," and the tag, <u>sine fine</u>
<u>dies</u>. Each has some special interest.

Reference to Abraham's bosom, like the "amen," attests
to the continuing popularity of what was originally a Jewish
formula.[1] It appears in one epitaph of the sample:

> Motus sorte pari pete cetibus annumerari,
> Quos Abraham placido collocat in gremio.[2]

In Mathilda's roll, the plural of the Biblical <u>sinus</u> is used:

> Est Abrahae sinibus quae virgo recepta Mathildis.[3]

The borrowing of the formula from the Hebrew is, of course,
not direct, but by way of the early Christians. Jerome uses
the figure in a consolatory letter[4]; he took it, as did
others, from Luke 16:22.

The contrast of heaven and hell is handled in the death
inscriptions with a polite and politic restraint. Normally
in epitaph a reference to heaven is simply a small development

on the placement of the soul, a comforting assurance of bliss:

> . . . jam te retinet pia mater
> Jerusalem supera, lux et requies ubi vera.[5]

One epitaph is wholly devoted to a presentation of heaven,[6] but it is exceptional. In the death rolls, it appears with some regularity as a small consolatory motif, and one of the roll poems gives a lively vision of heaven, with Mathilda speaking to angels.[7] The pains of hell are usually passed over in discreet silence. Only the simoniac's epitaph[8] refers to them at length. In the death rolls, they infrequently appear when the reason for prayer is given.[9] In Spain and France, contrasts were sometimes established:

> Omnibus his meruit poenas vel praemia . . .[10]

> Fiat ut inferni penitus non languar ab igne,
> Ac procul effugiam, ne dirae tortio poenae
> Stringere me possit, sed visio paces amoenae:
> In me splendescens concedat gaudia Coeli.[11]

> Liber ab Aegypto rediens, deserta reliquit
> Jamque Hierosolymam victor ovansque tenet.[12]

On the whole, extended commentary on life after death is not given in inscriptional death verse.

Commentary on the related topics of Last Judgment and resurrection of the body is also quite limited. The topic is again usually tied to a suitable generic topic--tomb marker, prayer, or pious wish--and never developed at any length:

> . . . et optat ut orbis
> Conditor, et judex veniat quandoque potenter,
> Et cineros lapsos in pristina membra reformet.[13]

> Fac inter cetum dextrum quem surgere letum,
> Dum sonat e nube vox tremebunda tubae.[14]

> Iste locus mundi Silvestri membra sepulti
> Venturo domino conferet ad sonitum . . .[15]

It is most typical of German epitaph,[16] although there are also examples from France[17] and Italy.[18] It appears rarely in death rolls.[19]

The death of the body is more frequently brought out in epitaph, primarily through the popular commonplaces of dust, ashes, and worms. The theme of decay in death verse is, of course, quite old. The ashes come from the _cineres_ of classic tomb markers. Virgil's _reliiquias Troiae cineres atque ossa peremptae_ (Aen. V. 787), echoed in Damasus' _cineres atque ossa rigabant_,[20] gave one verse formula. Another tag comes from Genesis III.19: _Donec revertaris in terra, de qua sumptus es; quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris_. It occurs in slightly altered form in the liturgy for Ash Wednesday.[21] Both the _cinis_ and _pulvis_ appear in eleventh and twelfth century epitaphs, usually in conjunction with a tomb marker:

> Pulvis et ossa iacent . . .[22]
>
> . . . factus de pulvere pulvis[23]

Twelfth century French and German poets, perhaps following Alcuin's modest lead,[24] elaborate on the worms:

> Sunt orientia, sunt morientia carnea quaeque.
> Est homo vermibus et pater et cibus, et cinis eque.
> . . .
> Vir venerabilis inreparabilis, inde dolendum,
> Vermibus obsitus hic iacet abditus, inde gemendum.
> Sed caro marcida, tabida, fetida, si cinerescat,
> Spiritus evolat, ut patriam colat atque quiescat.
> Intrat ovilia spiritualia, quo properabat,
> Vita theorica, vitaque practica quem decorabat.
> Dum caro verminat atque coinquinat infima busti,
> Corporis hospita fert sibi debita premia iusti.[25]

A shorter, but perhaps equally effective thought runs:

Mater habet terra, vermis edit latera . . .[26]

Such presentations of physical dissolution are generally omitted from death roll inscriptions.

The tag sine fine dies, beloved of Fortunatus,[27] has an interesting distribution. From Germany come two examples:

Est ubi vita quies, pax sine fine dies[28]

Qua sine nocte dies, qua sine fine quies[29]

Although the thought of eternal life or rest is not unknown in France[30] and Spain,[31] the formula is used only in the German epitaphs. Further, it does not appear in the death roll inscriptions, where the somewhat similar requiem perhennem flourishes.[32]

The foregoing topics, which tell of the deceased's existence after death, are all relatively unimportant when compared to the reflections on death itself. Death, in age old terms, is for the eleventh and twelfth century writers fera mors,[34] cita mors,[35] mors atra,[36] mors dura,[37] mors inimica[38]; it is pallida,[39] invida,[40] amara.[41] However, the eleventh and twelfth century writers generally avoid the old negative epithets for death--mors improba, impia,[42] mala,[43] crudelis.[44] Sometimes they link it directly or antithetically with gentle thoughts:

Mors male blanda viro, minuens quiete laborem[45]

Denigrat nomen mors immatura serenum . . .[46]

. . . tulit inclementia mortis . . .[47]

And they cluster with the adjectival descriptions of death

small groups of rhyming feminine words. Man's lot is <u>ultima</u> <u>sors</u>,[48] <u>sors haec generalis</u>[49]; <u>sors dira necis</u> overtakes man[50]; the day of death is <u>invidiosa</u>,[51] <u>damnosa</u>.[52]

During the mid eleventh century in Germany and Spain and toward the beginning of the twelfth in France and England the stereotyped personification of "death snatched him away" came alive. Death had a sword,[53] used force,[54] upheld his law[55] and decree[56]; he spread nets, as well.[57] The essential thought of his person came from classic and early Christian epitaph,[58] and from the infrequent and stereotyped mention of attributes of the early middle ages.[59] Twelfth century French poets drew the personification more fully, sometimes in a conventional, sometimes in a slightly unusual manner:

> Divisos meritis mors urna versat eadem,
> Et nimis aequa pari pondere librat eos.[60]
>
> Cum metit hunc florem mortis iniqua manus.[61]
>
> Quem studio morum naturae pinxerat unguis,
> Incausto tinguit mors inimica suo.[62]

One author shows death as a conversationalist:

> Romam vado, vale; Romam se finxit iturum;
> Sed melius potuit dicere: Vado mori.
> Mors male blanda viro minuensque quiete laborem,
> Abrupit lucem nocte, viamque mora.
> Nolo virum, dixit, gelidas sudare per Alpes;
> Sed stet, sed maneat, sed moriatur, ait.[63]

In Mathilda's roll, death is directly addressed.[64]

Considered as an event, rather than a person, death is usually presented as a universal, unavoidable fate, giving rise to a number of related topics: "death comes to all,"

"what use are riches (etc.)," with its variant, "if riches
(etc.) could save, ____ would live," and "life is like a
flower, like smoke."

The reflection that all die is a common topic of classic
consolationes, adapted in classic Greek and Latin tomb
inscriptions with different variations.[65] In eleventh and
twelfth century epitaph it is relatively uncommon. When it
occurs, it comes as a simple statement, such as

> . . . mors sola triumphat in illo,
> Cuius adhuc legem nemo cavere potest.[66]

In the roll inscriptions, betraying their basically consola-
tory purpose, it is much more frequent, and it is often
ornamented with a listing of those who die--the young, the
old, the wise, the foolish--in a veritable dance of death, or
it is tied to other death commonplaces:

> Pallida mors regum turres inopumque tabernas
> Sorte pari pulsat, nec eam quis munere placat.
> Turpes, formosos, indoctos atque peritos,
> Notos, ignotos, trutina compensat eadem.[67]

> Mors perimit juvenes, et rapit ipsa senes.
> Pauper, famosus, ignobilis et generosus
> Propter Adae meritum tendit ad interitum.[68]

aequaque divitibus pauperibusque venit.[69]

The "What use" and "If" topics, to use abbreviated names
for two somewhat complex and interrelated thoughts, are
apparently most typical of the eleventh and twelfth century.
I have come across no examples of the first before 1047, and
neither Lattimore nor Hengstl mention either. Yet in the
eleventh and twelfth century they are relatively common, both
in epitaph and roll inscription. Insofar as they graciously

link the "death is common to all" theme to a list of the
deceased's virtues and worldly honors, they seem especially
suited to the roll inscription and could have developed from
that genre, though the first epitaph to use one is German:

> Quid prosunt fasces, quid opes, quid fama, quid ortes?
> Qualescumque sumus, morte coequat humus.[70]

From France come

> Quid species, quid res, quid opes, quid sanguis avorum
> Quid dedit ampla tibi gloria, Wido? Nichil.[71]

> Clericus arte vigens, etate vir, Anglicus ortu--
> Nil ars, nil etas, nil juvat ortus--obit.[72]

The "If" topic is a relative of the "If tears (poetry, prayers)
could help" of the roll inscriptions, with a list of the
deceased's qualities substituted for responses of the mourn-
ers, though it seldom appears in this altered form in the
rolls.[73] Two of the earliest examples are by the Spaniard
Alfon Gramático, for Queen Constanza(+1086):

> Si generis formaeque decus, si gloria mundi
> Non bene fida, darent, ne moraretur homo,
> Regum sanguis ego Constantia, Regis et uxor
> His ornata satis, credito viva forem.
> At neque dant aliis . . .[74]

> Si pretium pro morte dari novus ordo petisset,
> Et Deus Omnipotens, cui cuncta iuvet, voluisset,
> Non Regum soboles Constantia morte perissem,
> Omnia nam mundi pro me pretiosa dedissem.
> Nunc ergo quia non potuit sors haec generalis
> Non venisse mihi, supplex peto quo specialis
> Cordis in altare mea commemoratio digne
> Fiat . . .[75]

The "If" and "What use" topics are combined in a late French
example:

> Si species et opes mortem differre valerent,
>   Rubertus Filioth non moreretur adhuc.
> Dictus erat Philiot, set cor, vis, lingua negabant.

Mente puer, Mars vi, Tullius ore fuit.
Set quid simplicitas, virtus, facundia juvit?
Lux fuit Augusti tercia finis ei.[76]

In another common group of figures, life is compared to herbage, smoke, and other transitory things. The flowers of these figures, along with perishing grass, come primarily from the Bible--I Peter 1, 24; Isaiah 40, 6; and Job 14, the latter used in the office of the dead.[77] Jerome early adopted them for a consolatory epistle: "<u>Omnis caro faenum et omnis gloria eius quasi flos faeni</u>" . . . <u>Marcescebat, pro dolor! flante austro lilium, et purpura violae in pallorem sensim migrabat.</u>[78] Later Alcuin, not to mention a number of other medievals, returned to them in epitaph.[79] Flower comparisons are fairly common in roll inscriptions, where the language almost invariably echoes the Biblical passages:

. . . aret ut albus ager[80]

Flore fugatior omnis vergit et aret[81]

Divitiae regum cinis est, et gloria foenum.
Sicut flos foeni, sic transit gloria mundi.
Flos et herba cadunt, sic corpus et ossa peribunt.[82]

Occidit omnis homo, carnis putrescit origo;
Nam feno similis semper labat, et fugit orbis;
Floret, siccatur, rarescit et adnichilatur.[83]

The Biblical flower figure appears, too, in one epitaph chosen for this study:

Est homo flos agri, brevis est ut gloria feni.[84]

On the whole, however, the eleventh and twelfth century epitaph writers, as contrasted with the roll inscribers, seem to prefer classic imagery, or a combination of images:

Preterit ut ventus, dum floret, nostra juventus,
  Et eodem ut fumus, nam velut umbra sumus[85]

Quod fugit ut fumus, perit ut ros, praeterit ut
                                                flos,
  Felix qui spernit . . . [86]

Both smoke and shadows appear alone:

> Transit ut fumus, hac in humo fit humus[87]

> . . . quam sis
> Res umbra similis, vana, fugax, fragilis[88]

The _umbra_ is certainly suggested by classic Latin "shades"
and established by Horace's _pulvis et umbra sumus_ (C. IV.7,16).
Sometimes the comparison is expanded to include all earthly
things:

> Quicquid in orbe oritur tenuis velut umbra fugatur
> Non honor in seclo persistit limite certo,
> Nec res subsistit celeri que tramite transit,
> Sed non omnis obit . . .[89]

Other poets go slightly further afield:

> Nam sicut vita brevis, labitur aqua levis[90]

> Huius honor mundi previs est, homo, fexque secundi[91]

One German turns to the rose of classic epitaph, to be dis-
tinguished from the flowers of the field:

> Sed citius rapitur rosa quae plus vernat in horto,
> Sic et florentem fata tulere virum[92]

The figures are typical of the time, though they have a long
history. The thought of the passing nature of all earthly
things is particularly frequent in the twelfth and thirteenth
century death writing.[83]

Also typical of the twelfth century epitaph is the
observation that death is or brings true life:

> Hinc abiit, sed non obiit, nec desiit esse
> Praeteriit sed non periit, transivit ad esse.[94]

> Dum nobis moritur, ut sibi vivat, obit.[95]

In the death rolls, it is already common by 1050, in Gui-
fred's roll, and it may be viewed as a basic theme of Vital's,

a century later.[96]

Although all of the death commonplaces mentioned above are the common literary heritage of the age, the choice of figures seems to depend somewhat on whether the author is writing epitaph or roll verse. Sometimes the choice is governed by the intent of the verse. The omission of reference to the body's dissolution in the rolls, for example, can be accounted for in this way. Dependence on Biblical figures for the brevity of life, however, high in the rolls, low in the epitaphs, might suggest that the typical roll inscriber and the typical epitaph writer had a slightly different education; the average monk, perhaps, felt somewhat more at home with scriptural and liturgical material than did the average epitaph writer.

Biography and Eulogy.

The funerary topics presented so far are, in epitaph, primarily ornaments. More prominent, more regularly encountered, are those biographic and eulogistic topics which tell of the deceased himself. Biography takes a multitude of forms, ranging from a simple acknowledgement of the deceased's station or office through full-scale rehearsal of birth, relatives, deeds, offices, relations with others, and manner of death. The virtues of the person commemorated may be set off in a special listing or integrated with the biography. A typical example of mixed biography and eulogy in a short epitaph is provided by Guido of Amiens:

> Quem tegit hic tumulus lectissimus Angelirannus
>   Hujus coenobii pastor et abba fuit:
> Dux gregis Ecclesiae, monachum spes inclita vitae,
> Vixit et in mundo mundus, et in Domino.[1]

In the rolls, the strictly biographic material is negligible,
because it has already been given in the encyclical, but a
recital of virtuous acts, as in the following example from
Vital's roll, comes readily from the inscriber's pen:

> Abbas Vitalis doctrina spiritualis,
> Multos instruxit, plures de morte reduxit;
> Vita fuit dignissima, sic est mors pretiosa;
> Sit diadema laborum cum sanctis speciosa. Amen.[2]

Frequently in epitaph the position of the deceased is
given as in the example above, expanded only briefly with a
bare mention of other offices, an interweaving of virtuous
acts in the position, or perhaps a remark on how he came to
that office:

> Bruno Pater, jucunde senes, mitissime praesul,
>   Cujus cor pietas, lingua mel et lac erat. . .[3]
>
> Cantor Gaufridus, cantorum nobile sidus . . .[4]
>
> Egregius senior, cui nil juvenile cohaesit,
>   Bernardus prior, pausat humatus humo.
> . . .
> Iste sibi pro te nunquam, Cluniace, pepercit
>   Hinc sibi nulla dies absque labore fuit. . .[5]
>
> Qui modo sum modicus civis, olim rex Ludovicus,
>   Cum terris preeram, terra futurus eram . . .[6]
>
> . . . virgo fui simplexque puella . . .[7]
>
> Ingens carnis honor, sed morum gratia maior
>   Praesulis officio te locat et solio . . .[8]
>
> Abba Wirunt tumbam sacris dicat ossibus istam
> . . .
> Sexcies hic quinis Heremi pater extitit annis,
>   Valde sibi durus, discipulis placidus . . .[9]
>
> Odgiva iuncta fui Balduino domino.[10]

> Hoc probat ipse prior, pridem prior, at modo primus
> Et solito melior in meliore statu.[11]
>
> Hic raptus recubat felici sorte sacerdos,
> Quem laetum caelis intulit alma fides.
> Ordonius cui nomen erat, sed Episcopus alta
> Doctrina pollens, virginitate nitens . . .[12]
>
> Clauditur in Christo sub marmore Sthefanus isto,
> Abbas egregius moribus eximius . . .[13]

More commonly, however, the biography is extended in some fashion, with explicit or allusive references to place of birth, relatives, offices held, wars and conquests undertaken, lands ruled, studies pursued, books written, monasteries and churches founded, and the host of other accomplishments and activities which conspicious people had or engaged in to their credit. Richard Herluinus' epitaph for Maurillius, Archbishop of Rouen (+1069), shows the basic form of such epitaphs:

> Humani cives, lacrymam nolite negare
> Vestro pontifici, Maurilio monacho.
> Hunc Remis genuit, studiorum Legia nutrix.
> Potavit trifido fonte philosophico.
> Vobis hanc aedem coeptum perduxit ad unguem,
> Laetitia magna fecit et encoenia.
> Cum tibi Laurenti, vigilat plebs sobria Christi,
> Transit, et in caelis laurea festa colit.[14]

Here, one should note the faint echo of Mantua me genuit, the opening of the Epitaphium Vergilii,[15] and the framing of biography by generic topics.

The variations of biography which eleventh and twelfth century writers supply are much too numerous for comprehensive examination here. Four topics might be viewed as representative: "he became a monk," "he was murdered," "he was our (Aristotle)," and "(Gallia) mourns him."

When a man entered a religious order, the poet who wrote
his death verse normally felt that was a fact worthy of men-
tion. Frequently the poet emphasizes the virtuous denial of
earthly vanities:

> Quae fuerant secli sprevit amore Dei.
> Mutans ergo vices de mundi milite, miles
> Fit Christo, subito monachus ex laico.[16]

Now and again, too, the poet tells of those who entered
monastic life just prior to death, probably by prearrange-
ment, after an active life in this world as layman or secular
cleric:

> Pene simul comes est monachus, monachusque cadaver[17]

> Wilhelmus Gyffard Praesul jacet hic tumulatus;
> Qui suscepti adhuc vivens habitum Monachatus.[18]

A curious figure is sometimes used to tell of such con-
version, appropriate for the nobleman: "the wolf became a
lamb."

> Rex quoniam regum de pardo perficit agnum,
> De crudele pium, de transgressore benignum,
> Servum de domino, vacuum de divite tanto,
> Nunc cesset gemitus . . .[19]

> Miles erat factus, inde fuit monachus;
> Armaque tyro tulit, post pacis faedera nectit,
> Deque lupo mitis factus habetur ovis.[20]

The above examples are from Guifred's roll; Maurillius,
Archbishop of Rouen (+1067), also used the figure to tell of
Rollo, Duke of Normandy (+932):

> Ut fuit ante lupus, sic post fit mitibus agnus;
> Pax ita mutatum mulceat ante Deum.[21]

The figure is somewhat surprising, placed against the more
common image of the good priest defending his flock against

the wolf.[22] A variant gives, "once Saul, he became Paul."[23]
At a further remove appears the old transformation from
Martha to Mary, figuring forth the passage from the active
life of this world to contemplation of God in death.[24]

Not all people died so easily in the arms of the church.
Some were murdered, and they seem to have been popular sub-
jects for epitaphs.[25] Among those remembered in eleventh and
twelfth century epitaphs are Countess Mabilia, wife of Roger
of Montegomery (+1082)[26]; King Canut IV of Denmark (+1086)[27];
Frederic, Bishop of Liège (+1121)[28]; Charles the Good of
Flanders (+1127)[29]; a deacon of Orleans[30]; and the long dead
William Long Sword, Duke of Normandy (+943).[31] Some of these
are described as "martyrs," King Canut legitimately so:

> Iam celo tutus summo cum rege Kanutus
> Martir in aurata rex atque reconditur archa,
> Qui pro iusticie factis occisus inique
> Ut Christum vita, sic morte fatetur in ipsa,
> Traditus a populo sicut Deus ipse ministro
> Et peciens potum telorum pertulit ictum,
> Lancea nec ne latus ut Christi perforat eius,
> Spiritibusque sacris moriens sociatur in astris.[32]

Charles the Good is also characterized as such:

> et si Flandrigena gens possit vivificari,
> quam fecit poena rex Francorum cruciari,
> consule pro Karolo quem gens haec martyrizavit,
> furtim, nocte, dolo, prece, prostratum jugulavit.[33]

Such death normally gives rise to rhetorical flourishes. The
epitaph for the unidentified deacon of Orleans, for example,
uses mannered apostrophe and execration:

> Hic cum jura colit, libertatemque tuetur,
>   Transigit innocuum dextra cruenta latus.
> O Mala mens, scelerata manus, consensio prava,
>   Ictus atrox, audax impetus, horrida mens.
> Mors patriae, mors illa fuit quae sustulit illum,
>   In cujus casu patria tota cadit.[34]

The epitaph for the bishop of Liège, who may or may not have been poisoned, breaks into tripertiti rhyme when the murder is alluded to in the last line. The epitaph for Countess Mabilia, loved by friends and hated by enemies, has almost a note of humor:

> Alta clarentum de stirpe creata parentum
>   Hac tegitur tumba maxima Mabilia.
> Haec inter celebres famosa magis mulieres
>   Claruit in lato orbe sui merito.
> Acrior ingenio, sensu vigil, impigra facto,
>   Utilis eloquio, provida consilio.
> Exilis forma, sed grandis prorsus honestas,
>   Dopsilis in sumptu, culta satis habitu,
> Haec scutum patriae fuit, haec munitio marchae,
>   Vicinisque suis grata vel horribilis.
> Sed quia mortales non omnia possumus omnes,
>   Haec periit gladio, nocte perempta dolo.
> Et quia nunc opus est defunctae ferre juvamen,
>   Quisquis amicus adest subveniendo probet.[35]

Beside these tales of violent death should be set the epitaph for Emperor Henry III (+1056), which tells of his unfortunate fall from a horse while hunting the boar:

> Iuit uenatum, sequitur dum fortiter aprum,
>   Est delapsus equo, transiit inde solo.
> Pandat ei paradisus opes de munere dites
>   Et cum rege pio regnet ubique polo.[36]

All other historical accounts reveal that Henry III died in bed of illness while inspecting dye works in the Black Forest.[37] The editor of the poem, E. Dümmler, suggests that the epitaph may have been written in Italy, where the exact circumstances of Henry's death were unknown. With equal probability the error may be laid to student composition and a breath of influence from Seneca, the Latin Anthology, or a similar collection, where epitaphs for the murdered Caesar and Cicero abound.[38] Another whose manner of death is noted

is the man who died of tertian fever on the third of February. The fact would have gone unnoted except for the opportunity it gave for a rhetorical color.

Limited almost exclusively to twelfth century epitaphs, mainly French,[40] are the equations of the dead with classic figures to express callings or qualities:

> Lausduni rector, Cato civibus, hostibus Hector,
>   Par vultu Paridi . . .[41]

> Alter Caesar eras, virtute terens inimicos,
>   Pollens consilio tertius ipse Cato.[42]

The personages chosen would be quite familiar to the student of classic literature: Cato [43] for good sense; Paris[44] for physical beauty; Achilles,[45] Hector,[46] Julius Caesar,[47] and Mars[48] for prowess in war; Socrates, Plato, Aristotle[49] for the various branches of philosophy; Homer,[50] Apollo,[51] Virgil[52] for skill in poetry; Tully[53] for oratory; for chastity, the Sabine women[54]; for treachery, Brutus[55]; for birth, Maecenas[56]; for art, Numa.[57] Much less frequently, Biblical figures are presented in somewhat similar comparisons:

> Te Noe, Iob, Daniel virtutibus exccluerunt
>   Iustitia, plaga, virgineaque nota.[58]

> Abbas Lithardus, veluti Iudas Machabeus,
>   Dux bonus ut Iosue, praefuit aecclesiae
> . . .
> Per tot sudores, vir fortis, Marthaque sollers.[59]

> Martha, Maria, pius Samaritanus eras.[60]

The comparisons are primarily eulogistic, but they also serve to indicate the deceased's major field of accomplishment, as well as the writer's familiarity with the classics. Like the accounts of violent death, the figures breathe the

atmosphere of the schools.

The calling or country of the deceased is also revealed by a somewhat similar device, whereby personified countries, objects of study, works of art, and the like mourn the deceased:

> Te studio depicta tuo laquearia plangunt,
> Te plangunt ornata tuo penetralia culta,
> Et tibi quanta fuit virtus, Alberte, loquuntur.
> Ergo gemunt septem resonis ululatibus artes,
> Inque tuo casu percussae pectora plorant.[61]

> Te plangit Turonis, flet Pictavis Andegavusque,
> Urbs Cenomana magis, tota madens lacrymis.[62]

> Anglica lugeat hinc Northmannica gens fleat illinc.[63]

> Sic quia transisti, redimi nec ab hoc potuisti,
>   Sic Corbeia dolet, mater ut orba solet,
> Flandria flet pro te, tanto privata nepote.
>   Et gemit ut vidua Francia morte tua.[64]

The topic is combined with the previous one in an epitaph for Abelard, wherein logic mourns its Aristotle, ethics its Socrates, and so forth.[65] Although both German and French writers use the personifications, the German have a tendency to make grander generalizations:

> Quem plangit populos, quem luxit multa iuventus,
>   Patres et nati, servulus et domini[66]

> Eheu Bernardi, quem plangunt climmata mundi[67]

In such instances, the biographic content is lost.

The topic is quite old. An epitaph for Plautus (+184 B.C.) shows early Roman use:

> Postquam est mortem aptus Plautus, Comoedia luget
> Scaena est deserta, dein Risus, Ludus Jocusque
> Et numeri innumeri simul omnes conlacrimarunt.[68]

In later classic times, it was fair game for parody and exaggeration.[69] The mourning of countries was also suggested by

readings from Jeremia in the liturgy for Holy Week,[70] as well
as by early Christian writers, such as Jerome,[71] and the later
Carolingians.[72] Unlike the comparisons to classical figures,
these evocations of mourners, scattered throughout the per-
iod here under study, are by no means limited to twelfth
century work.

Pure praise comes with the account of the deceased's
virtues. Virtues are by no means unknown in classic epi-
taph,[73] but they came into their own with the Christians.
In early Christian epitaphs, virtues are frequently listed,
often with the rhetorical figure of articuli. Fortunatus
describes the dead as

mansuetus patiens bonus aequus amator amandus.[74]
An Italian, perhaps of the sixth century, presents one

Casta gravis sapiens simplex veneranda fidelis.[75]
Such lists, frequently leonine, some perhaps in part of old
vintage, are still encountered in the eleventh and twelfth
centuries:

Vir fuit hic magnus, probitate suavis et agnus.
Vita conspicuus, dogmate praecipuus
Sobrius et castus, prudens, simplex et honestus,
Pollens consilio, clarus in oificio.[76]

Dives agris, domibus, servitiis, opibus,
Prudens, famosus, probus, impiger, ingeniosus[77]

Nobilis et sapiens, bonus et sermone refulgens[78]

Sanguine sat celsus, moribus aetherius.
Ingenio clarus, mitis, pius atque benignus
Indeque percelebris regibus ac populis.[79]

Vir domini verus, rectisque tenore severus,
Discretus, sapiens, sobrius, ac patiens.
Grandis honestatis, magnaeque vir pietatis[80]

Nobilitas, gravitas, probitas, et mentis acumen,
Et virtus animi magna fuere tibi.[81]

Forma genus virtus sapientia te decorabant[82]

. . . mundo nam vixerat isto
Prudens, munificus, castus, pietatis amicus.[83]

The rhyme and articuli led, perhaps inevitably, to the com-

plexities of twelfth century France:

Eloquii flos, consilii ros, ingenii cos,
Grammaticae fons, Rhetoricae pons, ac Logicae mons,
Ecclesiae lux, justitiae dux inter iniquos
Gymnasii fax, discipuli pax, justus et insons . . .[84]

Peter Riga builds an entire epitaph on such praise:

Anchora lapsorum, fidei radius, nitor orbis,
Flos patriae, morum regula, Clarus obit.
Implevit claro fulgorem nominis actu,
Clarus nomen erat, actio clara fuit.
Quid noto? clarus erat re, clarus nomine, clarus
Exemplo, clarus dogmate, clarus avis.
Insignis, pollens, largus, devotus, abundans,
Moribus, ingenio, munere, corde, bonis.
Praebuit, instruxit, dispersit, respuit, emit
Exemplum, fratres, damna, cavenda, polum.
Sol in Septembri dum quinto surgeret ortu,
Cogitur occasum Lucifer iste pati.[85]

Rarely are dead people shown as evil doers, though the

simoniac is an exception to the generalization, as is Abbot

Willeram of Ebersberg, whose epitaph is written in the first

person:

Fuldensi monachus Wilram de fonte vocatus,
Hic licet indignus pastor eram positus;
Nominis officium corrupit fictio morum;
Qui sibi nempe malus, cui valet esse bonus?
Verus peccator falsusque boni simulator
Nil ego preterii quicquid erat vitii.
Correxi libros, neglexi moribus illos,
Iusti supplicii conscius ipse michi;
Se quia deliqui, tua Christe flagella cupivi,
Te tamen hoc solum det michi propicium.
In Nonis Iani mortis decreta subivi,
Quae vivens nemo praeterit ullo modo.
Conpatiendo mihi vos illum poscite vivi,
Mitiget ut poenam detque reo veniam.[86]

Other eleventh and twelfth century dead were most virtuous. Three of their admirable qualities were generosity, love of peace, and, if they were female, a lack of feminine frailty.

Generosity to the church is noted of several people, suggesting that large contributors could look forward to an epitaph. Hildebert, for example, writes of Bertha, Countess of Le Maine:

> Tecto, veste, cibo, potu, recreavit egentes,
>   Ecclesiis aurum, pallia, vasa, dedit.[87]

The hallmark of generosity, however, is generosity to the poor, as first noted of Bertha. Beneficence, sometimes joined with kindness to widows and orphans, is a standard virtue from the earliest Christian times, commended in the Bible and featured in early Christian epitaphs.[88] And it was early regarded as a virtue particularly suited to clerics. Pope Felix IV (+c. 530), for example, was pauperibus largus, according to his epitaph.[89] In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, charity to the poor is one of the most frequently mentioned virtues.[90] A refinement, especially loved by the late eleventh century epitaph writers, states that the dead was generous to others, but sparing to himself:

> Cui nec desidiam nec luxum res dedit ampla,
>   Nec tumidum fecit multus et altus honor.
> Qui nec ad argentum nec ad aurum lumina flexit,
>   Sed doluit quociens cui daret hec aberat.
> Qui non cessavit inopum fulcire ruinas,
>   Donec inops dando factus et ipse fuit.
>
> . . .
> Cui vestis textura rudis, cui non fuit unquam
>   Ante sitim potus, nec cibus ante famem.[91]

> Sprevit diuitias utpote delicias.
> Lętos cuius opes pręstiterant inopes.
> Huius contritam dederant ieiunia uitam,
> Largam muneribus oppido pauperibus.[92]

> Paupertatis onus patienter saepe tulisti,
> Nam tua pauperibus sapienter distribuisti.[93]

> Ecclesiam, pontem, peregrinis optima tecta
> Parca sibi struxit, largaque pauperibus.[94]

The topic is also common in Mathilda's roll:

> Nam sprevit mundum, vittans quasi nauta profundum,
> Sprevit divitias et mundi philosofias;
> Vestes, thesaurum, argentum sprevit et aurum:
> Quicquid in his habuit pauperibus tribuit.[95]

> Pauperibus larga multum fuit et sibi parcha;
> Parca sibi victu fuit haec necnon et amictu:
> Sic praepollebat cunctis, cunctisque placebat.[96]

> Viva Deo, mundo jam mortua, pauca reservans,
> Multa dabat, multis dives egensque sibi.[97]

> Pauperibus dives, sibi vivere parca volebat.[98]

> Namque bonis larga, solo de crimine parca[99]

> Nil sibi servabat, sua pauperibus tribuendo[100]

And in Vital's:

> Pauper mendicus sibi vixit, largus egenis,
> Pupillos, viduas, veste ciboque fovens.[101]

> Et pius et lenis, parcus sibi, largus egenis.[102]

Possible models for thought and wording are provided by epitaphs of seventh and eighth century inscription sylloges.[103]

Love of peace is most typical of twelfth century epitaph.[104] It is attributed to a certain count Galfridus (perhaps Geoffry Martel II):

> Quo reprimente malos, quo jura tuente bonosque
> Pax fuit, et crevit copia pacis ope.[105]

to Pope Gelasius II:

<pre>
                . . . sub ipso
      Virtus, et pietas, et honestas cresceret omnis;
      Et pax Ecclesiae toto floreret in orbe.[108]
</pre>

to Charles the Good of Flanders:

<pre>
      Pax et vita suis, formido et mors inimicus,
         Rebus pace suis undique compositis[107]
</pre>

to Henry I of England:

<pre>
      Hic jacet Henricus rex quondam, pax, decus orbis.[108]
</pre>

This topic, too, has a more ornate form: "peace died with

him."

<pre>
      Iura tuens, et pacis amans, et maximus armis,
      Helias censor scelerum, patronus honesti,
      Gloria nature, speculum quo vera reflusit
      Iusticia, et quidquid in principe mundus adorat,
      Occidit, et pariter pax et decus urbis et orbis
      Excidit, Helia patrieque et rebus adempto.[109]

      Felix imperio satis est feliciter usus,
         Pacis amans, clarus munere, marte potens.
      Illius interitu decus interit, intereuntque
         Otia, pax, legum sanctio, jura, fides.[110]
</pre>

In all, peace and love of peace imply military power, except

perhaps in the case of Pope Gelasius II.

Those women renowned, to judge by their epitaphs, for a

wonderful lack of female frailty were all French. Bertha,

Countess of Le Maine (+1085) is the first, thus remembered

by Hildebert:

<pre>
      Quem licet in vetitum res, sexus, forma vocarent,
         Non tamen in vetitum femina flexit iter.[111]
</pre>

Later poets are more specific:

<pre>
      Pauperibus sacravit opes thalamosque pudori,
         Et docuit sexus non meminisse sui.
      Illam sex lustris stupit natura pudicam
         Et dubitavit utrum femina necne foret.[112]
</pre>

Femina femineum domuit non femina sexum,
Mathildis, mente non femina, femina carne;
Femina nata quidem, sed in actibus exuit illam,
Ex quo nata, Deo data, plena Deo monachata[113]

Virtutem titulis humani culmen honoris
   Excessit mulier, nil mulieris habens.[114]

   Feminei sexus immemor illa fuit.
Deliciis florens, vultu festiva, coruscans
   Exemplis titulis inclyta, stirpe nitens.
Sic intus mentem, foris os natura polivit,
   Ut sine crimine mens, os sine labe foret.
Quod genus exempli rarum est, se femina vicit,
   In se femineae nil levitatis habens.
Cum fidei mulier corvo sit rarior albo,
   Haec tamen in sexu floruit ista fides.[115]

Both this topic and the preceding--"peace died with him"--

appear earliest in Hildebert's work. Their popularity in the

next several decades might suggest that Hildebert was used as

a model.

Three of the many eulogistic verbal formulae common in

eleventh and twelfth century death verse are _fons bonitatis_,

nulli pietate secundus, and _dum vixit_. Each has its history.

The phrase _fons bonitatis_ occurs in a French epitaph

for Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres (+c.1029):

Quem tibi Carnotis conscessit fons bonitatis,
   Doctrinae fluvium duplicis egregium . . .[116]

It is also featured in St. Bruno's roll, and in Vital's,

where it appears twice in slightly varied forms:

Abas Vitalis, fons, exemplum pietatis,
   In Christo vivens, non obiturus, obit.
Nunc quia nature persolvit debita, Christus
   Sit sibi lumen, honor, gloria, vita, salus.[117]

Flos abbatum, fons bonitatum, vita potentum,
Imperium regum, sceptrum legum, sapientum
Pax et honor, spes, rex, lex, dux, lux, gloria, virtus,
Corruit, adnichilatur. Quid meruit moriatur?[118]

English school boys wrote both of the poems from which these two excerpts are taken. The writer of the first had the task of making an earlier student's entry into a fitting tribute. That earlier entry, in its entirety, reads

Versus pueriles

Abas Vitalis, tibi sit laux, vita perhennis:
Nam dum vixisti vestes escamque dedisti.[119]

He works this into the second stanza of his rather ornate poem; the stanza quoted above is his last. He is drawing on other sources, too. Persolvit debita, for example, occurs frequently in the rolls; non obiturus obit is used by Hildebert of Berengar of Tours.[120] The writer of the second excerpt quoted above, named Radulf, is showing off with what some medievals knew as nugae poeticae.[121] Both examples would suggest that the young writers considered the old phrase a fine one.

In contrast to the fons bonitatis, nulli pietate secundus and its relatives is much used throughout the middle ages. A few examples of it and a common variant of the early eleventh century:

Largus phylosophus, nulli pietate secundus[122]

Vir bonus atque pius, nulli probitate secundus[123]

Vir bonus et prudens, viguit dum corpore presens,
Extiti ore sagax, fulgens velut ignea lampas,
Lingua mellifluus, nulli probitate secundus.[124]

Marchio Raymundus nulli probitate secundus
Quem lapis iste tegit, Agarenos Marte subegit[125]

It also appears in Mathilda's death roll, with pietate.[126]

The origin lies in Virgil's Haud . . . ulli pietate secundus

(Aen. XI,441). It was worn threadbare by the eleventh
century. The probitate variant of Germany and Spain is
apparently in imitation of an epitaph for Heraclius, a
Roman, popular in Carolingian sylloges.[127] The formula does
not appear in the selected twelfth century epitaphs, though
many other somewhat similar types of praise do:

> In quo, dum coelum sol permeat, et mare velum,
> Terraque dum steterit, par tibi nullus erit.[128]

> Anselmo similem non est habitura secundum.[129]

> . . . quo nemo priorum
> Vel titulis major vel pietate fuit.[130]

> Omnibus acceptus cui nullus amore secundus[131]

Dum vixit, a filler attached to lists of virtues, is
quite old, apparently a standard device in classic times,[132]
as it was in the middle ages. In the rolls, its normal form
is the simple dum vixit:

> Christe Deus, rutilo ditans illam paradiso,
> Mathildi miserere, tuae miserere pusillae,
> Quae tibi, dum vixit, devota mente cohaesit,
> Haesit, obedivit, coluit, dilexit, amavit.[133]

> Dum vixit, mundo quem sprevit cessit ab isto
> Vitalis, summus sit sibi vita Deus.[134]

However, it has a number of other variants in roll inscrip-
tions: donec vixit,[135] dum si vixit,[136] dum vivebat,[137] dum
vivus eras,[138] dum vixisti,[139] and the related but slightly
different, vivere dum potuit.[140] In Vital's roll, it serves
for puns.[141] The formula takes a rather different form in
the epitaphs of the period. Dum vixit appears only twice,
in German epitaphs.[142] The more common form is dum viguit,
employed with slight variation five times in German epitaphs

and twice in French; this form does not appear in the rolls at all.[143] <u>Vivere dum potuit</u> and a variant come from Spain; it also appears once in France.[144] A few other, less closely related variations, are <u>dum secula rexit</u>,[145] <u>dum quod eras</u>,[146] <u>cum floreret adhuc</u>,[147] and <u>hoc vivente</u>.[148]

B. Literary Contexts of Inscriptional Death Verse

As a general rule, epitaphs and roll inscriptions can be readily distinguished by their generic topics, even when they appear in some unexpected location. Certain poems, however, present problems of classification arising from discrepancies between their content and the context in which they are found.

One of these poems is an epitaph for William, abbot of St. Arnulf of Metz (+1089):

> Funere cum tristi sacram defertur ad aedem
> Defuntus vita monachorum rector et abbas
> Willelmus, sparsi notus per climata mundi.
> Hoc Pater Arnulfus requiescit corpore sanctus,
> Regia Mettensis prope maenia deforis urbis,
> Quia sibi parte tenet spirantes Auster odores,
> Ecclesiae specimen referens ubi digne cacumen,
> Aris bis senam sacrat domus alta catervam,
> Cum petiti undenas Janus de more calendas
> Sole sub occiduo vel cedit vesper olympo,
> Post triduumque Dei spectantur gaudia nati.[1]

The death date is typical of epitaph. The <u>hoc</u> is apparently to be construed with <u>corpore</u>, or less conventionally as an adverb, and in either case seems to be the fading remnant of a tomb reference, a supposition supported by the description of the place of burial. Certainly, to judge purely by content, this is a tomb epitaph. Yet its placement would show

that it is part of a roll:

> Le poéte (Analect. p. 430, 431) y a ajouté treize
> autres vers pour servir d'épitaphe générale à ses
> confrère déjà morts, nommément au moine Rainard,
> addition qui est une espèce de lettre circulaire,
> où l'auteur exhorte ceux à qui elle sera envoyée,
> à prier pour les défunts, et à ne pas oublier
> les vivants.[2]

To judge from this description, the poem indeed comes from
a roll and is either an inscription or, more probably, the
conclusion of the encyclical announcing William's death.

When poems appear as part of a chronicle, the chronicler
himself may be consciously working to integrate both roll
poems and epitaphs into a new whole. The monk Godeschalc at
Gembloux, at any rate, appears to do so in his continuation
of the Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium.[3] In the section, De
Tietmaro Abbate, Godeschalc gives an epitaph[4] for Tietmar
(+c. 1090) and also a fragmentary one[5] for Guerinus, prior
of Gembloux. At the end of De Liethardo Abbate (+c. 1113),
following a funeral notice, he writes a simple one-line
prayer, Vita Deus, vitam det ei sine fine beatum. Amen,
then procedes with another epitaph.[6] The epitaphs were
apparently written by earlier writers of the monastery and
inscribed on tombs, yet the monostich prayer is similar to
certain monostichs of death rolls.

In discussing Liethard, Godeschalc turns to the great
scholar of their monastery during Liethard's rule, Sigebert
of Brabant, chronicler, hagiographer, and teacher for much
of his life at St. Vincent of Metz, who died at Gembloux in
1112. His life is again followed by verse, this time with a

gloss written in the margin:

Recordatio   Iustis consertus, vivat Christo Sigebertus,
defunctorum Mundus mutatur; transit, dum stare putatur.
fratrum   Vivens transit homo, sed pertransit moriendo.
nostrorum   Eheu! mors homini parcit nulli, datur omni,
             Praefixas metas nullius praeterit aetas.
             Huic mundo lacrimae si defunctos revocare
             Possent, quot, quales nobis, quam spirituales
             Omnibus et clari studiis, et heu modo rari,
             Essent, emerito deflendi cum Sigeberto.
             Sed quia praeclari, rari, nequeunt revocari,
             Mundo subtracti, sint coelicois sociati.
             Nobis solamen det semper sé Deus. Amen.[7]

The plural _fratrum_ of the gloss, the _lacrimae si defunctos_
revocare/ possent, the _nobis_, the hexameters, all strongly

suggest that this verse is an inscription for a roll in

which several dead were mentioned. Possibly one was sent

out in 1113 for Liethard, from Gembloux, with Sigebert's

name included. Thanks to Sigebert's career at Metz, that

cathedral would naturally have written a more ornate poem

for him than might other places.

The last abbot commemorated by Godeschalc is Anselm,

apparently dead in 1137, who must have been an older contem-

porary of Godeschalc. Godeschalc prefaces his epitaph with

an explanation:

> Ipse domnus abbas Anselmus 8. Kalendas Martii vita
> decessit, et ante sanctae Crucis altare sepulturae
> locum accepti. Latiniacenses et Altovillarenses
> conferentes ad invicem benignum quem erga eos habu-
> erat vivens animam et proficuum sibi sapientiae
> eius studium, moleste ferebant eius obitum, et piae
> recordationis et devotae orationis ei exibebant
> officium. Miserunt etiam nobis expertae sibi
> probitatis eius testimonium: istud quod subscrip-
> simus epitaphium:

Epitaphium Domni Anselmi Abbatis a Francis Compositum

Hic Anselme situs, spectate colore, statu, ré,

Rem fenicis agis; vivit enim tua spés.
Te color illustrem, status egregium, placidum rés
 Fecerunt, clari quae tria sunt hominis.
Fama frequens, persona patens, sine murmure tectum,
 Urbe domo laudes explicuere tuas.
Te Noe, Iob, Daniel virtutibus excoluerunt,
 Iustitia, plaga, virgineaque nota.
Iam quia mortuus és, lacrimam damus; át quia vivis,
 Psalmum: nam pietas zonat utrumque latus;
Sol aquilonis equos verno iam straverat austro,
 Cum natale tuum mórs preçiosa fuit.[8]

Again, this is clearly a tomb epitaph, as <u>hic</u> . . . <u>situs</u>
and the death date indicate, but one written at a neighboring
monastery and more probably preserved in a letter than on
the tomb itself.

Godeschalc then proceeds with a poetic dialogue of his
own composition, wherein the Church tells him not to mourn;
his own anagram epitaph for Sigebert,[9] exceptionally long
and probably not intended for actual inscription; a note on
acquisitions under Anselm; and a long panegyric, again of
his own composition, giving 50 lines or more to each abbot
of whom he wrote. Although he distinguishes between the
poetry written by himself and that by others, and sometimes
tells us about his sources, he is more eulogist than histor-
ian. His admiration for Sigebert, however, may have led him
to adopt some of the methods of the older chronicler. In any
event, it is clear that he worked not only from personal
memories and the conventions of holy <u>vita</u>, but also from
those documents which were available to him--tomb inscrip-
tions, apparently at least one death roll, letters, monastic
records of gifts and acquisitions, and perhaps other material.
He appears to deliberately strive to work all into a pleasing

whole.

Elsewhere, the mishaps of time have obliterated the traces of planning in eulogy. Thereby a certain monk William lost his labor on the <u>Vita Benedicti Abbatis Clusensis</u>,[10] contained in a disordered twelfth century manuscript, Vaticanus Christinae 173. In Ludvig Bethmann's edition,[11] one three distich epitaph, perhaps by the monk William himself, appears between the end of the prologue and the beginning of the life; further, three poems follow the life, a <u>Versus super tumulum eius: Vox quasi precantis</u>, of four leonine distichs; <u>Aliud</u>, of five leonine distichs; and <u>Item versus de obitu eius</u>:

> Montibus in summis nituit mons celsior ipsis,
> Mons nimis erectus, nimia bonitate refertus,
> Ad caelum tendens, caeli de lumine splendens;
> Excellens montes, emittens undique fontes,
> Ut dicam verum, gestabat culmine cedrum;
> Hanc vidi cedrum penetrantem vertice caelum;
> Fructu pascebat cunctos, et odore replebat.
> Heu miser et tristis, referam quid nunc super istis!
> Mons ruit et cedrus monachorum dux Benedictus;
> Montibus excelsis cecidit pater ipse Clusensis,
> Non totus cecidit, quia spiritus alta petivit
> Terre terra . . . aratur
> Hunc fratres . . . olere
> Sed simul or . . .
> Ut locet he . . . Michaelis
> Sanctum sanctorum vo . . . suorum.
> Hoc pater hoc f . . . filius amen.[12]

A generic roll topic is perhaps contained in the obliterated closing lines: <u>fratres</u> . . . <u>(d)olere</u> / <u>Sed simul or(are)</u> . . . <u>Ut locet</u> . . . . The hexameter, the developed metaphor of the opening, and the absence of epitaph topics would also suggest that this is a roll inscription. Bethmann's edition ends here, but the editor of the same manuscript in

the *Patrologia Latina*,[13] although omitting the epitaph which
follows the prologue and the last fragmentary six lines of
Item versus (acknowledged by an *et cetera*), gives in addi-
tion a following *Hymnus de eodem*, eight four-line stanzas of
rhymed eight-syllable iambic. The editor further notes,
*Sequebantur alii duo humni prorsus impoliti, quos, cum nihil
singulare continerent, consulto omissimus.*[14] Death inscrip-
tions are not usually rhythmic, yet rhythmic poems do appear
in rolls. It is possible that all the poems here gathered
are gleaned from one, if the *Patrologia Latina* editor is
correct in his ordering of the manuscript. On the other
hand, William, like Godeschalc, may well have been drawing
on a number of sources.

Some manuscript contexts show that death verse could be
an expression of sympathy more immediate and personal than
the formal roll inscription. A death epigram in honor of
Mathilda of Flanders, abbess of Warewella cloister in England
(+1083), is followed in the manuscript by a consolatory letter
from the abbess of a cloister near Beauvais (Suivicensis).
The verse has characteristics of both epitaph and roll in-
scription, as well as a temporal, personal note which would
be hardly suited to either. With the first two lines
omitted, however, the poem appears to be more like two
epitaphs, one of four distichs, one of six, each beginning
with a line of alliterating *m*'s and closing in traditional
ways:

Demulcere nequit cantu philomena dolorem,
   Quem novat in veteri vulnere plaga recens.
Matris matrone Matildis morte molestor,
   Si tamen hec moritur, cui nova vita datur.
Vixerat illa Deo munde, quia mortua mundo
   Luce tamen plena non erat apta frui.
At nunc in Domino carnis compage soluta,
   Alta petit liber spiritus, ima caro.
Crastina Lucie sibi lux illuxit, et orto
   Sidere lucis ei mors premit atra suos.
Affectu mater, meritis matrona Matildis,
   Et si non carne virgo, virago fuit.
Nupta viro sine prole virum premisit, eumque
   Christo parturiens, fit pietate parens.
Gemma sui generis et solo femina sexu,
   Moribus et meritis tota virilis erat.
Flandria nempe genus, regimen dedit Anglia, finem
   Warewella pia una videre Deum.
Crastina Lucie dedit huic primordia lucis,
   Ut sic extrema sit sibi prima dies.
Vera dies eit er . . . ipse datorque quietis
   Ipsius ad requiem perpetuando diem.[15]

The opening distich may be intended as a personal expression

of sorrow, the verse which follows as a selection of epitaphs

to give the people at Warewella a choice of verse for use

on the actual tomb. The epitaph for Anselm of Gembloux,

mentioned above, and perhaps some of the multiple epitaphs of

Baudry of Bourgueil, may have been sent for similar purposes.

Elsewhere, death verse appears in collections which

mark it as a model for imitation, lacking all personal asso-

ciations. One verse of this type reads

Quisquis ades, qui morte cades: sta, perlege, plora.
Sum quod eris; quod es, ante fui: pro me precor ora.[16]

It appears in a Heidelberg manuscript of the thirteenth cen-

tury, along with three epitaphs for late twelfth century

popes, with the lemma, in ecclesia Lateranensi reperitur

epitaphium.[17] It was already scattered in a number of manu-

scripts in the twelfth century, with slight variations in

wording. A thirteenth century version begins, <u>Quisquis eris,</u> <u>qui morte cades</u> . . .[18]; another reads, <u>Quisquis ades rotu-</u> <u>lumque vides, sta, perlege, plora.</u>[19] The adaptation for the roll is not entirely successful, as a roll reader would have no reason to stop or stand in his reading.

Still other inscriptional death verses have been pre-served as a portion of the collected minor verse, the <u>car-</u> <u>mina varia</u>, of an author. Hildebert's roll inscriptions, for example, are for the most part scattered in enclaves of epigram in manuscript collections; Peter Riga's epitaphs form part of his poorly preserved <u>Floridus aspectus.</u> Certain questions arise about the poems because of their placement. Some of Hildebert's leave doubts as to whether they are roll inscriptions or epitaphs. Peter Riga's epitaphs raise ques-tions about the people commemorated.

Hildebert's <u>De Brunone</u> comes anonymously from the roll of St. Bruno, founder of the Carthusian order, with three others from the cathedral church of Le Mans. It also appears in a twelfth century Trinity College MS (Dublin B.2.17), along with other of his poems. Scott includes it without question among his genuine works:

> Ad superos superum cultor sociusque recessit,
>   Commendans terre Bruno quod eius erat.
> Sarcinulasque leves, et agentem Prothea mundum
>   Despicit, eternas pauper adeptus opes.
> Suspicor angelicas hinc exultare cohortes,
>   Et celi cives plaudere cive novo.
> Sexta dies Octobris erat cum Bruno, professus
>   Naturam, superos exoneratus adit.[20]

The poem is much closer to epitaph than most roll inscriptions.

Not only does it end with a death day line, it also begins
with a line taken directly from an epitaph for Aldhelm,
quoted by William of Malmesbury. Scott attempts to explain
this latter point by suggesting that the epitaph for Aldhelm
was not actually an epitaph by contemporaries, but was written
later, perhaps with Hildebert's lines as a model.[21] The
inclusion of the death day, however, and the references to
earth and tomb would strongly suggest that it is Hildebert
who is fashioning his poem in the mold of an epitaph, though
the reference to <u>celi cives</u> is typical of roll verse.

A second poem by Hildebert, included in the Dublin man-
uscript as well as in other twelfth century codices, is that
for Fulk, abbot of Corbie (+1095). Both Hauréau[22] and
Scott[23] suggest it was written for the roll of which Delisle
gives fragments.[24] The poem is short and in hexameter, the
most common roll meter, but contains no generic topics:

> Si tibi Fulcho mori mitis natura negaret,
> Fulta tuis humeris numquam Corbea labaret.
> Que, quia non potuit tantum concedere munus,
> Distulit ut potuit multo tibi tempore funus.
> Solvit deerepitum, parcens ovo iuvenili,
> Ut satis atque diu prodesses pastor ovili.[25]

A third roll poem is for Peter II of Poitiers (+1115),
<u>Versus cuius supra de Petro Pictaviensi episcopo.</u>[26] Although,
again, generic topics are lacking, the length, hexameter
verse, and highly metaphoric commentary on Peter's virtue
and constancy under political threat and exile seem to
establish it as most probably a roll inscription, as Scott
suggests.[27] Scott further speculates that <u>De abbate Odone</u>[28]

was probably written for a roll:

Cum iam purgatis et partim glorificatis,
    Terra cinisque modo, glorificetur Odo.
Sorti sanctorum precibus iungatur eorum,
    Pacificetque Deum penituisse reum.[29]

Here the case is less certain. If all of these, found now
in epigram collections, are indeed roll inscriptions, they
demonstrate that Hildebert felt less confined by the con-
ventional topics of the rolls than did other inscribers.

Peter Riga's Floridus aspectus is preserved in a number
of manuscripts, but each manuscript presents its own choice
of material, each widely differing from the next. To all
appearances, the work was used as a school text, and those
who used it felt no compunctions about adding material and
rearranging or deleting parts at will. The work has never
been properly edited. However, André Boutemy, after an
examination of the variant versions, suggests that MS. 1136
of the Arsenal library comes quite close to Peter Riga's
original.[30] The manuscript contains a mixture of epigrams
and longer works such as the Passio sancte Agnetis; it
closes with twenty-six epitaphs. Two-thirds of these are
for named individuals, many of whom could doubtless be
identified. The remainder, however, are for unnamed per-
sons. Typical of these is the Epitaphium cuiusdam abba-
tissae:

Huic suus articulus non congruit ista, sed iste.
    Induit ista virum, moribus usa viri.
Actus femineos animi virtute reliquit,
    Et meruit sexu fortior esse suo.
Naturae vitium morum velavit honestas,
    Nil muliebre gerens, tota virilis erat.

> Vindicat hinc virtus quod ei natura negavit:
>   Ista fuit sexu, moribus iste fuit.
> Labem, justa, Deum, cavit, quaesivit, amavit,
>   Integra, pura, colens, corpore, mente, fide.
> Contulit huic ortum stellare virginis ortus;
>   Nascitur illa polo, nascitur ista Deo.[31]

Was Peter Riga here writing for some real abbess? Or does he commemorate an imaginary person in an epitaph which will go to make up a kind of _Spoon River Anthology_ of the middle ages? Other eleventh and twelfth century epitaph books would suggest the latter alternative.

C. Death Verse Collections

During Carolingian times, from the seventh through the ninth century, a number of people compiled _tituli_ sylloges, collecting together inscriptions from tombs and monuments. A few were still being made during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though their day had largely passed. The sylloges were apparently used as formularies, and some may have also served as travel guides for tourists. Along with the epitaph book of Fortunatus, these may have been, at least in part, inspiration for the death verse collections of eleventh and twelfth century writers such as Peter Riga.

Tituli Sylloges.

Joannes Bapt. De Rossi brings together in his _Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae_, Vol. II (Rome, 1888), more than thirty sylloges put together prior to the thirteenth century, of varying types. The Reichenau sylloge,[1] for example, which in its codex follows a topography of Rome,

presents eighty-two titles from Rome, including inscriptions for bridges, arches, statues, churches, for a theater, a column, and a bath, and for the sepulchres of the martyrs. Two of the inscriptions are in Greek; some are in prose, some in verse. At least five of the martyr inscriptions are by Damasus. The collection was apparently made in the late eighth century or early ninth, primarily from books written before the eighth century. Another, the Sylloge Centulensis,[2] found in an eighth century codex from Corbei, limits itself to hexameter inscriptions from Rome, sixty-eight in all, for the most part epitaph and martyr titles. A St. Gall codex of the ninth century[3] has but four titles; it is probably a fragment of an earlier, longer work. Most of the inscriptions of these collections come from Rome, yet there are groups from Milan, Pavia and nearby cities,[4] and from Nola,[5] too. Some collections, mixed in with works by Isidor, come from Spain.

Of particular interest for the eleventh and twelfth centuries are a codex from Closterneoburg, a sylloge from Milan, and two guided tours of the chief basilicas of Rome. The sylloge from Milan[7] was made during the eleventh century. It holds twenty-two entries, all poetry, most of them epitaphs. One epitaph for a deacon Arialdus[8] concludes with the prose death date, passus est iii Kal. iul. M·LXVI. The unfortunate deacon is described as martyred. In other respects, his epitaph is not remarkably different from other Italian epitaphs of his time. As the other epitaphs in the collection are of an earlier date, and for the most part appear in other

sylloges, De Rossi has contented himself with publishing only the first lines. The Closterneoburg codex[9] reproduces a Turon sylloge of the sixth century. If De Rossi is correct in dating the codex as a twelfth century manuscript,[10] it and the Milan sylloge are the only real evidence we have for an interest in inscriptional collections of this type during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The descriptions of the Lateran and the Vatican differ from the other collections by their inclusion of prose passages about the monuments and historic glories of each church. Each author attempts to convince Pope Alexander III (+1181) that his own basilica should be chosen as the official papal seat, a question that was not decided until the early thirteenth century. Libello de basilica Lateranensi was made originally after 1073 (it contains the epitaph for Alexander II) but before 1118 (Pope Paschal II's epitaph is missing).[11] A deacon of the church, John, refurbished it for Alexander III. The oldest surviving codex dates from about 1185. De Rossi believes that five epitaphs contained in a Heidelberg codex, the short Quisquis ades[12] and four epitaphs for late twelfth century popes, were designed to be included with a later revision of the work. Petri Mallii descriptio basilicae Vaticanae,[13] the rival to John's book, was also presented to Pope Alexander II, then revised in 1192. Most of its 108 entries are simple descriptions of location and appearance of altars, tombs, and other noteworthy objects in the Vatican, but from time to time Peter Mallius cites an entire

epitaph. Of these, four are for dead of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[14] An early thirteenth century codex containing the book has at its end two satiric epigrams, Contra lateranensis,[15] satirizing the claims of John's book. The two works throw an interesting sidelight on history, but neither rival the Carolingian collections as epitaph source books.

The collections continue sporadically into the Renaissance. A few of these have eleventh and twelfth century epitaphs.[16]

Styles changed over the centuries. The general impression conveyed by the older epitaphs of the sylloges differs considerably from that of the eleventh and twelfth century epitaphs. Biographic material is scantier in the earlier poems; words of praise are frequently those appropriate specifically for holy virgins and martyrs tempore quo gladius secuit pia viscera matris.[17] Death dates and the common closing pious prayers and wishes of later verse seldom appear. And yet, there are similarities, too. Souls seek the sky,[18] bones and ashes rest in the tomb, the earth covers the body and the soul lives on.[20] The sine felle columbam of an early eulogy[21] appears again in a twelfth century poem.[22] Deusdedit, like later churchmen, is pauperibus dives sed sibi pauper[23]; death is inimica,[24] dura.[25] And sine fine crops up in the fourth and fifth feet of the hexameters again and again in the older poems, coupled with a number of different words,[26] as it does again in the eleventh and

twelfth centuries.[27]

Some of the epitaphs strike a note foreign to the later ones in their general structure and content. The mothers who mourn their children, for example, well represented in the Carolingian sylloges, do not appear in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, nor does the martyr's crown. The epitaph of the sylloges which comes closest in general tone and form to that of the later time is Pope Gregory the Great's:

```
        Suscipe terra tuo corpus de corpore sumptum
            Reddere quod valeas vivificante deo.
        Spiritus astra petit leti nil iura nocebant
            Cui vite alterius mors magis ipsa via ei.
        Pontifici summi hoc cludunt membra sepulchro
            Qui inumeris semper vivit ubique bonis.
        Esuriens dapibus superavit frigora veste
            Atque animas monitis texit ab hoste sacris.
        Implebatque actu quicquid sermone docebat
            Emet ut exemplum mistica verba loquens
        Ad Christum angelos convertit pietate magistra
            Atquirens fidei agmina gente nova.
        Hic labor hoc studium hec tibi cura hoc pastor agebas
            Ut domino offeras plurima lucra gregis
        Hisque dei consul factis letare triumphis
            Nam mercedem operum iam sine fine tenes
        Hic requiescit gregorius papa qui sedit
        annos xiij. menses sex ⍉ dies X.
        depositus. iiij. idus martias.[28]
```

The elisions come as a surprise to one acquainted only with later work, but the arrangement of topics and much of the wording have hints of what is to come.

Only a careful comparison, beyond the scope of this study, could begin to determine if the random and not too frequent correspondences noted here indicate whether eleventh and twelfth century writers were acquainted with the Carolingian sylloges or only with verse by Carolingian writers who were. In any event, there is some evidence here to suggest that

German writers were more familiar with the topics and diction than were the French. The <u>sine fine</u> formula, for example, appears only in German epitaph, as noted above. Greek, found in the sylloges, is most typical of German epitaph. And it was a German writer, Ekkehard IV of St. Gall, who first after the Carolingians[29] gathered together a collection of epitaphs from his own monastery, for the long dead and the just buried. He wrote all of them himself.

<u>Ekkehard IV's Epitaphs</u>.

One may question whether Ekkehard IV actually wrote an epitaph book. What we have are eleven epitaphs, without introduction, preserved in a single codex along with other of his short poems.[30] One of these,[31] the epitaph for Aribo, archbishop of Mainz (+1031), appears on a tombstone in Mainz. For the others there is no evidence that they were actually inscribed.[32] Celebrated are several men who died in the 1130's--Walter, bishop of Spire (+1030/31)[33]; Herimann, a layman[34]; Aribo--and several who died a decade earlier-- Burchard the younger, abbot of St. Gall (+1022)[35]; and four teachers commemorated in a single epitaph, Ruodpertus, Notker Labeo (+1022), Anno (+1023), and Erimpertus (+1022).[36] All three of Ekkehard's namesakes receive epitaphs,[37] as does St. Rachilda, a recluse (+946).[38] In addition, there is one general <u>Epitaphium cuicumque volueris</u>.[40]

The epitaph for Aribo begins with striking reminiscence of a verse from the Song of Songs (Cantic. 8,6: <u>quia fortis est ut mors dilectio</u>) and sweeps through a number of varied

topics in a single long period. It continues more conventionally with an apostrophe to Peter, death date, and words of comfort. Tacked on after the Amen, a common feature of Ekkehard's epitaphs, is a distich of mixed Greek and Latin, "may he rest in peace," the Greek transliterated:

> In speciem mortis cum sit dilectio fortis
>   Et liceat soli sceptra tenere poli,
> Hac animis tacti memores e corpore tracti
>   Quique deo cari, dicite cordi pari:
> Offerat in celis sacer Aribo vota fidelis
>   Ponat et in trinum hunc deus ipse sinum.
> Mendicum Christi, Petre, credimus ipse tulisti:
>   Te lacrimans adiit et remeans obiit
> Idibus octavis Aprilis adhucque suavis
>   Psalmigraphus miro vixit in ore viro.
> Horphana, ne plora, Mogontia, leta sed ora
>   Et cape solamen: Aribo vivit. amen.
> To psiches autu kata scinis erinin eonon.
>   Anima eius requiescat /in/ pace eterna.[41]

The arrangement of words and ideas, partly because of the rhyme, is somewhat unusual. The death day, for example, has the obiit tied by rhyme to the thought of tears, at the end of a distich, while the following distich, which gives the death day itself, looks back to Aribo's activities in life. In image and diction Ekkehard works for special effects. Tacti/tracti applied to the soul, mendicum Christi, and psalmigraphus call for attention, as does the spelling of horphana, and the transliterated Greek.[42]

Although the other epitaphs are less singular, with end-stopped distichs and simpler constructions, unusual words, many with a Greek flavor, are the norm in Ekkehard's poems.[43] Mannered devices include a play on symbolic numbers in the general epitaph:

> Iudicio facto cum septem vertit in octo,
>   Ambobus vitam det quoque perpetuam.
> Qui tantum munus cineri dat trinus et unus,
>   Audiat oramen, dic: requiescat. amen.[44]

A retrograde distich which, as the scribe carefully points
out in a red marginal comment and example, can be read back-
wards, is appended to Rachilda's epitaph:

> Unde supra metrum retrogradum

> Perpetuę cui fons vitę dans gaudia, Christe,
>   Optime rex, alias sic fore perficias.[45]

The style of the epitaphs is fairly typical of all of Ekke-
hard's verse. In part it reflect his own peculiarities as a
writer; in part it reminds us that Ekkehard came at the end
of an ingrown scholastic tradition at St. Gall, where teaching
and the writing of verse had been carried on while learning
was at a low ebb elsewhere in Europe, to develop its own
fashions.

Fulcoius of Beauvais' Tituli Book.

Fulcoius of Beauvais, archidiacre of Meaux, composed
his book of titles dedicated to Ivo, abbot of St. Denys at
Meaux, at the latest between 1084 and 1094, about fifty
years after Ekkehard IV was writing his.[46] It contains
fifty poems in all: the dedicatory _Ivoni Sancti Dionisii
Abbati, Versus Fulcoii in titulis_, forty-two epitaphs, and
seven more fragmentary poems which appear to be at least in
part traditional epigrams. Their order is not entirely
random. Unrhymed hexameters are favored in the first half
of the book, two-syllable rhymed distichs in the last.

Epitaphs for well-known personages all occur early in the book; those for his family at the center, the epigrams at the end.

Known to history of those commemorated are Dagobert I, founder of the abbey of St. Denys (No. 1); Benedict and Ogier the Dane, eighth century knights and later monks of St. Faron of Meaux, given a joint epitaph (No. 8); Charles the Bald, benefactor of the abbey of St. Denys (No. 2); Gilbert, bishop of Meaux (+1009, No. 5); Roger I of Blois, bishop of Beauvais (+1022, No. 4); Simon, Count of Crépy, later a benedictine monk at St. Oyand (+1080 or 1083, No. 11); Gautier Saveir, bishop of Meaux (+1082, No. 6); and Queen Mathilda of England (+1083), wife of William the Conqueror, honored with two separate tomb epitaphs (Nos. 9, 10). The others, identified by name and usually calling in the epitaphs, are people of lesser importance: a matron Eva (No. 31), the boys Nicolus, Walcher, Bartholomae (Nos. 19, 21, 36), the priest Berenger (No. 13), the knights Ansold, Hugo, Anscher, Arnulf (Nos. 17, 29, 34, 40), and all of Fulcoius' immediate family, father, mother, and at least two brothers (Nos. 24, 25, 27, 28.)[47] Women are well represented. Besides the epitaphs for women just noted, there are others for a wife Elisabeth (No. 32), the recluse Adelaid (No. 37), the virgin Algard (No. 38), Fulcoius' nurse Escelina (No. 39), and Adelaid, mother of the notorious teacher and bishop, Manasses of Reims (No. 41).

The poems vary in length, rhyme, and metrics. The

longest poem, fifteen distichs in length, is for his brother

Adam; the shortest is a two-line illegible epigram, <u>De Ottone</u>

<u>aleatore</u>. Most are six to fourteen lines long. Fulcoius

slightly prefers hexameters to elegiacs. Most of the distich

poems and a few of the hexameters are rhymed, invariably

leonine and usually two-syllable. In a few poems the rhyme

is sometimes imperfect. Over half the epitaphs are of the

commemorative type; most of the others make mention of the

tomb.

Compared to Ekkehard's epitaphs, Fulcoius' have a deci-

dedly secular tone, partly because of the frequency of sec-

ular persons commemorated. Astrological death days also add

to the effect:

> Cumque tuos Phebus duodenis Virgo diebus
> Amplexus adiit, tunc pater hic obiit[48]
>
> Ignis Hyperionis dum pascitur igne leonis
> Ad primum numerum mors rapuit puerum.[49]

So do simple references to historic and mythic figures:

> Ad portam Martis conspirant Cesar et anguis[50]
>
> Hic jacet Hermannus, vita laudabilis, unde
> Musa, precor, nec vera sile, nec falsa loquaris.[51]
>
> Evigilate, precor, quibus est data cura per aequor
> Discere navigium, pellere naufragium:
> Somno securus fallente ruit Palinurus,
> Navis preteriit, navita deperiit.[52]

Several, such as the epitaph for Walcherus, develop the

classic allusions:

> Morte cita parce, nec Parce consuluerunt,
> Flos juvenum, Walchere, tibi quae morte diurna
> Continuo gemitu, lacrimis semper redivivus,
> Caros affines pro caro vivere cogunt.
> Pallas aut Lausus nec pulchrior aut magis ausus

> Te fuit, et dico, quia non fraudavit amico
> Te fortuna ferens, omni qui tempore merens
> Defleat Aeneas, vel qualis Turnus amicum;
> Quanta duo dominis juvenes lamenta duobus.
> Tanta tuo soli solus lamenta dedisti.
> Dum pius Aeneas, dum vivet carmine Pallas,
> Dum fortis Turnus, dum pulcher corpore Lausus,
> Dum pastor Manases, Walcherus carmine vivet.[53]

The few words of the closing epigrams are also rich in

classic names. The most legible is entitled _Parcarum:_

> Tres bene placatae tria dona dedere sorores.
> Haec domus et fecunda sit et facunda penum
> Clotho⌐ sit hoc, Lachesis sit et hoc, Atropos sit in
>   evum.
> . . . no⌐men de nomine stare per evum.[54]

Another, _In mensa_ (No. 45), has the single legible hemistich,

quod alunt Ceres, ocia Bacchus, and a third (No. 48) makes

reference to Venus. The classic names and allusions for the

most part would indicate Fulcoius was particularly fond of

Virgil.

At the same time, Fulcoius drew on Biblical stories

more specifically than most epitaph writers of his time.

The Martha and Mary image, mentioned above as a type for the

soul before and after death, is used in three different

epitaphs (Nos. 5, 10, 18). Cain and Abel make their bow:

<div align="center">22 Odonis</div>

> Fit modus absque modo, nodus sine vindice nodi.
>   Pace fideque modo cum trucidatur Odo.
> Occidit occisus, nidi super abdita nisus.
>   Invidiosus erat nil quia quod fuerat.
> Abel de terra vox sanguinis altera clamat,
>   Alter et ille Caïn exulet in Tanaïn.[55]

Cain is also featured in another, partly illegible (No. 46).

David is once addressed (No. 13); Adam, Eve and Simon all

appear in connection with people who bore those names [56];

a kindly woman noted for her generosity to the poor is
altera Dorcaas. (No. 31).

Fulcoius also stands out for his love of simple rhetori-
cal colors. Although he is not particularly dependent on
common verbal formulae, he manages to work humo/homo into
three different epitaphs:

Rex homo factus humo resitutetur humo.[57]

Solvit humo quod debet homo resolutus humatus.[58]

Redditur omnis humo conditionis homo.[59]

In a number of poems, such as the following, he is carried
away by the lure of sound:

19. Nicolai juvenis

Heu! Nicolae, puer formosus, corpore pulcher,
Moribus occidis, occidens occideris idem.
Victus qui victor, laus est ubi gloria non est.
Felix unde feris, infelix unde feriris.
/Hoc v/ideas, magis ut doleas, te vita reservat
/ . . ./ hoc videant superesse nec ille, nec illa.
/ . . ./t lamenta perire vel ille vel illa.
Nam duo tres sunt, absentem presentat uterque.[60]

He also relishes unusual words. The knight turned monk, for
example, disdains not only the rather ordinary galeam, but
also the frameam in favor of parma and galeaque salutis (No.
29).

Although Fulcoius protests in his dedicatory verse that
he writes his titles so that coming generations may appreci-
ate the value of men of the past, the epitaphs themselves
suggest that he composed for the enjoyment of manipulating
words and ideas, and perhaps, too, out of a certain pensive
sorrow for what must have been a most unusual number of

deaths of friends and relations. The adjective which he

applies to his epitaphs is most appropriately _vivacious_:

> Gaude quod reges Dagobertus, Carolus, Ivo,
> Dignum te, quos laude corones, substinuerunt.
> Aeterna reges, titulis vivacibus orna,
> Et tu par aeternus eris partire laborem.[61]

There is no evidence that Ivo commited any of these poems

to durable stone.

Godfrey of Winchester's Historical Epigrams.

Godfrey of Winchester, a Frenchman by birth known also

as Godfrey of Cambrai, Prior of St. Swithin's in Winchester,

living in the last of the eleventh century and on into the

first decade of the twelfth, is best known for his great book

of epigrams, to be considered later in this study. He also

wrote a smaller collection of epitaphs, his _Epigrammata his-

torica_.[62] The last verifiable death date is that of Serlo,

abbot of Gloucester, who died in 1104. The eighteen epitaphs

in the book are varied with a single invective against those

who killed Walcherus, bishop of Durham (+1080), the ninth

poem in the book, making a total of nineteen poems in all.

The number of poems, coupled with the placement of the invec-

tive, suggest that an introduction has been lost. The

epitaph for Walcherus (No. 8) and the _invectio_ stand apart

from the others, as both are written in hexameters; the

invectio is also notable for its twenty-eight line length.

All the other poems are in unrhymed distichs, ten or twelve

lines in length, ending with death days but holding no

reference to tombs. Although many of the people remembered

were buried at Winchester, Godfrey may not have had any
inscriptional use in mind.

The epitaphs are for nobles and churchmen of the eleventh
century: King Canute (+1036, No. 1); his queen, Emma (+1046,
No. 2); King Edward the Confessor (+1066, No. 3); Edith, wife
of king Edward (+1076, No. 4); William the Conqueror (+1087,
No. 5); Mathilda, wife of William (+1083, No. 6); Archbishop
Lanfranc of Canterbury (+1089, No. 7); Walcherus, bishop of
Durham (+1080, No. 8); Richard, son of King William (No. 10);
a blind monk named Aithelricus, unidentified (No. 11); a count
Wulnoth (No. 12); an abbot Simeon (No. 13); Wulstan, bishop
of Worcester (+1096, No. 14); the astronomer Robert, bishop
of Hereford (+1095, No. 15); Walchelin, bishop of Winchester
and regent of England (+1098, No. 16); an archbishop Thomas,
evidently of York (+1100, No. 17); Serlo, abbot of Gloucester
(+1104, No. 18); and William, abbot of Fécamp (No. 19). The
poems are arranged generally by date of death.

They are workmanly productions, with commonplace topics
and diction. The epitaph for Edward the Confessor is a
typical example:

III. De Eaduardo rege

Eadwardus, probitate potens, pietate verendus.
    Seque suosque regens, rex erat egregius.
Formosam faciem, procerumque corpus habebat,
    Laetitiam vultus, moribus exuperans.
Ejus opes magnae, nec earum novit abusum,
    Et dives cunctis et sibi pauper erat.
Non bello, sed pace, suos exterruit hostes,
    Praesumpsit pacem rumpere nemo suam.
Quinque dies anni referebat janua Jani,
    Cum rex egrediens carnea templa finit.[63]

Largely unremarkable except for their conventionality, the poems hold a few pleasing touches. The blind monk Aithelrico, for example, leaves the night of his life to see in the true light of eternal day, a conceit which Godfrey develops with some care. Or again, addressing Simeon, the abbot, Godfrey can comment

> Odisti mundum, luculenta negotia mundi,
> Non tu natus ei, nec tibi natus erat,[64]

giving a line, if not a whole distich, of more than usual charm.

Godfrey's book is distinctive in the homogeneity of its poems, in their arrangement by death date, in the degree to which it limits itself to conventional diction, topics, and form. As such, it serves as a link between the earlier, highly individual collections, and the epitaph book of Baudry of Bourgueil.

Baudry of Bourgueil's Epitaph Book.

My discussion of Baudry's poems begins with the assumption that they were originally in a different order than that given by the one manuscript now extant, and that they were combined with a number of other poems to form a book, similar in inspiration and design to the _tituli_ book by Fulcoius. There is apparently no manuscript evidence that this was, indeed, the case. Before 1110 Baudry wrote eighty-three epitaphs for his contemporaries. Combined with seventeen other poems, these make a round total of 100 to form the book. The book as a whole is unusual because of the careful balancing of occupations represented, usually divided evenly

between secular and religious callings, and because of its complex use of significant numbers--multiples of three, five, and twelve, as well as one and thirty-three. I have hypothetically arranged the work into three major sections which reflect both the occupational and numerical structures.[65]

Two poems are excentric. The _Invectio in rolligerum_, quoted in part above, was written probably for the roll of Audebert, Archbishop of Bourges and abbot of Déols (+c. 1096). _De magistro suo planctus_, composed of five stanzas of four lines plus refrain and two stanzas of five lines plus refrain, may have contained another stanza after the first one in the extant manuscript, for it appears to be in A type sequence form. If so, it, too, reflects number symbolism of the book. I quote the first two stanzas as given by Abrahams, and one from the end:

> Doctorum speculum, doctor amande,
> Majorem titulis aequiparande
> O Huberte, tuis vir venerande,
> Immolo perpetuas exequiis lacrymas!
>   Mors tua dura mihi!
>
> Ablato mihi te, quae mihi gaudio?
> Gaudendi subiit deficientia,
> Lugendi datur, heu! pessima copia,
> Et perpes querimonia.
>   Vae mea vita mihi!
>
>   . . .
>
> Singultus peperit carmina lubrica,
> Haut arcent elegos claustra poetica.
> Te doctor, replicat nostra querela;
> Hanc morbum leviat nulla medela
> Mors mihi te, tibi me compositura placet.
>   Mors, rogo, sera veni![66]

Abrahams discusses the possible identification of this teacher

at Meung, with no conclusive results.[67] The two poems were probably used at the beginning and end of the book.

The rest of the book can be divided into three major sections established by the number of poems written for each person. The first of these major sections contains thirty-three poems. Six roll inscriptions and six epitaphs for Cicero make up an opening subsection. The poems for Cicero are closely based on works in the Latin Anthology.[68] Next comes a subsection of five poems each for four different people. This group includes one art title, Ad scutum ejusdem, addressed to the shield of an unidentified knight, Raherius, who has in addition four regular epitaphs:

CXXV. Ad scutum eiusdem

A domino viduata tuo jam parma quiesce,
 Cui par Raherio nullus erit dominus.
Vive, dies festos longum visura per aevum,
 Nam metuenda quidem lancea nulla tibi.
Nam si Raherius vel par sibi viveret ullus
 Non deberentur otia tanta tibi.
Mors ejus requiem faceret tibi vita laborem,
 Sed labor ille tibi dignus honore foret.
Posterior nunquam, prior ires semper in hostem,
 Cedere nec scires anxia, nec fugeres.
Qui te conspicient pro tanto milite plorent,
 Tuque diu valeas in titulo posita.[69]

The opposition of sacred and secular, set up by the balancing of roll inscriptions against historical epigrams for Cicero, is continued here. Of the four people commemorated with five poems each, two are in the service of the church--Audebert, the Archbishop, and Geraldus, founder and abbot of Sauve-Majeure, near Bordeaux--and two give worldly service--Godefridus, teacher at Reims, and the unidentified knight,

Raherius. Setting of secular against religious clergy, seen here in choice of archbishop and abbot, is continued in the book. To make the number of poems come to thirty-three, the opening poem, probably the _invectio_, must be counted with the others.

A second major section is composed of three groups of twelve poems each, a total of thirty-six poems. The first subsection is made up of four poems each for three individuals; the second, of three poems each for four individuals; the third, of two poems each for six individuals. In the first subsection are William II of England, killed in a hunting accident; Alexander, a canon of Tours, who died in the flower of his youth at nineteen; and a mature knight of Tourraine, Burchard, dead in battle, who left a grieving wife. All of these people died unexpectedly. The second subsection includes two teachers, Reginald, teacher at Angers, a "second Cato;" and an Angevin teacher, Frodo, who died in England; a rich layman Radulfus, who gave generously to the poor; and Peter, prior of Déols, whose victory against the bishop of Bourges, Richard, is mentioned in all three poems, one of which reads

XCV. Item de eodem

Petre decanus eras, et eras Petre jure decanus,
    Namque ut debueras omnibus omnia eras.
Te graviter fratres lugent obiisse Dolenses,
    Quorum res nimio munieras studio,
Taliter obstiteras Richardo Biturgiensi,
    Praesul ut ipse tuo cesserit eloquio.
En Petre suffosum tabescens incolis antrum.
    Spiritus alta petens incolit astra tuus.[70]

Peter presents a problem. In the first two poems of the series, he is characterized as prior; in the last, quoted above, he is a deacon. To all appearances, the same man is featured again in CVIII. Ut supra super Petrum Priorem:

> Mors velut effrenis ruptis bacchatur habenis,
>   Tollit enim juvenes, tollit et ipsa senes.
> Sed quicquid tulerit, quaecumque nefanda patrarit,
>   Est feriendo Petrum grandius ausa nefas.
> Iste quidem Petrus et coenobita Dolensis,
>   Ejusdemque domus ipse decanus erat.
> Qui prudenter agens domui sic praefuit illi,
>   Defuncto ut vivas vivus agat lacrymas.
> Hic modo Petre jaces, si sint Petrus ossa cinisque,
>   Mansio spiritui sit domus ampla Dei.[71]

This time, no reference is made to a quarrel with the bishop. If the pattern of poems here suggested is correct, either the Peter of this last epitaph was, in fact, a different person, or Baudry simply uses him again to fill out the later section. In any event, I group the three earlier poems together, and reserve the later poem for the next major section.

The third subsection of poems includes two epitaphs each for Natal, abbot of St. Nicolas at Angers, already commemorated in a roll inscription; for Hoel, Bishop of Le Mans, also graced with a roll inscription; for a blind old priest Ramnulfum; for Geoffrey Martell II, count of Anjou, who was killed by treason at the siege of Candie; and for Durand, Bishop of Clermont, who died shortly after the council which saw the beginning of the First Crusade. The group is completed by two building inscriptions:

LXXI. In titulo domus

Qui fabricis inhians Romana palatia laudas
Hoc potius lauda grande Johannis opus.

·Hic sculptura decet, saxorum convenit ordo.
  Tantum laudatur Pictavis hoc opere
Quantum marmoreis laudatur Roma columnis,
  Hoc si quidem rerum copia decit opus.

LXXII. De eadem domo

Nosse potest istas quisquis consideret aedes,
Quam prudens, quam plenus opum fuit ille Johannes,
Qui disponendo latomis sumptusque pluendo,
Hanc statuit fabricam fabricis regalibus aequam.[72]

The titles are out of place, as they do not appear to exempli-fy a particular type of service to the church, apparent in the other epitaphs of this subsection. The only suggestion that Johannes is dead lies in the perfect tense of the verb fuit.

The third major section of poems is made up of epitaphs for thirty different individuals, fifteen secular personages and fifteen clerics. The lay figures include one king, William the Conqueror; six nobles (two counts, two countesses, and two people of lesser nobility); and eight commoners. The commoners are coupled by age and profession: two are infants, just born and six months of age; two scholars, one old, one young; two soldiers, one old, one young; and two unidentified men, one old, one young. The corresponding group of church-men is slightly more difficult to group, as one of the poems has been mutilated, with only the title left; Super quem jacet . . . . The list includes Pope Urban II, six religious (two abbots, one regular canon, one prior, and two nuns), and seven secular clergymen (two archbishops, two bishops, two archdeacons,[73] and a papal legate). The papal legate, Hugo, formerly bishop of Lyon and Die, is thus remembered:

LXXXVI.

Post Lugdunensis praesul prius Hugo Diensis,
    Magnus Romanae filius ecclesiae,
Quem sibi legatum Romanus papa rogavit,
    Ad synodum veniens, proh dolor! occubuit.
Virtutum cellam, divini nectaris aulam,
    Hac tumulavit humo Segusiensis homo.
Laetatus justus hospes bonus hospite tanto,
    Quem deus eximium misit ei socium.
Lugdunum luge, solemnia conciliorum
    Occubitu patris occubuere tibi.[74]

If Baudry is following the pattern which appears to be established here, the mutilated epitaph would be for a high ranking private chaplain or someone of similar station set slightly apart from the ordinary hierarchy.

The elegance of this hypothetical classification rests on certain assumptions: that Peter of Dol's verse is to be divided as indicated, that the building titles belong with the group in which I have placed them, and that the mutilated poem is, indeed, for a cleric. On the other hand, the general distribution of subjects and the pattern of pairing--young against old among the individual commoners, for example, or religious against secular clergy, bishops against abbots, in other sections--seem to suggest that Baudry was following a specific scheme, whether or not it was quite that given here.

Baudry highly favored elegiacs in most of his verse, yet, as can be expected of death roll poetry, five of the six roll inscriptions are in hexameters, as is the invective. Most of the epitaphs--eighty--are in elegiac distichs, usually unrhymed; thirteen others are in hexameter.[75] Most

of the poems are three to six distichs in length.

The verse is urbane, restrained in expression and imagery, largely conventional in topics. The multiple epitaphs usually are variations on a small cluster of themes. The youth of Alexander, canon of Tours, for example, sets the subject for all four epitaphs in his honor:

CII.   Super Alexandrum Turonensem

Fletus innumeros cum mors ingesserit orbi,
    Fletus majores ingerit ipsa modo.
Alexander enim juvenum specialis honestas,
    Intempestiva morte gravatus obit.
Nondum bis denos adolescens vixerat annos,
    Cum rosa formosa marcuit a quod erat.
Canonicus Turonensis erat, puer indolis altae.
    Flos olim roseus, nunc cinis est luteus,
Sique sibi maculas species attraxit et aetas,
    Tu tamen indulge rex utriusque dator.

CIII.   Super eundem

Cum titulos multis dederit mea cura sepulchris,
    Nullum flebilius quam dedit hunc titulum.
Alexander enim luctus generaliter orbi,
    Praecipueque suis flos juvenum jacet hic.
Cujus plus juvenum cedebat forma decori,
    Quam saliunca rosae, quam citius violae.
Tandem defuncti sic marcida colla videres
    Tanquam stipitibus lilia trunca suis.
Hunc plorat clerus Turonensis, plorat et omnis
    Aetati quisquis compatuit tenerae.

CIV.   Item de eodem

Quicquid majoris potuit natura decoris,
    Illud Alexandro contulerat pariter.
Contuleritque licet quaecumque decora putantur,
    Mortuus attamen est; ecce cinis jacet hic.
Supra quindenos vix quattuor attigit annos,
    Illi cum pariter omnia mors rapuit.
En foetet vilis speciosae gloria carnis,
    At deus indulge quod male promeruit.

CV. Item de eodem

Qui properus properas praesentis ad atria templi,
   Sta si nosse cupis quem tegit iste lapis.
Hic Alexandri cujusdam gleba quiescit,
   Quem mundo species unica praetulerat.
Hic inter juvenes quasi conspectissima stella,
   Gratus erat clero, gratus erat populo.
Hic cum bis denis vel circiter esset in annis,
   Tactus sole gravi flos tener occubuit.
Qui legis hoc apices, si compateris cinerato,
   Dic orans, tenere parce deus puero.[76]

Similarly, William II's epitaphs all end with a distich saying he was shot by an arrow while hunting; Cicero's tell who buried him.

The charm of Baudry's verses lies in the rhythms of thematic and sound variation, and in the overtones of old, traditional wording. Take, for example, the epitaph for the recluse Benedicta:

Hic latuit multos Benedicta reclusa per annos,
   Contemplativa, laeta, quieta diu.
Sponsa Dei, sponsique sui complexibus haerens,
   Inter complexus pace quievit ovans.
Hic modicus carcer jocunda domus fuit illi,
   Hic modo gleba jacet, spiritus astra tenet.[77]

The repeated motif of holding, embrace, enclosure--reclusa, complexus, carcer, domus--and the final, unstated enclosure of the tomb, broaden out to her final holding, not seeking, of the stars. The repetitions of thought are echoed in the repetitions of sound. The internal repetitions, such as quieta/quievit, are enclosed by the leonine rhymes of the first and last lines.

Baudry evidently wrote with enjoyment and with considerable knowledge of epitaphs from other times and places. It is possible that some of his requests for books in letters

refer to _tituli_ collections, or to _florilegia_ with epitaphs.
A close look at the poems would give some evidence for what
his models were. Number CV, for example, quoted above, uses
a typically Ottonian German structure, with address to way-
farer combined with a _dic_ formula prayer at the end. Baudry
may be quoting someone when he says, _Cum titulos multis_
dederit mea cura sepulchris, but he speaks the truth.

Other Death Collections.

In a sense, the roll circulated in Italy, France, and
England for St. Bruno (+1101), founder of the Carthusian
order, may be considered a type of death verse collection,
as can other rolls. But Bruno's roll is somewhat special,
insofar as it was carefully edited, probably in the sixteenth
century, but possibly earlier. The edition published in the
Acta sanctorum[78] is from an earlier edition printed at Basel
about 1515 along with a life of the saint.[79]

It contains an encyclical, to which is appended an
inscription or epitaph and 149 titles,[80] of which 118, that
is, about 75%, contain poetry. For any other single roll,
and for the average of rolls written, as noted above, the
usual percentage of entries with poetry runs about 50%.
Most of the poems with poetry lack additional prose commen-
tary or any mention of dead to be remembered, though there
are a number of poems with the typical formulaic, "we have
prayed for yours, pray for ours."[81] The titles are broken
into six sections of approximately thirty entries each,

unlike those of any other roll.

Poems within the body of the roll are remarkably uniform in tone and topics. Invariably serious, they feature particularly St. Bruno's retirement to a hermitage late in life. All but four[82] are twenty lines or less in length, the longest extending simply to twenty-eight lines. Monostichs, commonly found in other rolls of any length, do not occur. All but three of the poems[83] show the most common patterns of hexameters or distichs, usually with two-syllable leonine or caudati rhyme, less frequently unrhymed or with one-syllable rhyme. Thirty-seven poems, that is, about 27% of the number of rhymed entries, have some imperfection of rhyme, usually assonance. This is an exceptionally high proportion for the period in which the roll was produced. In general, the poets seem less interested in showing their skill than in other rolls, such as Mathilda's or St. Vital's. The total absence of humor or ideational display, the more than usual repetition of themes and topics, so frequently biographic, would also indicate that display was not particularly aimed at here.

Two other collections of death inscriptions are not properly edited. The one, of only eleven epitaphs, is that falsely attributed to Philip of Harvengt.[84] Although poems from it are listed among the German epitaphs discussed above, its author was probably French, living toward the middle of the twelfth century. The second collection is that by Peter Riga, mentioned above. It was written

about 1165.   Whether Peter Riga intended from the
first to include it in the _Floridus aspectus_ or whether he
wrote it as an independent volume is not known.

  D. Inscriptional Death Verse and Secular Epigram

  Several types of secular epigram border on inscriptional
death verse: the historical epigram, the death anecdote, the
philosophic epigram, and epigrammatic eulogy and vituperation.

  Among the epigrams ascribed to Seneca during the middle
ages are approximately twenty historical epigrams telling of
the death of well-known people of antiquity.[1] The favorit
subjects were Cicero, Pompey, and Caesar. Along with these
might be placed the _Epitaphium Senecae_,[2] supposed to have
been composed by Seneca himself, which enjoyed particular
favor during both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and a
distich titled in some collections _Epitaphium Didonis Affri-
cane_, preserved in the _Carmina Burana_.[3] The latter is actu-
ally taken from the close of Ovid's _Heroides_ 7 (v. 195-196)
and repeated in _Fasti_ 3, 549-550. Except that the persons
so commemorated are long dead or a fiction and there can be
no question of inscription on tombs, the works may be regarded
as a literary exercise in commemorative epitaph. Baudry's
poems for Cicero, mentioned above among those in his epitaph
collection, are imitations of the earlier historical epigrams
for Cicero. Of a similar nature is a little poem for Aris-
totle, apparently from the twelfth century:

> Summus Aristoteles trutinando cacumina rerum,
> In duo divisit quidquid in orbe fuit.[4]

These epitaphs are deliberate imitations of classic models,
largely independent of the Christian inscriptional tradition.

Medieval death anecdotes are also closely framed on
classic models. The anecdotal epigram of death was developed
by the Greeks, and taken up by Martial, who wrote of the
death of Arria:

> Casta suo gladium cum traderet Arria Paeto,
>   quem de visceribus strinxerat ipsa suis,
> "Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci non dolet;" inquit
>   "sed tu quod facies, hoc mihi, Paete, dolet."[5]

Hildebert's De Lucretia appears to be a deliberate imitation,
shaped in thought by a reading of Livy:

> Cum foderet gladio castum Lucretia pectus,
>   Sanguinis et torrens egrederetur, ait:
> 'Testes procedant me non favisse tiranno;
>   Ante virum sanguis, spiritus ante deos.
> Quam bene producti pro me post fata loquentur,
>   Alter apud manes, alter apud superos.'[6]

Christian influence is perhaps evident in the dichotomized
variant of "his body is on earth, his soul in heaven." A
twelfth century poem for Hyacinthus is constructed on the
same pattern: an initial distich, defining the situation in
which death occurred, introduces an antithetical statement
from a participant in the action:

> Et Deus et medicus et amans, rescindere frustra
>   Tentans Aebalidae funera, Phoebus ait:
> 'Parcite, Di, puero, si non moriatur uterque;
>   Malo sequi puerum quam superesse Deum.
> Si prohibetis et hoc, sit pars utriusque superstes,
>   Par cadit /cadat/, ignoscam sic minor esse Deo.
> Quisque feret laetus propriae dispendia partis,
>   Dum pars ad manes, pars eat ad superos.'[7]

Again, the concluding line brings to mind Christian formulae.
The writer appears to have Hildebert's poem for a model.

Lacking the note of Christian inscriptional formulae completely are two anecdotal death epigrams on the hermaphrodite, one of them by Hildebert, and <u>De morte hominis, ferae et anguis</u>. The hermaphrodite poems tell approximately the same story. Hildebert's shorter version runs as follows:

> Dum mea me mater gravida gestaret in alvo,
>   Quid pareret fertur consuluisse deos.
> Phebus ait: 'Puer est'; Mars: 'Femina'; Juno: 'Neutrum'.
>   Iam quod sum natus hermafreditus eram.
> Querenti letum dea sic ait: 'Occidet armis':
>   Mars: 'Cruce'; Phoebus: 'Aqua'. Sors rata queque
>   fuit.
> Arbor obumbrat aquas: ascendo: labitur ensis,
>   Quem tuleram casu, labor et ipse super.
> Pes hesit ramis, caput incidit amne, tulique
>   Vir, mulier, neutrum, flumina, tela, crucem.[8]

The story as given here is largely independent of Ovid's myth of Hermaphroditus, and Scott remarks that "the language of the poem does not seem to owe anything" to it.[9] Nor does it seem indebted to any of the hermaphrodite epigrams of the Greek or Latin anthologies.[10] In addition to the second well-known similar poem, possibly by Peter Riga,[11] there are two other poems preserved on the same topic.[12]

The grammatical and rhetorical display of Hildebert's poem is echoed in <u>De morte hominis, ferae et anguis</u>, which comes to a similar tripartite conclusion:

> Forte nemus lustrabat homo, fera forte redibat
>   Plena, latens anguis forte jacebat humi.
> In pecudem pariter oculum cum cuspide misit
>   Rusticus, agnovit missa sagitta manus.
> Hasta feram sternit, anguem fera comprimit anguis
>   Tabem fundit; ea tabe necatur homo.
> Ossa vorando, locum calcando, vomendo venenum,
>   Vir jaculo, pede sus, vipera tabe nocet.
> Saucia contrita, sparsus telo, pede, viru,
>   Bestia, vipera, vir, sternitur, aret, obit.[13]

The poem is an expansion of one or more earlier epigrams,
one of which, from the Salmasian codex, reads:

> De venatore qui cum aprum excepit
> serpentem calcavit inprudens
>
> Sus, iuvenis, serpens casum venere sub unum:
> Hic fremit, ille gemit, sibilat hic moriens.[14]

In comparison, the twelfth century poem is marked by the
articuli of the conclusion and the rhyme in the ninth line
as typical of its time. Possibly length, certainly the final
obit hint at a breath of influence from Christian inscriptional
verse. It may be Peter Riga's work.[15]

Also related to inscriptional death verse are the philo-
sophic epigrams which tell of death:

> Unde superbit homo, cujus conceptio culpa?
> Nasci poena, labor vita, necesse mori.[16]
>
> Forma, genus, mores, sapientia, census, honores
> Morte ruunt subita; sola manent merita.[17]
>
> Flos hiemis morti; mortis tamen acrior ira:
> Mors homines roseos urit hiemsque rosas.[18]

These little poems, usually distichs, often though not invar-
iably given epigrammatic point, have almost the appearance
of excerpts from a roll or epitaph, though manuscript tra-
ditions suggest they were composed as independent works.[19]
Stephen of Bec wove groups of such poems, each with its own
title, into his Carmen elegiacum de Waleranno comite Mel-
lenti.[20] The selections range from a single line to twelve
distichs in length and are arranged in some order, beginning
with eulogy and biographic commentary, continuing with
philosophic observations such as the following:

Consideratio

Inspexit quid honos, quid opes, quid gloria mundi,
Quid sit homo, quid erit, quid sibi morte manet.

Quid honos

Ut fumus vanescit honos, ut spuma liquescit,
Transit dificiens, ac velut umbra fugit.

Quid opes

Morte cadens quid opum secum diferre valebit?
Egreditur nudus, dic ubi caecus abit?

Quid gloria

Doxa tibi mundi quid erit sine numine coeli?
Pompa nitens oculis vana fit ante Deum.

Quid sit homo

Vile lutum conceptus homo, natus caro, terra.

Quid erit

Vita functus erit vermibus esca, cinis.[21]

Epigrammatic eulogy and curse have biographic topics in common with epitaph. As a general rule, eleventh and twelfth century eulogy, when it does appear, is lengthy, as can be noted in Godeschalc's eulogy of the Gembloux abbots, mentioned above. The Versus in laudem Sancti Godehardi,[22] a thirty-two line tirade rhymed in avit and atur praising the healing properties of the dead saint's bones, leans more toward the inscriptional form. When the eulogized subject is dead and the verse short, no sharp distinction can be made between eulogy, commemorative epitaph, and historical epigram. As Hauréau points out, the Epitaphium regum Jerusalem,[23] for Godefrey of Bouillon and his brother Baudouin,

although quite similar to epitaph in content, gives equal prominence to the two brothers, such that it would not be appropriate on either tomb.

A number of epigrammatic eulogies stand out because of their length, tone, and style. Serlo of Wilton's poem for the poet and soldier Robert of Gloucester (+1146), twelve distichs in length, is much like a lament, though it ends with the suggestive

> Divisit natura virum, nam reddidit astris
> Mentem, corpus humo--munus utrique suum.[24]

The lively, highly mannered Epitaphium Caesaris, included among Serlo's spurious poems, eleven distichs long, is primarily eulogy, apparently for an emperor of the time.[25] Unusual in metrics is the tribute, perhaps for Emperor Henry III (+1056), Caesar, tantus eras quantus et orbis, quoted by William of Malmesbury in his Gesta Regum Anglorum,[26] of twenty-eight hendecasyllabic verses. A poem in honor of Cato appears to be an epitaph, but is actually simply the beginning of a much longer eulogy. In two manuscripts[27] it has the following form:

> Gaudeat avaricia sanctum cecidisse Catonem,
> Gaudet in urbe suum fecisse sibi stationem.
> Regnet in urbe potens, nullo prohibente, patenter;
> Currit, discurrit, peragit scelus omne licenter.
> Nullus in urbe Cato modo reprehendat auarum,
> Omnis in urbe Cato possessor diuiciarum.
> Lingua uiri fortis magnalia multa locuta,
> Nunc cinis exiguus iacet in tumulo male muta.
> Si licet haec sileat, non eius fama silebit,
> At quantus fuerit Cato, saepe relata docebit.[28]

In another manuscript, St. Omer 115, the poem appears with 132 verses.

Curses also have the biographic topics of death epigram.
A curse on the murderers of St. Thomas of Canterbury is larded
with eulogy for the saint:

> Si Deus hanc gentem nobis in carne manentem
> Mittere dignetur, tam pessima vix operetur:
> Sic licet istius rex auctor proditionis,
> Gentem totius facit infamem regionis.
> Quis non horrescat facimus tantum memorare?
> Ut plus vilescat volo factori reprobare.
> Iste vix elatus ad honorem pontificatus,
> Mundanis curam non exhibuit perituram;
> Sed Christi toto quaerens vestigia voto,
> Judicii veri studuit discretor haberi.
> Non prece, non pretio, non asperitate minarum,
> Praesul ab auxilio se subtrahit ecclesiarum.
> Orphanus et vidua sponsum patremque vocabant,
> Perdere quando sua per vim regis dubitabant.
> Cleri redditibus nolentis participabat,
> Praebens militibus, praesul sic esse vetabat,
> Res, facultates et quicquid praesul habebat.[29]

Another poem, possibly for the same occasion, predicts death
and destruction from the mouth of an angel in apocalyptic
fashion:

> Dic, Cayphe, mercedis caput dampnatur alumni
> Celsa cadunt humilis pendet uterque gradus.
> Salvant et perdunt ah ah ah, que sunt Jheremie.
> Interit et perimit quod consonat euphonie
> In scorium ruit exitium egra potentia migrat.
> Montibus excedunt onagra atque leo.
> Cornua cervecis mutilabunt federa tauri.
> Sydera Pollucis fraternum corruet astrum
> Una dies mortis deponet serta duorum
> Et Babel Archadie perfusa cruore rubebit.[30]

<u>Carmina Burana</u> 125 might also be mentioned among curses:

> Ante Dei vultum nil pravi constat inultum.
> Felices oculi, qui cernunt gaudia celi!
> Grande scelus grandi studio debet superari.[31]

The poem follows a lament for the assassinated Emperor
Philip II (+1208), son of Frederic Barbarossa. Its first
line, slightly altered, appears elsewhere as a proverb.[32]

The gaudia celi is a commonplace formula of roll inscriptions.

A final group of poems, all apparently by Marbod, border on roll inscriptions. These poetic consolations and commentaries on death could have been written as roll inscriptions of an imaginative and excentric type, or they may have been exemplary rhetorical epigrams. The first, Ad nuntium mortis, comes from the important florilegium of St. Gatien. It is addressed to the owl. Miss Abrahams has already pointed out the similarities of imagery which link it to Baudry's execration of the roll bearer in his Invectio.[33] Marbod's bird is indisputably a bird; whether the bird is also the rotliger depends on one's reading of certain lines in the middle of the poem:

> Huic volucri foedae simul, procul ergo recede,
> Chartae funebris lator, damnande tenebris,
> Qui vice bubonis non unquam laeta reponis,
> Semper moesta canis non discessurus inanis;
> Nam cum nil portes, nisi tristitiam, nisi mortes,
> Ceu bene regesta petis es cum voce molesta,
> Et ne lacescas soccos petis, exigis escas,
> Propter defunctum soleas damus, addimus unctum.[34]

A Consolatio lugentium, scilicet Mariae et Marthae is the first of a group which also appears in another manuscript. The Consolatio begins with the story of Lazarus, then moves on to the Christian's consolations:

> Ergo sequens Christum devotio Christicolarum
> Sic contristetur, ne desperare putetur;
> Spe moderante metum tergant solatia fletum.
> Haec attendentem moveat compassio mentem,
> Haec attendentis respirent corda gementis.
> Est contristari pia res in funere chari,
> Sed tuba cantabit quae corpora functa vocabit,
> Et sub momento surgeat simul a monumento,
> Omnibus ut detur quod vita fidesque meretur.
> Haec rebus moestis solatia ferre potestis.[35]

The theme--do not weep--is certainly typical of death roll verse, though its statement in objective, rather than hortatory form is not. The two following poems, Oratio pro fidelibus defunctis and Alia oratio pro defunctis, both carry addresses to plural groups, vos and caterva, the last a not unusual term for a religious community in rolls:

> . . .
> Hic tandem medicus cui subditus est inimicus
> Et mors, et morbus, et frigus, et ardor, et orcus,[36]
> Huic cui vos vultis prosit, reliquisque sepultis.
>
> Nate Patris, Christe, quem mundus credidit iste
> Aequalem Patri, spoliatoremque barathri,
> Abbatem serva pro quo rogat ista caterva.[37]

The next poem, Quod non sit flendum pro morte Christiani,[38] is again couched in objective, not hortatory, terms, and lacks any reference to a specific dead person. The final poem of this group, Reprehensio superfluorum in epitaphio Joannis abbatis, praises the mention of John's good qualities and pious deeds, then mentions a number of topics which should be omitted:

> Hoc et laudamus, et dignum laude probamus,
> Nam bene laudatur, quo, qui legit, aedificatur.
> . . .
> Quod vero restat lectori taedia praestat,
> Et peregrinatur, nec qui legit aedificatur,
> Nam quaorsum tendit, vel, quaeso, quid utile pendit
> Quod Februus mensis fuit huic quasi lethifer ensis,
> Quod tunc exivit cum pisces Phoebus inivit.
> Addere sic posses quaecunque superflua nosses
> Cum coelum sursum, cum staret terra deorsum,
> Cum Ligeris flueret, cum ventis unda tumeret,
> Cum pisces natent, cum passeruli volitarent,
> Cum mulier neret, cum parvula filia fleret.
> Si fiat calamus stans omnis in arbore ramus,
> Fiat et in caustum quod suggerit omnibus haustum,
> Si pro membrana sint omnia corpora plana,
> Vivi vel functi si scribant talia cuncti,
> Vivos vel functos lassabunt talia cunctos.[39]

To judge by the disapproving reference to death date, the
poet is speaking of epitaph composition, not roll inscription,
though the theme is somewhat similar to the "poems don't
help" of the rolls, and early in the poem the tag _dum vixit_,
more typical of rolls than epitaph, is used.

Whether these poems were actually written for rolls or
not, they certainly show the influence of roll verse. So,
too, does an anonymous satiric epigram:

<div align="center">De abbatibus nimis indulgentibus</div>

Mos est abbatum nunquam punire reatum,
Sed cum discedunt de mundo praemia quaerunt.
Ergo _Pater noster_ dicamus propter eos ter.[40]

The full humor of the lines, brought out by the terminal
placement of the number, is most apparent when one considers
the usual number of _Pater nosters_, one ·hundred or more,
promised in the roll inscriptions for Bertrand of Baux.

CHAPTER IV

EPIGRAMMATIC ART AND BOOK INSCRIPTIONS

Many of the people who wrote epitaph also wrote another type of title, the epigrammatic art inscription. Some of these _tituli_ they designed for churches, the paintings which ornamented their walls, and the beautiful objects which the churches held--crosses, reliquaries, pulpits, and other objects of veneration and convenience. They wrote others for miniatures, manuscripts, and books. Still others they rarely composed for secular things. In all, the writers attempted to bring to the viewer or reader an understanding of that which lay before his eyes, usually through an explanation of symbolism, although they might also simply inform the reader about the historical origin of the work, the date of its construction, the person by whose order or for whose pleasure it was made, or the name of the person who made it.

The titles, as a whole, are fugitive works. Some, but by no means all, have been gathered into modern collections.[1] Others may be found blazoned on the objects in art books.[2] Still others, usually anonymous and frequently with no indication of the object for which they were designed, are clustered in medieval manuscripts.[3]

A comprehensive survey of dates, locations, forms and topics of the art titles is not possible here. Yet if such were undertaken, it would probably reveal that the writing

of art titles closely parallels the writing of epitaph in many respects. In the early part of the eleventh century, German and Italian poets produced a great number; later the French writers took them up. However, they did not enjoy in twelfth century France the same popularity that death inscriptions enjoyed, probably because they were best suited to late Romanesque art style, and the Romanesque was by the twelfth century being supplanted by Gothic, especially in France.

There would, of course, be other differences between object titles and death inscriptions revealed by such a survey. To begin with, the art titles are shorter than the roll verses and epitaphs. The few exceptions to this rule, such as the longer chandelier inscriptions and some book titles, can be explained, as can the shorter ones, by reference to the objects for which they were designed, the artist's sense of form and proportion, and, for some, the requirement that they be readable at a distance. Further, they are usually written in hexameters, even more commonly than are death roll inscriptions. The metric form is probably related to their intended audience. They were written for all who could read, an audience which probably included many who would have failed to find poetry in any measure but that used for the Disticha Catonis. The writer of book titles could count on a somewhat higher level of education in his audience, and he is the most apt to make use of variant metrics. The inclusion of something as simple as elegiac distichs among variant forms might suggest that the average reader never

got to Ovid.

The art titles, like the death inscriptions, frequently appear in a series. It may be a series for a particular object, such as a pulpit or the walls of a cathedral. Or it may be an artificial series, established by some editor or collector, medieval or modern. When detached from their art objects by medieval anthologizing zeal, they are sometimes a source of puzzlement to the reader of a later time. Manuscript and book titles, as a rule, appear where they were designed to appear, attached to something else which fulfills their meaning and is in turn illuminated by them.

A. Church Titles

The verse inscriptions of the church accompany the pictorial decoration of the interior, the frescoes and mosaics that ornamented apse, nave, and other parts of the church; they appear in window and tapistry, those extensions of the paintings on the walls; and they formed a part of the sculpture, carving and relief of wood, stone, and metal which ornamented entrances, arches, capitals, and doors. The style of the art objects which are their ground is middle and high Romanesque, with Gothic making its influence felt toward the middle of the twelfth century.

Fresco and Mosaic

In apse, in nave, and in other parts of the medieval church were pictures, large and small, formed of glittering fine stone set in plaster or painted on plaster walls in the

bright but soon fading colors of fresco. Most conspicuous
to the worshiper was the apse, in the southern Romanesque
church a large, rounded, arched recess behind the high altar.
In Italy, it usually had a large figure, such as Christ in
glory surrounded by a mandorla, and possibly a row or two of
figures parading underneath, with angels lurking at the
edges. Often the decoration of the apse held no writing, or
nothing more than single words spaced here and there, iden-
tifying scenes and personages. When poetry appeared, it
would form a border around the overhead arch of the apse,
on the flat surface of the nave wall, or run horizontally
around the inward curve of the apse itself, under the feet
of the central figure, above the heads of the clustered
lower figures, or between rows of such figures. Using the
arch position, the artist had ample room to inscribe an abbre-
viated four-line hexameter poem, if he so desired; working
with a horizontal pattern, he could write a somewhat longer
poem.

Arching over the apse at the cathedral of Cefalu is the
poem:

Factus homo factor hominis factique redemptor
Iudicio corporeus corpora corda deus.[4]

The central figure is Christ. Much lower, circling the apse
itself, is another inscription reading in part: anno ab in-
carnatione dei millesimo centesimo, XLVIII indicatione XI
ann . . .[5] The inscriptions show a happy and perhaps
typical twelfth century Italian division of poetry and prose,
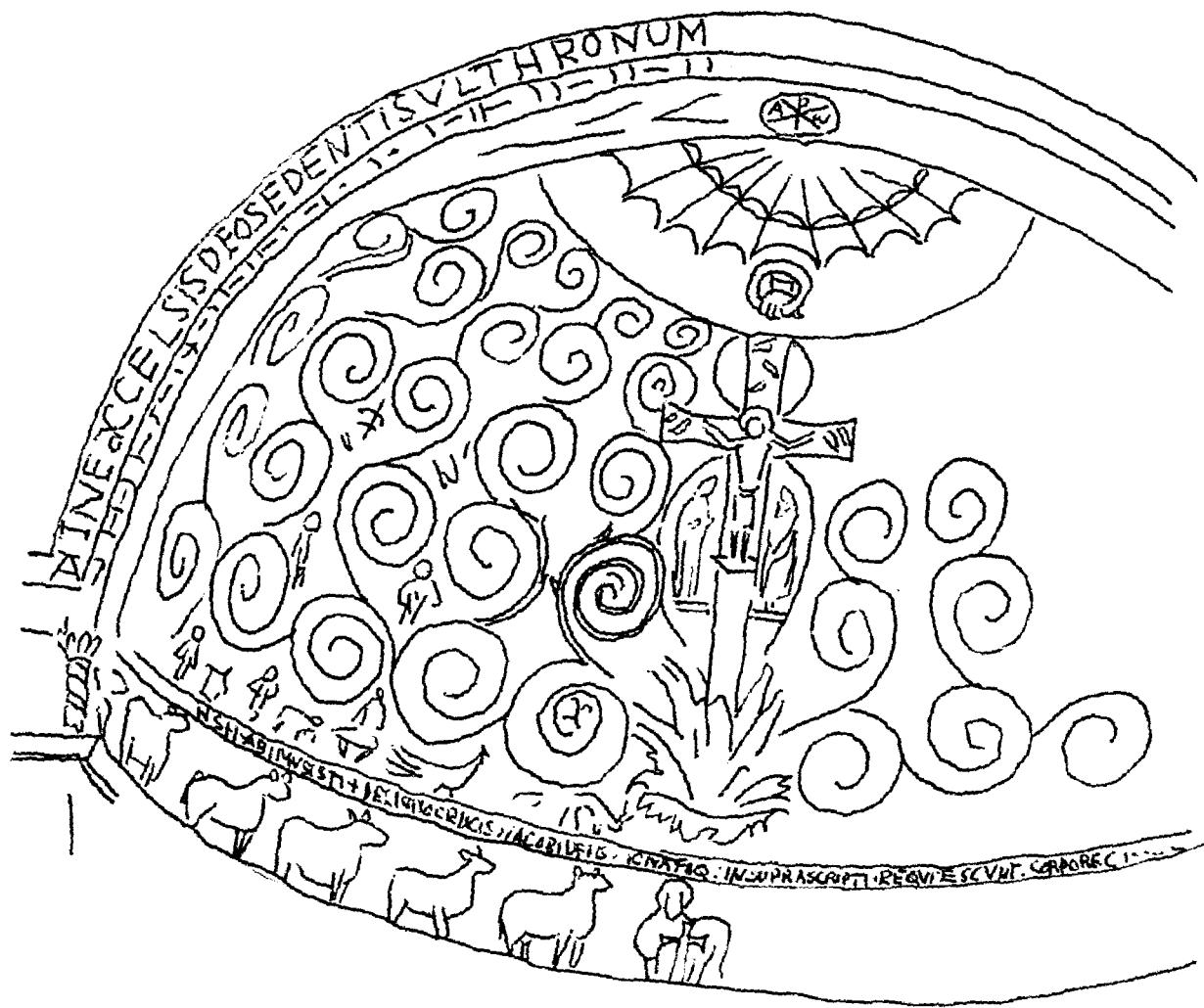
factual statement of date and suggestive commentary on
picture.

But to go back in time to the eleventh century, to a
church newly decorated by Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino
(1053-1087). The church itself had been built at Monte
Cassino by St. Benedict on the site of an old pagan temple
and dedicated to St. Martin. Its apse declares:

> Cultibus extiterat quondam locus iste dicatus
> Demonicis, inque hoc templo veneratus Apollo,
> Quod pater huc properans Benedictus in omnipotentis
> Vetit honore Dei, Martini et nomine Sancti.
> Hoc Desiderius post centum lustra vetustum
> Parvum divertit, renovavit, compsit et auxit.[6]

Length and subject would suggest that the poem held a lower
horizontal position, with Benedict and Martin possibly fea-
tured in the accompanying picture. The placement may have
been comparable to the fresco title circling the apse under
a central figure of Christ, above a group of saints, at the
church of Sant' Angelo in Formis, near Capua, from the last
quarter of the eleventh century.[7] One may, of course, ques-
tion whether this is indeed an epigrammatic title. Part of
the plaster is missing, and my own noting of what seems to
be a metrical foot or two may be in error.

The apse inscriptions at the upper church of San Cle-
mente, in Rome, rebuilt in 1108 by Pope Paschall II, are
part of a mosaic (Plate I). The apse is perfectly preserved,
with Christ on the cross in the center, flanked by Mark and
John, the whole surrounded by an efflorescence of botanical
scrolls and small objects and animals. A flock of sheep

PLATE I   163a

Apse mosaic in the upper church of San Clemente, Rome
(rebuilt in 1108 by Pope Paschal II)

Copied after illustration in
Georges Duby, _The Making of the Christian West: 980-1140_,
trans. Stuart Gilbert (Geneva, 1967), p. 189.

gravely file toward the center at the bottom. Across the arch, finishing a sentence begun on the side wall and extending on to the opposite one:

> In excelsis deo sedentis super thronum +
> et in terra pax hominibus bone volun . . .

Above the heads of the sheep:

> . . . Christi viti similabimus isti +
> De ligno crucis. Iacobi dens. ignatiique
> in supra scripti. requiescunt corpore Christi +
> quam lex arentem set crusfaciter . . .[8]

A view of the whole interior would be needed to make any intelligent commentary on the function, placement, and import of these inscriptions.

Inscriptional epigrams for nave paintings are now to be found primarily in books. Most were for frescoes planned but never completed or now effaced in the churches of northern Europe.

The Epigramata cuiusdam scolastici, of somewhat uncertain date but to all appearances late tenth or early eleventh century work, was used in the church of St. Maximin at Trier.[9] Based on several saint's lives, the series of twenty-three titles, ranging from two to eighteen hexameter lines in length, tell of the saint's coming with his disciples, bearback trip to Rome, death, translation, and miracles. The final title gives acknowledgment of sources:

De Giselberto Duce

> Dux Gisilbertus monachos afflixerat huius
> Coenobii cunctas adimens his undique villas.
> Hunc sanctus verbis castigans atque flagellis
> In somnis signum violanti dat manifestam.

Plurima continuo tribuens donaria sancto
Istud coenobium post hęc dux fecit honestum.
Plenius acta viri cupiunt qui noscere tanti;
Scripta retaxentur studiosius et relegantur,
Quę scripsere Lupus, Gregorius et Sigehardus,
Quamvis, ut fantur, de multis pauca tenentur,
Quę deus emerito tribuit bona miraque sancto.[10]

Also early are the cycles of Ekkehard IV of St. Gall.
The first, written when Ekkehard was still young, about 990,
presents a series for perhaps twenty-four pictures showing
incidents from the life of St. Gall, to be painted on the
cloister wall.[11] The second series was designed for Mainz
cathedral. The cathedral had burned in 1009. By about 1025
its archbishop Aribo was laying plans for rebuilding and
redecorating, and he chose Ekkehard, who had been head of
the school at Mainz for several years, to write inscriptions
for the planned pictures in the nave. Rather ornate decora-
tion was in vogue in the area at that time. Reichenau, in
the 990's, had undertaken extensive paintings, with a Madonna
and Child and scenes from the history of the cloister; at
Petershausen, the cloister church displayed Old Testament
scenes on the left wall, New Testament ones on the right,
with the choir devoted to Mary and the apostles; the church
of Oberzell, at Reichanau, which is preserved, shows a cycle
of eight pictures from the New Testament, four to the south,
four to the north.[12] But the cathedral of Mainz was still to
be completed when Ekkehard wrote his <u>Versus ad picturas</u>.[13]
Unfortunately, Aribo died in 1031, with the roof still un-
repaired; the pictures for which the titles were designed

were apparently never painted. We are left with the titles, in all a "poem" of 867 leonine hexameter verses. They supply commentary for at least sixty-five scenes, perhaps more, thirty-seven from the Old Testament, twenty-eight from the New.[14]

The Old Testament series gives no indication of what is to be painted, or where, apart from the hints of the text itself. The following series of verses could be for a single large picture, though it seems more appropriate for a closely related group:

> Mella novo more nectarque leonis ab ore
> Samson gustabat, et in his emblema parabat.
>
> Samson mandibulo validus certator in uno.
> Ipsius ex dente potatur postea fonte.
>
> Sublatis portis Gazę, vir robore fortis
> Sistit in extantis leve pondus vertice montis.
>
> Samson Nazareus Dalila fallente ligatus
> Exilit ut stuppa solvuntur vincula rupta.
>
> En Samson rasus, mulieris et iste suasus
> Vincitur captus, oculis privatur ineptus.[15]

The titles, which have a strong narrative thread, are based on Judges XIV, 5-9; XV, 15-19; XVI, 1-3, 9, and 19-21. The implied typology of the first title is typical of the middle ages. It suggests placement of an appropriate New Testament picture nearby or in balanced opposition.

In the New Testament series, there are a number of marginal comments suggesting positions of the titles within the pictures. The series ends with a complex Last Judgment, part of which reads

Angelus dexter: Ad regnum vitę, benedicti quique, venite!

Angelus sinister: Ignibus addicti, discedite, vos maledicti!

Super tribunal   Gaudia sint dignis, perpes procul absit et
iudicii: ignis,
                    Anxietas mortis reprobis sit in igne
                                                        retortis.

In circulo.   *Solus sum, qui sum; super omnia robore
                                                        plus sum;

Super infernum.   *Vix sunt me digna mare, terra polinaque
                                                         regna.
                    Solvens millenas edino cum grege pęnas
                    Ardet et ardebit Satanas semperque dolebit.[16]

Such a scene would have been appropriate on the back west
wall.

A number of less ambitious cycles were written during
the eleventh century. Peter Damian produced one made up of
fourteen titles, each one or two lines in length, beginning
with the annunciation and ending with Peter and Paul.[17] The
passion has four monostichs. The two-line titles tell of
times of happiness: III.De cena domini, IV.De baptismo domini,
VII.Ubi pueri dicunt "Hosanna," XIII.De ascensione, and
XIV.De sancto Petro et Paulo. The ascension verse reads

Ima Deus petiit sed non excelsa reliquit.
Est ibi, quo tendit; permanet, unde venit.[18]

Baudry of Bourgueil's titles, although suited to the
church interior, do not form a consistent cycle. He wrote
several poems each on the incarnation, the virgin birth, and
the passion. Single titles are directed to other specific
events in Christ's life.[19] Included with the passion titles
are a number on the sun and moon. These were probably designed
for placement in a large crucifixion scene, with the two

heavenly bodies above the arms of the cross, to judge by the shrine of Paschal II at Conques (Plate II), made about the time that Baudry was writing his titles. The sun and moon series is as follows:

XVII. De sole detenebrato

Sol veluti plorat, quia sol in morte laborat.

XVIII. De eodem

Cum veluti plorat sol, mortem solis honorat.

XIX. Item

Sol radios velat quoniam sol in cruce clamat.

XX. De sole et luna

Sol et luna gemunt, orbi sua lumina demunt.

XXI. Item de utroque

Sol et luna gemit, dolor illis lumina demit.

XXII. De luna

Luna gemens pallet, quam solis passio terret.[20]

The similarity of titles XX and XXI suggest that Baudry was writing with a single picture in mind and, like Ekkehard IV, wished to give someone a range of choice.
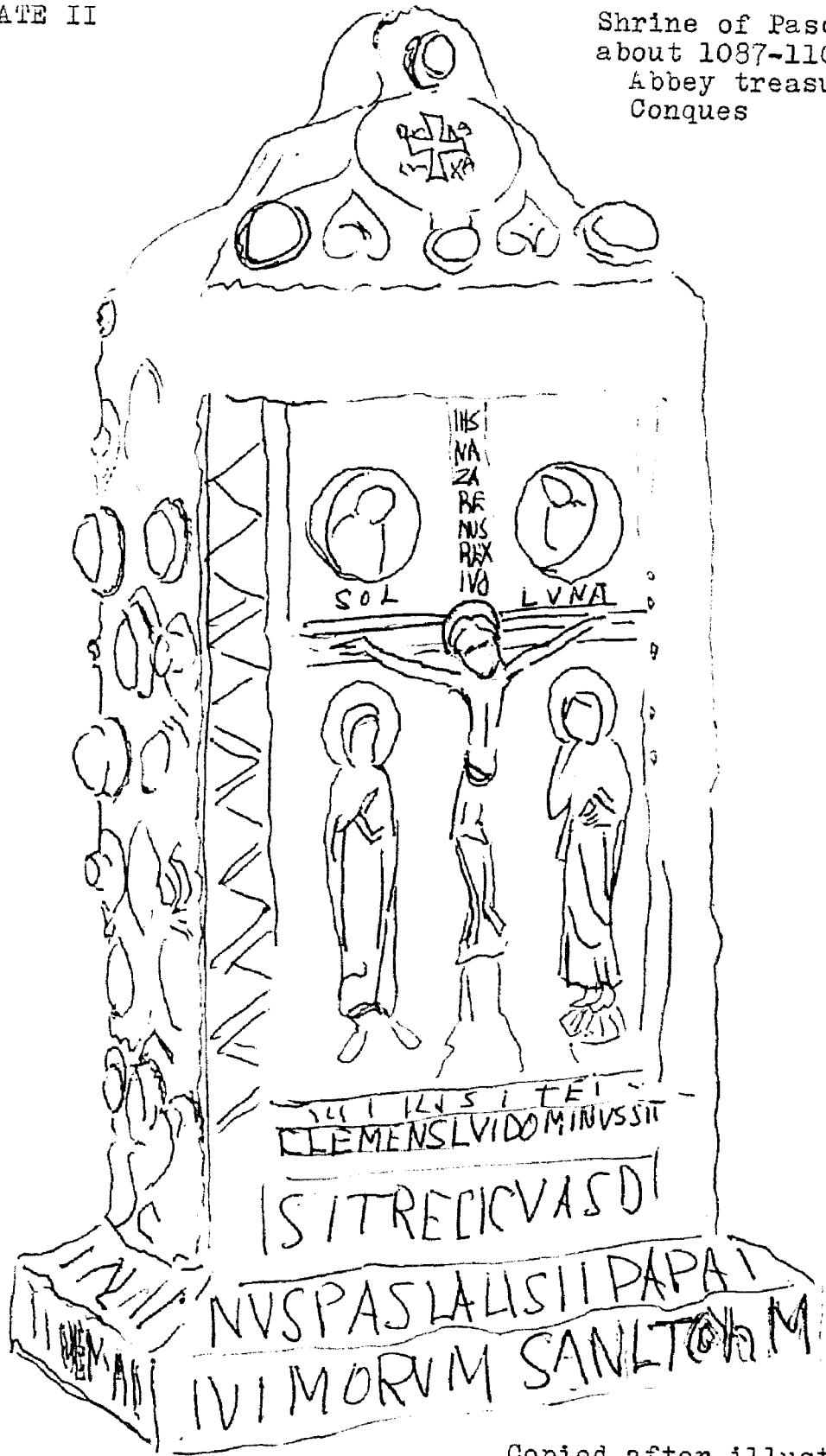
Not all titles were for pictures on the nave wall or the apse. One at the cloister church of Prüfening is for the ceiling. Mary is seated in majesty. Beginning above her head and running in a large circle around her are the words:

+Virtutum gemmis prelucens virgo perennis
Sponsi iuncta thoro sponso conregnat in evo.[21]

At the Cluniac church of Ganagobie, an inscription is inlaid in the mosaic floor:

PLATE II

SOL   LVNA

IHS
NA
ZA
RE
NVS
REX
IVD

CLEMENSLVIDOMINVSSII

ISITRECICVASDI

NVSPASLALISIIPAPAI

IVIMORVM SANLTORVM

> Me prior et fieri Bertranne jubes et haberi
> Et Petrus urgebat Trutberti meque regebat.[22]

Bertrand was prior there in 1122. Frescoes in the crypt of Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe, near Vienne, telling of the martyrdom of Saint Savin and Cyprien, appear to have titles in verse, but I cannot read them.[23]

Titles preserved in manuscripts are frequently hard to place. Silvester II wrote one, Ad imaginem Boetii,[24] presumably for a church dedicated to the writer. In a letter, Peter Damian says his Ubi spiritus sanctus descendit super apostolos was to be put in refectorio sub pedibus apostolorum.[25] He is silent on the placement of two other monostichs, De virga Moysi and De arca Noe.[26] The early Renaissance collector, Peter Sabinus, gives two titles he found at St. Nicolas at Rome, built by Callistus II before 1124:

> Sub imagine virginis
>
> Praesidet aethereis pia virgo Maria choreis
>
> Ibidem in quadam pictura
>
> Parcere prostratis scit Nobilis ira leonis
> Tu quoque fac simile quisquis dominaris in orbe.[27]

The first is probably from the apse. The second was apparently for beasts, rulers, or both in a lesser position.

The majority of French picture titles which I have seen are published under Hildebert's name in the Patrologia Latina. None of them are by Hildebert. They come from varied florilegia. Those entitled Inscriptionum Christianarum libellus[28] were named and arranged by the editor, Bourassé, who says he found them in a manuscript from Tours,[29] though in point

of fact, as Dom Wilmart has pointed out, Bourassé picked
and arranged the inscriptions to suit his own plan, includ-
ing in the group some from the St. Gatien _florilegium_ and
others which may be moral precepts from antiquity.[30] The
work as it stands gives fifty-five poems, most with lemmas,
many of them monostichs, two more than four lines in length.
The first forty-nine are mainly related to the life and
passion of Christ. The first is for a _majestas_, a picture
of God or Christ on a throne:

<div align="center">

Dei aeternitas

Majestas Domini non est obnoxia fini;
Nescit finiri, sic nescivit oriri.[31]
</div>

The following five, in Bourassé's arrangement, are for Old
Testament scenes: Adam's sin, the curse on the serpent, pat-
riarchs, Job, Moses striking the rock. They are closely
related typologically to the redemption. Then come eleven
poems telling of Christ's birth, and six of his ministry.
Among these is the strictly moral _Arcta via quae ducit ad
coelum_:

<div align="center">

Arduus est callis qui subjacet aurea vallis[32]
</div>

Christ's healing the sick, remitting sins of the woman caught
in adultery, and raising of Lazarus are featured. The follow-
ing twenty poems are given largely to events of passion week,
the crucifixion, and the resurrection. The group is not
unified: two[33] have titles which say they are for pictures;
another five tell of apostles, saints, and the eucharist.
The remaining six treat secular subjects:

De somno

Quod caret alterna requie durabile non est.

De senectute

Omne manu factum consumit longa vetustas[34]

The final poem is on death. All of these might be considered,
free of a visual context, simply proverbs or philosophic
epigrams.

A second group of titles, published in the same volume,[35]
is made up of twenty-two entries on a quite similar selection
of topics. One of these, Ad Christi crucifixi imaginem, is
a cross inscription by Baudry of Bourgueil, quoted below,
but the rest are by other unknown writers. A third group[36]
consists of inscriptions by Peter Riga, from his Floridus
aspectus,[37] and another cluster of eight miscellaneous poems.
Peter Riga's ten titles, a unified series on the life of
Christ, are all written as versus rapportati. Typical is
the title De baptismo Christi:

> Roratur, clamat, sacratur, adest, solidatur
> Salvator, Genitor, unda, columba, fides.[38]

The anonymous poems which follow have a small series which
seems planned for a picture with personifications of Synagoge
and Ecclesia:

Super Synagogam

Obnubit frontem Synagogae legis amictus.

Super Ecclesiam

Induit Ecclesiam scintillans laurea stellis.[39]

Little can be said about the poems in their virtually unedited

state.

Although all of the miscellaneous poems from France mentioned above take their material from the Bible and doctrinal beliefs, probably with a view to inscription in the sanctuary, these were not the only topics available for a picture cycle. Reginald of Canterbury's <u>Tituli nostrorum</u>[40] is made up of twenty four-line titles for saints, both male and female, abbots, and archbishops honored at Canterbury. Perhaps it was for the cloister of Reginald's abbey, St. Austin's, or for a series of uniform pictures elsewhere. In the margin by each poem is an indication of each name. The first poem is for Gregory the Great, who sent the second honored saint, Augustin, to Britain:

> Doctor, papa bonus, tuus, Augustine, patronus
> Gregorius sedem tenet hanc depictus et edem;
> Hic est Gregorius, stilus et facundia cuius
> Debriat arentes vitali nectare mentes.

Another uniform series is contained in the middle of a poem on the Last Judgment, <u>Hieronymus in annalibus Hebraeorum de XV signis quindecim dierum ante diem judicii</u>.[42] Date of composition is unknown. It may not have been planned for actual inscription.

<u>Tapistry and Window.</u>

Pictures, and their titles, were important in the Romanesque churches. As a poem in a late twelfth or early thirteenth century codex from Windberg observes,

> Est in natura propria Deus absque figura
> Cur autem pictus? quia carne videtur amictus.
> Cum datur ergo Dei cultus picte speciei,
> Christus honoratur, per eam qui significatur.[43]

Because the pictures were highly appreciated, they and their titles were used for other than painted decoration of the church walls. As the art scholar Georges Duby has observed, figured textiles decorated Romanesque churches more frequently than did frescoes.[44] In the Gothic churches of the twelfth century, stained glass windows carried much of the pictorial decoration.

Very few windows or tapistries with poetry remain, yet we know of their former existence from records of the poetry. Recorded in the annals of Worms is the description of a now vanished _tapetis_. The design was complex, showing St. Peter, the first bishops of Worms, and a cluster of apostles and prophets. As the chronicler tells it, _Sanctus Petrus loquitur_:

Est mihi primatus solvendi vincla reatus

Super capita episcoporum:

His bene crevisti presens o vinea Christi
Quos pietas vire recolit signantque figure
Nobilitas morum probitas et in his meritorum
Nomini fecerunt famam laudemque vigere
Nunc quasi convive Petri vel sicut olive.

In tapeto cum apostolis et prophetis depicto:

Primacias fidei pandit et acta Diei
Iuris apostolici primates regis amici
Sun meritis aucti quia pneumatis organa sancti
Enarrant isti septem miracula Christi
Gracia quo crevit qua celos cive replevit.

In circumferentia capitis sancti Petri in sigillo:

Semper eris clipeo gens mea tuta meo.

In circumferentia sigilli consulatus Wormatiensis iste versus exaratus est:

Te sit tuta bono Wormatia Petre patrono.

In circumferentia sigilli sancti Andree:

Te sacer Andrea bullata figurat ydea.[45]

As a general rule, window titles are less complicated.

A German window, speaking for itself, tells that Frederic

Barbarossa ordered it made after his victory over Milan:

Tempore quo rediit superatis Mediolanis
Nos rex Romanus fieri iussit Fridericus.[46]

It gives no indication of the picture's subject. Another, by

Reiner of Liège, must have shown dove and serpent:

In fenestra vitrea

Vive columbinus, sed cautae simplicitatis
Sis serpentinus, sed honestae calliditatis.[47]

In this, as in the tapistry inscriptions, the strong paral-

lelism must have been in part dictated by picture and place-

ment.

Designed as a series are Suger's inscriptions for the

windows of St. Denys, completed in 1140, which he records in

his De rebus in administratione sua gestis,[48] along with

building titles, cross titles, and titles for church vessels.

The nine titles are somewhat comparable to the Old and New

Testament series for wall paintings of the previous century.

One is to accompany a picture of the veil being removed from

the face of Moses:

Quod Moyses velat, Christi doctrina revelat,
Denudant legem qui spoliant Moysen.[49]

The similarities of subject would suggest that some of the

miscellaneous French inscriptions mentioned above were

composed for windows, not paintings.

Sculpture and Relief

The titles for church decorations of carved wood and
stone or of molded metal must give meaning to what is often
a rather small or limited art work or, at the other extreme,
be applicable to the building as a whole. Their placement
is usually limited to entrance ornament or column within the
church.

An example of door inscription comes from St. Maximin
at Trier. The doors have vanished, but the inscriptions are
preserved. The monastery chapel door announced

> Hic defunctorum claudit locus ossa virorum
> Sit rex caelorum clemens animabus eorum
> Hi sunt felices in christo qui moriuntur
> Ego sum A et Ω

The doors of the summer and winter refectories had similar
titles:

> Lux ego sum mundi coelestis ianua vitae
> Qui me diligitis ad gaudea plena venite
> Sit pax intranti pax vera sit egredienti
> Ego sum resurrectio et vita

> Memor illarum tu qui transis animarum
> Quarum sunt ossa praesenti condita /fossa7
> Perpes iustorum stat gloria poena malorum
> Ego sum lux mundi[50]

Inscriptions on entrance architecture are variously
placed. Two stone lions guarded the entrance to S. Jakobs-
berg, near Mainz. Beneath them were a dedication and a com-
memorative epitaph for the church's founder:

> Anno millesimo decies quintoque salutis
> Dum Leo templum regnat Herricus imperium

> Autistes clarus Luipoldus condidit istud
> In Iacobi laudem laudabilisque Dei
>
> Praediolis amplis ditatum relligionis
>   mox benedictina tradidit hoc monachis
> Psallat ovans grex ergo Deo requiemque perennem
>   Implorat regni pro Luipoldo suo.[51]

On a porch column at S. Marie Maioris of Rome, in honor of

Eugenius III (+1153), who had the church built, is the follow-

ing:

> Tercius Eugenius Romanus papa benignus
>   Obtulit hoc munus virgo sacrata tibi
> Que mater <u>xpisti</u> fieri merito meruisti
>   Salva perpetua virginitate tibi
> Es via vita salus totius gloria mundi
>   Da veniam culpis virginitatis honor.[52]

The architrave of a portal at Sant' Angelo in Formis, near

Capua, founded by the active Desiderius of Monte Cassino,

informs us:

> Conscendes caelum, si te cognoveris ipsum
> Ut Desiderius, qui sacro flamine plenus
> Complendo legem deitati condidit aedem,
> Ut capiat fructum, qui finem nesciat ullam.[53]

Another dedicatory verse, whose placement is not known, comes

from a late twelfth century Spanish monastary, Santa Maria de

Belmonte:

> Hoc in honore Dei templum, Sanctaeque Mariae
> Virginis et Matris, Abbas Garsia peregit;
> Abbas insignis, prudens, discretus, honestus
> Extitit, in cunctis larga probitate modestus,
> Dedicat Ecclesiam Rodericus Pastor Oveti;
> Ad cuius veniunt populi solemnia laeti.
> Abbates, clerus, saeculares, sexus uterque
> Conveniunt sacri celebrantes gaudia templi.
>   Era ducentena post mille XXV[54]

The lintel inscription of Genis-des-Fontaines, in southern

France, the oldest dated work of French Romanesque sculpture,

tells of founding in the fourth year of Robert II's reign,

that is, in 1020-21.[55] I cannot tell from the photographs
which I have seen whether it is prose or poetry.

Above the door was the tympanum, an arch which in both
Romanesque and Gothic structures frequently held sculptured
figures or relief. At the basilica of Monte Cassino, built
by the indefatigable Desiderius, that of the main portal,
sometimes called the triumphal arch, held a simple dedica-
tion:

> Ut duce te patria iustis potiatur adepta
> Hinc Desiderius pater hanc tibi condidit aulam[56]

Another triumphal arch, that of the Jakob-Schotten church
at Regensburg, built at the end of the twelfth century, shows
a crucifixion scene in sculptured wood, with a small lamb at
Christ's feet (Plate III). The title, renewed but probably
in the original wording, comments on the scene:
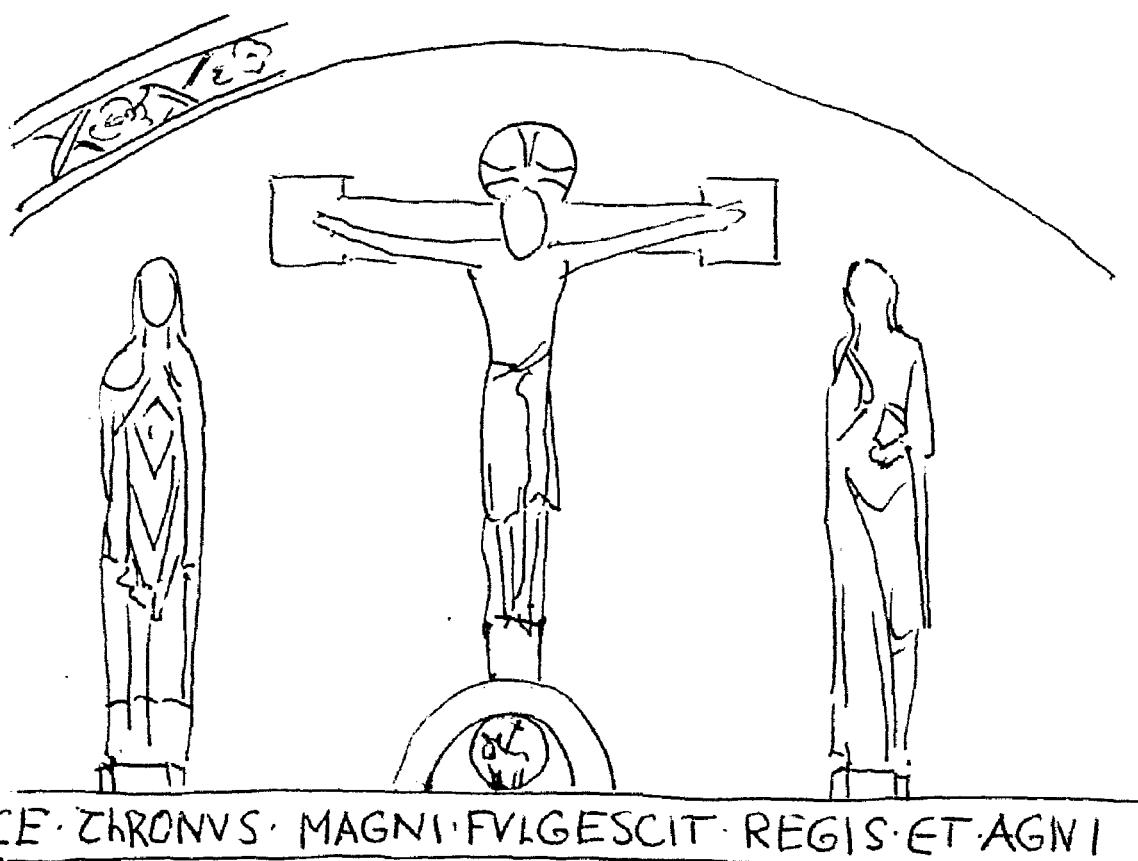
> Ecce thronus magni fulgescit regis et agni[57]

A Strassburg church of about the same date shows on the tym-
panum of the north transept the adoration of the Magi, their
return home, and David playing a harp. Commentary is written
on the arch above:

> Suscipe trine Deus que fert tria dona Sabeus
> nec tibi qui dederit dona beatus erit
> Auro donantis virtusque probatur amantis
> In mirra bona spes thure beata fides[58]

The tympanum of the pilgrims' church of Sainte Foy, at Conques,
built between 1035 and 1200, shows a much grander scene, a
Last Judgment with eighty-four figures, framed and twined
with bands of explanatory text, part of it verse, part simple
names and short phrases.[59]

PLATE III

Triumphal arch, Jakob-Schotten church, Regensburg

Copied after illustration in
Wolfram von den Steinen, *Homo Caelestis: Das Wort der Kunst im Mittelalter*, II (Bern, 1965), 219.

Most titled sculptures are for entrances, but not all. In Cluny III, built about 1080, there were eight columns in the ambulatory, that is, in the walk circling the apse back of the high altar. Still in place in 1823, they were moved to a museum when the apse was destroyed toward the end of the nineteenth century.[60] Each column had a capital with four faces. Three capitals bore titles; all were carved with complicated patterns of human and floral motifs. Columns numbered two and eight presented the first and last four tones of planesong. Column six showed two views of Prudence and two seasons. The planesong columns stood toward the ends of the semicircular row; the others, in the center, somewhat to the right of a viewer from the nave. Capital two, that for the first four tones, models four musicians playing various instruments, each inclosed in a mandorla bearing a carved hexameter explanation:

> Hic tonus orditur modulamina musica primus
>
> Subsequitur ptongus numero vel lege secundus
>
> Tertius impingit Xpmque resurgere fingit
>
> Succedit quartus simulans in carmine planctus[61]

Capital six shows somewhat the same design, again with figures in mandorlas. Some of its inscriptions are cut, others only painted, perhaps incorrectly, suggesting that the column was placed before the capital had been completely finished:

> Dat cognoscendum Prudentia quid sit agendum
>
> Spicas fervens quas decoquit Aestas
>
> Ver primos flores primos producit odores

Dat nos monendum Prudentia quid sit agendum[62]

The column for the last four tones carries scrolls and fig-
ures banded with a ribbon of verse:

Ostendit quintus quam sit quisquis tumet imus

Si cupis affectum pietatis respice sextum

Insinuat flatum cum donis septimus almum

Octavus sanctos omnes docet esse beatos[63]

The full significance of the planesong titles has been lost,
except for that of the eighth tone, which is known to have
been used for the Beatitudes. The basic symbolism of both
verse and sculpture lies in the balanced quaternities, given
fuller expression in the other untitled columns, blending
songs, seasons, virtues to express correspondences between
the physical world and the world of the spirit.

B. Titles of Church Furnishings

Objects of Veneration

Most important of all objects within the church, and
most frequently inscribed, were the crosses. IHS or one of
the longer traditional prose inscriptions was a normal fea-
ture of crosses in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, placed
on a small plaque or on the rood itself above the head of
Christ. Epigrammatic inscriptions could be written beneath
it, on plaques at the arms, or on the base beneath. A typi-
cal example is one by Baudry of Bourgueil:

Nec deus est, nec homo, praesens quam cernis imago,
Sed deus est et homo, quem sacra figurat imago.[64]

At least thirteen cross titles appear in the Tegernsee Letter

Book.[65] Eight are by Ellinger, the eleventh century abbot,

written as a series:

1. Rex sic celorum peccata luit famulorum,
   Nunc servi meditentur, ob hoc que premia dentur.

2. Mortem damnavit sic, qui nos vivificavit,
   Ne sint ingrati, laudent hunc vivificati.

3. Mundi peccamen deleverat hoc cruciamen,
   Grates salvati referant tante pietati.

4. Nostrum peccatum sint istum per cruciatum,
   Ex hoc credentes Iesum benedicite gentes.

5. Nos Deus in ligno revocavit ab hoste maligno;
   Donec vivamus, grates sibi semper agamus.

6. Omnia sorte crucis, Deus, ad te secula ducis,
   Non cesset mundus te glorificare rotundus.

7. Per famuli mortem Deus hanc subit in cruce sortem,
   Servus cognoscat, Dominusᶜque premia poscat.

8. Hostis seduxit nos, sed mors ista reduxit,
   Christo salvatum det grates omne creatum.[66]

Comparable to these are the single titles of Peter Damian.[67]

Sometimes, titles present Christ speaking:

Sic cruce tollo crucem, moriens de morte triumpho,
   Vivificans hominem mortificatus homo.
Gratia mandata praescribit, forma figurae,
   Res signo, morti vita, corona jugo.[68]

On other occasions, the inscription tells about the artist.

In the cathedral of Sarzana (Liguria), for example, a more

than life-sized cross of 1138, richly carved and painted,

announces in an inscription just below the IHS:

Anno milleno centeno ter quoque deno
   octavo pinxit Guilliem et hec metra finxit[69]

Here we have the rare assurance that the artist was also the

title writer.

When a cross contained relics, it was apt to be quite

elaborate. A typical example is the reliquary cross from St.
Blasien, a Benedictine abbey near Baden. The cross itself
is made of wood, with small hollows in the wood for the
relics. The face is covered with gold, ornamented with gems,
pictures, and inscriptions. The four animal evangelists are
featured in box-like structures at the four terminals; in
the center is a mandorla of Christ in glory. Names and prose
commentary, giving information about the pictures and en-
closed relics, go around the outer edges of the cross.
Around the central mandorla is an epigram:

> Christe dator viae quem laudant omnia rite
> premia digna para reparatis in crucis ara

At the top, on the medalion of St. John, the eagle, is a
note about the giver:

> Clauditur hic digni crucis alme portio ligni
> Pannonici regis dedit uxor hac Adilheidis

Queen Adelheid was the wife of King Ladislaus of Pannonia;
she gave the cross to the monastery in 1077. At the foot of
the cross, another inscription reveals the name of the abbot
who received it:

> Dominus Guntheris Abbas paitrauit hanc crucem[70]

A somewhat similar reliquary cross at Speyer[71] shows a dif-
ferent arrangement. Around the edge is a four-line poem;
a two-line one is written on the back. The cross title by
Embrico, Bishop of Augsburg (+1077), advises that Hoc crucis
. . . fieri pater Embrico fecit, and refers to the splendor
of its ornamentation; it has, however, no specific reference
to relics.[72]

Not all the cross inscriptions which have survived were placed on free-standing crosses. I have already quoted one from a tympanum from Regensburg. Others were for church walls where the cross was pictured.[73] Some may have been designed for quite other uses. Reiner of Liège tells the following anecdote of confession in his Lacrymarum:

> Absolutionem proinde fecit, benedictionem dedit,
> hos mihi versiculos consolanter ingerens:

> Pectus habe castum nec erit phantasma nocivum
> Vis flammae nulla, si tollantur sibi ligna[74]

Benediction this is, not remarkably different from the many written by Ekkehard IV, but the final ligna and the length suggest that it might have found a place on a cross, had anyone wished to use it for that purpose.

In addition to cross reliquaries there were other types, often of strange shape. Some had poetic inscriptions. Perhaps typical is the shrine of Paschal II, at Conques, made about 1100 (see above, Plate II). There may be a poem at the base, though I cannot read it from the illustration. On the front is a crucifixion scene, with sun and moon, Mary and John. Froumund of Tegernsee's series of six one-line titles, destined for objects unknown, are for what must have been a quite similar scene:

> Hic tibi ceu natus, mater, famuletur amatus.

> Serviat hic natus pro me tibi, mater, amatus.

> Hęc celebs mater tua sit, castissime frater.

> Matrem curandi dantur precepta Iohanni.

> Dilecte matri, frater, da federa nati.

Discipulus matri deserviat in vice nati.[75]

A reliquary of the true cross from Tongres' Notre Dame, made about 1180, is a box-like structure (Plate IV). The opening on the cover displays two angels. It is surrounded by two rectangles of verse and one of pictured bishops. In the inner rectangle the verse reads,

> Hoc salvatoris tibi Tongris pignus amoris
> Legia dat lignum cunctis venerabile signum

We may judge the reliquary itself was made in Liège. The outer inscription tells about the bishops:
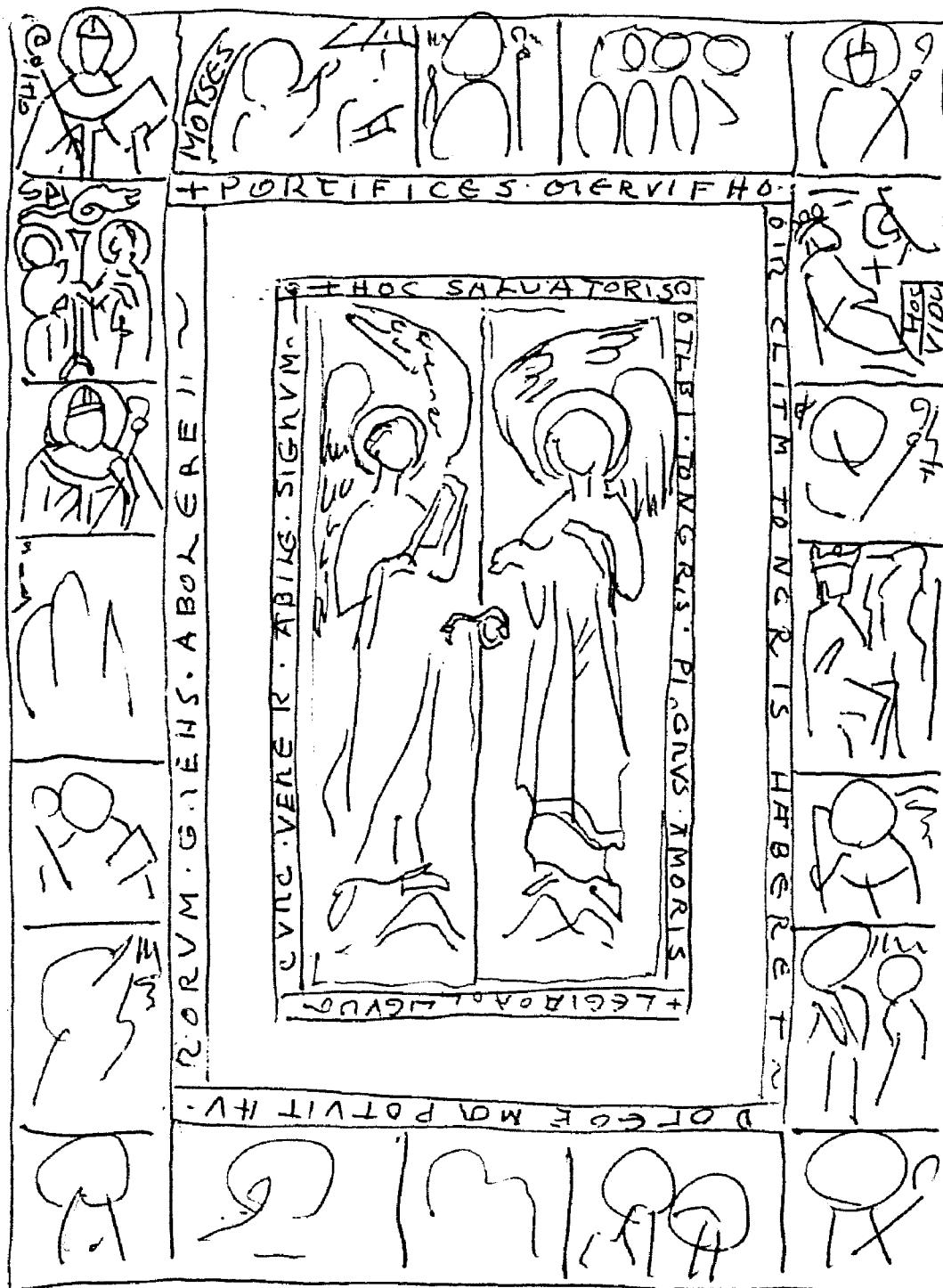
> Pontifices meruit hos inclita Tongris habere
> Donec eam potuit Hunnorum gens abolere.[76]

The reference is to an invasion of the ninth century which destroyed the church and forced a shift of the episcopal seat to Liège. The capsa containing relics of St. Steven which Empress Beatrix (+1104) gave to Speyer cathedral was round or crown-shaped, with poem inscribed on rim and center.[77] A twelfth century disk reliquary, from Hessen, gives a variation of Romans IX, 15-16:

> Currere currentis non est nec velle volentis
> Neutrum credentis, sed utrumque dei miserentis[78]

Larger and more ornate is the shrine of St. Hadelin, from the twelfth century, at the church of Saint Martin in Visé. Made of gilded silver, it is shaped like a long, slant-roofed house (Plate V). On each side are four bas-relief scenes from the saint's life, with a little poem of explanation distributed above and below each scene. The first scene of one side shows "the miracle of the spring":

PLATE IV

Reliquary of the true cross,
Notre Dame, Tongres

Copied from illustration in
Suzanne Collon-Gevaert et al., Art Roman dans la vallée
de la Meuse aux XIe et XIIe siècles (Bruxelles, 1962),
p. 249.

PLATE V

SHRINE OF ST. HADELIN, 12TH CENTURY
CHURCH OF SAINT-MARTIN AT VISÉ, NEAR LIÈGE.

COPIED FROM ILLUSTRATION IN

GEORGES DUBY, THE MAKING OF THE CHRISTIAN WEST, p. 105.

> Mens orat munda rec fit
> Mora proselit unda

The second, the healing of a mute woman:

> Corde preces solvit
> Lingue vincla resolvit

The last two present death and burial:

> Iam defuncta manum tedit
> Non sit tibi vanum
>
> It felix anima sursum
> cum corpus ad ima[79]

A verse encircles the five-sided end, beginning on the left:

> Belliger insignis tibi sic basilis cum set aspis
> Subdolus atque leo subeunt rex in cruce passo
> Dominus potens in prelio[80]

The artist found it inconvenient to break the hexameters at the caesura. On the end, he places what would be the lemma of the poem, if written in a book, at the bottom.

Closely related to the reliquaries and shrines are the tombs of medieval churches. One omitted from the discussion of epitaph above is that of Rudolf of Schwabia, mortally wounded in a battle against Henry IV and buried in Merseburg in 1080. His tomb has a bronze cover-plate (Plate VI). In the center is his full-length portrait; around the edge is a poem:

> Rex hoc Roudulfus patrum pro lege peremptus
> Plorandus merito conditur in tumulo.
> Rex illi similis, si regnet tempore pacis,
> Consilio gladio non fuit a Karolo.
> Qua vice res viruit, hic sacra victima belli--
> Mors sibi vita fuit--ecclesiae cecidit.[81]

The artist had plenty of room for the inscription, and some to spare. Memorial verses might also be inscribed elsewhere

PLATE VI

Bronze cover-plate,
tomb of Rudolf of
Schwabia, Merseburg

Copied after illustration in
Wolfram von den Steinen,
Homo Caelestis, II, 92.

than on the actual tomb. One for a certain Gervais appears
on the chest of a copper deer.[82]

The central altar of the church, sometimes called the
cross altar, was less apt to be inscribed with verse than
might be expected. Perhaps a number of the cross titles listed
above were for that altar. There are a few examples of main
altar inscriptions, however, which are not directly concerned
with the cross. A gold altar frontal from Basel cathedral,
made about the first quarter of the eleventh century, shows
Christ flanked on either side by angels and saints (Plate VII).
An inscription runs above and beneath:

> Quis sicut Hel Fortis Medicus Soter Benedictus
> Prospice terrigenas clemens mediator usias[83]

The five names of the first line, linked by rapportati to the
words beneath, typify the five figures.

Another altar inscription is given by Guido of Bazoches
in a letter to his mother telling of the bishops of Châlons-
sur-Marne:

> Hoc etiam nobilissimus contemporalium virtutum
> titulis et privilegiis gratiarum Haimo tricessimus
> /bishop 1151 to 1153/ et septimus ab his episcopus
> breviter et elegantissime comprehendit duobus ver-
> siculis in tabula principalis altaris, continente
> sex eorum imagines depictes, auro scintillante
> descriptis. Horum versuum primus tres primos
> exprimens ita dicit:
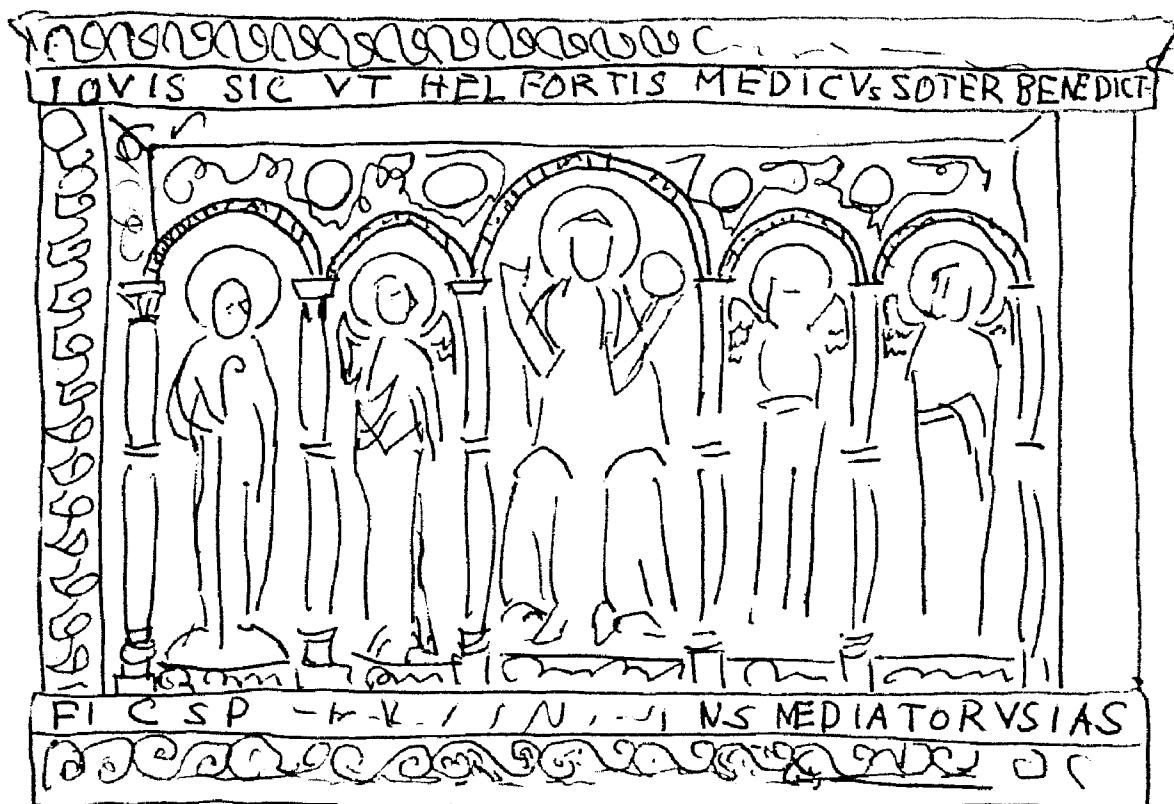
> Hii fidei nostre plantatio prima fuere

> Secundus tres subsequentes ita distinguit:

> Hi fidei plantam virtutibus excoluere.[84]

Possibly for a lesser altar is Baudry of Bourgueil's title
for an altar stone.[85] Baudry also wrote a poem for the table of

PLATE VII

Gold altar frontal from Basel Cathedral, first quarter of
the 11th Century.   Musée de Cluny, Paris.

Copied after illustration in
Georges Duby, <u>The Making of the Christian West</u>, p. 37.

the mass, apparently not intended for inscription.[86] Reginald of Canterbury's nine eulogies of saints associated with St. Austin's,[87] comparable to altar inscriptions popular in Carolingian times, could conceivably be designed for placement on side altars or in chapels associated with tombs.

Objects of Ritual and Convenience
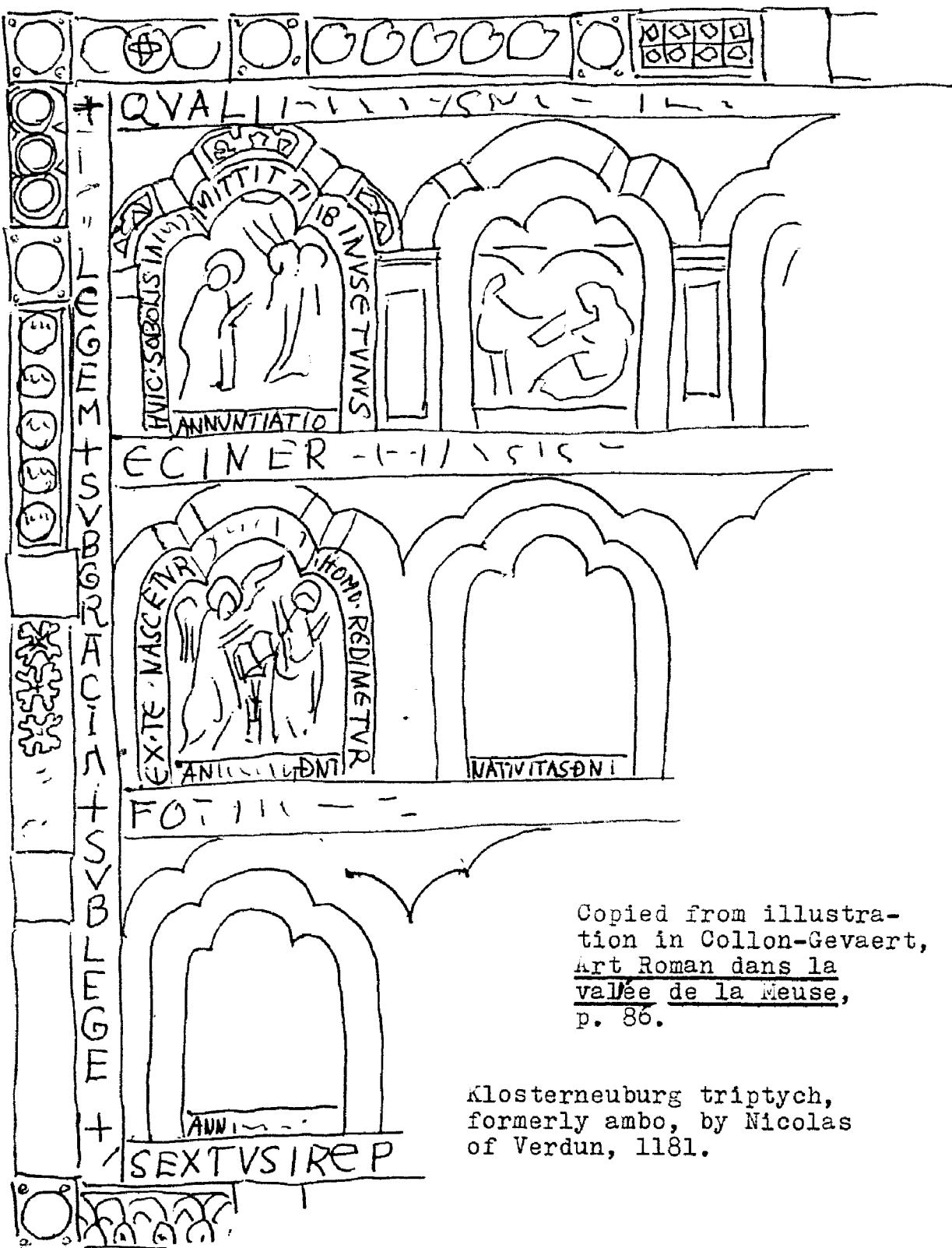
The work-a-day furnishings of the church also had their titles. Gerald of Wales wrote an inscription for a stall.[88] Reginald of Canterbury turned his talents to the whole choir. Two of his titles seem to be intended for placement on the ends of the choir stall; others are for seat backs.[89] Another inscribed seat of note is the episcopal throne of Helias, archbishop of Bari and Canosa. It is a marble one, supported by kneeling humanoid figures, rather than the more typical Romanesque animals, with the inscription running around the rim of the seat:

Inclitus atque bonus sedet hac in sede patronus
Presul Barinus Helias et Canusimus[90]

Pope Urban II gave it to Helias in 1098; it was placed in the abbey of San Nicola de Bari, where Helias was formerly abbot.

More glorious than this was an ambo, a raised pulpit with stairs, decorated with enamelled copper by the artist Nicolas of Verdun in 1181 (Plates VIII and IX). It had been commissioned by Wernher, sixth prior of the Augustin abbey at Klosterneuburg, for use in the church there. After a fire in 1320, the pulpit was transformed into a triptych by goldworkers of Vienne. As one art critic has commented,

PLATE VIII

Copied from illustration in Collon-Gevaert, Art Roman dans la vallée de la Meuse, p. 86.

Klosterneuburg triptych, formerly ambo, by Nicolas of Verdun, 1181.

PLATE IX

Detail, Klosterneuburg triptych

Copied from illustration in
Collon-Gevaert, Art Roman dans
la vallée de la Meuse, p. 255.

<u>C'est une sorte de sermon en émail qui se déroule sous nos</u>

<u>yeux. L'orfèvre émailleur n'est ici que l'auxiliaire du</u>

<u>prédicateur dont il enregistre la parole</u>.[91]   In its present

form, the work presents three types of inscriptions.   Running

in four evenly spaced bands horizontally is the following poem:

> Qualiter etatum sacra consona sint peraratum
> cernis in hoc opere mundi primordia quere
> limite sub primo sunt umbre legi in imo;
> inter utrumque situm dat tempus gracia tritum
> que prius obscura vates cecinere figura
> esse dedit pura nova factoris genitura
> vim per divinam veniens reparare ruinam
> que per serpentem dejecit utrumque parentem,
> si pensas juste legis mandata vetuste;
> ostentata foris retinent nil pene decoris
> unde patet vere quia legis forma fuere,
> quam tribuit mundo pietas divina secundo
> anno milleno centeno septuageno
> nec non undeno Gweherus corde sereno
> sextus prepositus tibi virgo Maria dicavit,
> quod Nicolaus opus Virdunensis fabricavit.
> Christo milleno ter centeno vigenono
> prepositus Stephanus de Syrendorf generatus
> hoc opus auratum tulit hoc tabulis renovatum
> ab crucis altari de structura tabulari
> que prius annexa fuit ambonique reflexa.[92]

Parts of the poem may have been salvaged or copied from the

original pulpit, though most of it is obviously fourteenth

century work.   Dividing the triptych vertically into three

sections, the central one broader than the side ones, are

the vertical inscriptions, repeated in six columns:

Ante legem + sub gracia + sub lege

At present, the triptych is composed of fifty-one

pictures, each enclosed within an architecturally inspired

arch.   At the bottom of each picture is a title; inscribed

around each arch is a hexameter line.   The pictures are

arranged in three horizontal rows; the center row, <u>sub</u>

gracia, gives episodes from the life of Christ; the upper
row, ante legem, takes scenes from Biblical history prior to
the establishment of the Ten Commandments; the bottom row,
sub lege, covers the remainder of the Old Testament. The
Old Testament episodes are not taken in Biblical order, but
chosen for their typology. The first four files record the
birth of Christ: annunciation, nativity, circumcision and
gifts of the magi. Isaac and Sampson are chosen as types in
the first three files, Abraham and the Queen of Sheba in the
fourth. The upper picture of this file shows Abraham giving
Melchisedech what looks like a bowl of fruit; servants and a
small flock are in the background:

<div align="center">Abraham Melchisedech</div>

<div align="center">Victor Abram regum decimavit singula rerum[93]</div>

Reference is to Genesis XIV, 20, where Abraham gives the king
of Salem, who has blessed him after battle, a tenth of all
things. The middle picture in the file shows the three
kings, Mary, and the Christ Child:

<div align="center">Tres magi cum donis</div>

<div align="center">Mistica dona dant deo reges tres tria vero[94]</div>

Here the reference is to Matthew II, 11. The bottom picture
is of Solomon, the Queen of Sheba, and two servants with
gifts:

<div align="center">Regina Saba</div>

<div align="center">Misticat in donis regina fidem Salomonis[95]</div>

The story is given in III Kings, X, 1-10.

The middle section of the work shows the baptism and

events of passion week, with Isaac and Sampson abandoned for
more obvious types. Eve lifts fruit from the tree above the
scene of deposition in what may be an addition by the Vienne
goldsmiths; Joseph in the cistern and Jonas in the whale are
joined with a picture of the sepulchre. The section ends
with the Agnus paschalis, showing Christ arising from the
tomb, after the Destructio inferni of the previous file. The
last four files are devoted to the ascension, descent of the
Holy Spirit, Apocalypse, and Last Judgment. In the last two,
the themes of the upper and lower pictures are from the Apoca-
lypse, not the Old Testament. Editors Karl Drexler and Thomas
Strommer believe two files from the central section were
added by the Vienne goldsmiths. The original lectern had
only forty-five pictures.[96]

In contrast to the inscriptions of this pulpit stands
that for another, at Parma, of about the same date:
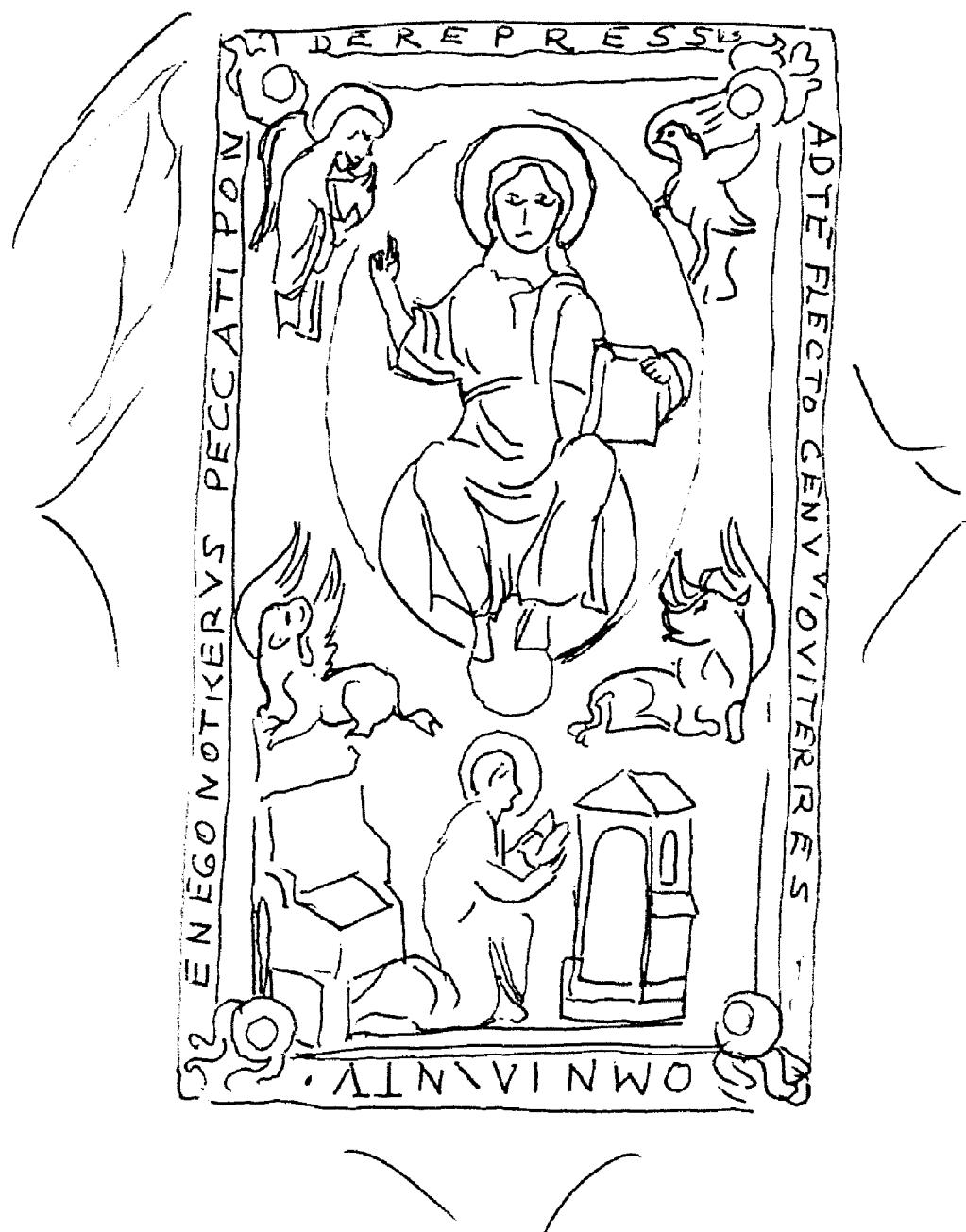
> Anno milleno centeno septuageno
> Octavo scultor patravit mense secundo
> Antelami dictus sculptor fuit hic benedictus[97]

This ambo, too, has disappeared; the marble reliefs and the
verse of Benedetto Antelami remain.

At pulpit and elsewhere, there were books. Often their
covers were ornate. The Notger Evangelary of the Curtius
Museum at Liège has a rectangular ivory plaque on its cover,
carved perhaps during the eleventh century (Plate X). Around
the edge:

> En ego Notkerus peccati pondere pressus
> Ad te flecto genus qui terres omnia nutu[98]

PLATE X

Ivory plaque of Notger Evangelary,
Curtius Museum, Liège. Eleventh century.

Copied from illustration in
Collon-Gevaert, Art Roman dans
la vallée de la Meuse, p. 163.

Notker, acting on a request of Otto I, had razed Chévremont castle and its three churches while he was bishop of Liège in the late tenth century. He is shown kneeling in front of his bishop's throne before a small shrine, a roll in his hand; the Christ in Judgment above his head does not seem particularly flexible, though his hand is raised in benediction; the surrounding gospel animals have looks of mute appeal. Quite different in conception is a book cover formed of pierced metal, formerly, too, from the valley of the Meuse but now at the Musée de Cluny in Paris. It presents the four rivers of paradise, Gyon, Phison, Tigris and Eufrates, as human figures pouring vases of water, surrounding and looking toward a meek lamb at their center. It was made during the second half of the twelfth century and may show influence from Cluny in the four-fold fusion of rivers and evangelists. At top and bottom, the rivers are named. Running from bottom to top up each side are two verses:

Fons paradisiacus per flumina quatuor exit

Hec quadriga levis te Christe per omnia vexit.

Around the lamb is a third title:

Carnale sanctus tulit agnus hic hostia factus[99]

A third cover title is again for a gospel, ornate with gold, silver, and ivory, given by Bishop Gottfried II (1164-1167) to Speyer cathedral. It declares:

Me Gotfrid sanctae praesul dedit ecce Mariae
Munere pro tali teneat pia gaudia coeli
Quo residet regum rex omni laude per aevum[100]

The care expended on the covers of these books and their

like reflects high regard for both content and givers.

Reading called for light. Chandelier inscriptions, for the large light in the nave, were especially popular in Germany during the eleventh century. To judge by Baudry of Bourgueil's epigrams on an English chandelier, which he calls a _rota_,[101] the lights were twelve-sided "circles," not branched, similar to the one that remains in the Carolingian cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle. All the chandelier inscriptions given in Kraus' collection are of twelve verses, or multiples thereof. The separate verses were probably inscribed between the twelve "towers," or corner lights, around the rim of the wheel. A typical example, for one of two ordered made by the abbot Poppo (+1084) at Trier:

```
Ista duodenis reserat sua praemia portis
Hoc totidem deicam perlustrat turribus aulam
Quae circumpositis rutilat decorata lucernis
Quae typicant animas fulgore superno choruscas
Hanc circum vigiles pinguntur quasque per artes
Muros Iherusalem domino statuente tenentes
Qui celebres laudes socia cum voce canentes
Magnificant numen Christi reboant quoque nomen
Suscipe summe Deus proprio de munere munus
Quod tibi devoto compensans pectore Poppo
Teque salutanti parva mercede Iohannes
Posco salutiferam Christo tribuente coronam.[102]
```

The word _corona_ was the usual term for such lights.

There must have been many other objects in the church which had, on occasion, an inscription in verse. Representative are baptismal vessels and bells. A bucket for baptismal water from Speyer shows the four evangelists, with animal heads, and the four rivers of paradise, as well as other figures (Plate XI). The inscription on the upper rim:

PLATE XI

Bucket for baptismal water, Speyer,
early twelfth century.

Copied from illustration in
Die Inschriften der Stadt Mainz von frühmittelalterlicher
Zeit bis 1650, ed. Fritz Viktor Arens and Konrad F. Bauer
(Stuttgart, 1963), p. 353.

> Bis binos quadruplum complentes dogmate mundum
> Designant totidem diffusa fluenta per orbem.

Lower, circling inscriptions read:

> Hoc Albane Deo qui vivis sanguine fuso
> Abbatis votum Berhtoldi suscipe tecum
> Huic infinite deposcens gaudia vite

On the arching handle:

> Haertwich erat factor et Snello mei fuit auctor[103]

The bucket comes from the early years of the twelfth century. Mention of the poet is unusual. Although there is nothing to confirm the suggestion, it would seem that a small verse included in an eleventh century French codex, along with a number of epitaphs and short epigrams, is also connected with baptism. Perhaps it was for a font:

> Paradisiaci fontes, animalia celi,
> Dant oculos cordi, virtutes quatuor orbi.[104]

Reiner of Liège's bell titles are labelled. The one is for a large church bell:

> Circa campanam
>
> Laude tua dignum Deus hoc sit fusile signum,
> Det populis monitus sacros advisere ritus.

The other, for the bell used during mass:

> Circa cymbalum
>
> Esurias, sitiasque Deum, qui vivere quaeris:
> Angelica satie mox fruiturus eris.[105]

Many of these little poems, detached from their object and preserved in manuscripts, took on a new life as didactic religious verse.

C. Miniature and Book Titles

Both miniature and book titles appear in codices, and both in some measure relate to the other contents of the volume in which they are held. Miniature titles have much in common with the titles of wall paintings; subjects differ, yet both have the support of pictorial art. Titles in unilluminated manuscripts, for the literary works themselves, lack this accompaniment. They are attuned, not to image and graphic structure, but to an author's ideas or a scribe's thoughts.

Miniature Tituli

The miniature epigrams which I have noted come primarily from northern Europe during the eleventh century. Reichenau furnishes two. One of these is in an evangelary, made about 1000, for one of five miniatures in the book.[1] St. Matthew is bent over a roll at a desk, framed by two pillars; the pillars support architrave and tympanum, with Christ and an angel, presumably Matthew in heaven (Plate XII). The poem is written on architrave and base:

> Prodit imago minor, quod sit substantia maior
> Fit caro iuncta deo, res praetitulante Matheo[2]

The architectural inspiration is typical of the Reichenau school. The imago minor would refer to the small picture at the top; the substantia maior, to the lower picture, representing the book of Matthew which in turn presents God Incarnate.[3] Another product of the Reichenau school, of about the same period, is from the Bamberg Apokalypse (Plate XIII).[4]
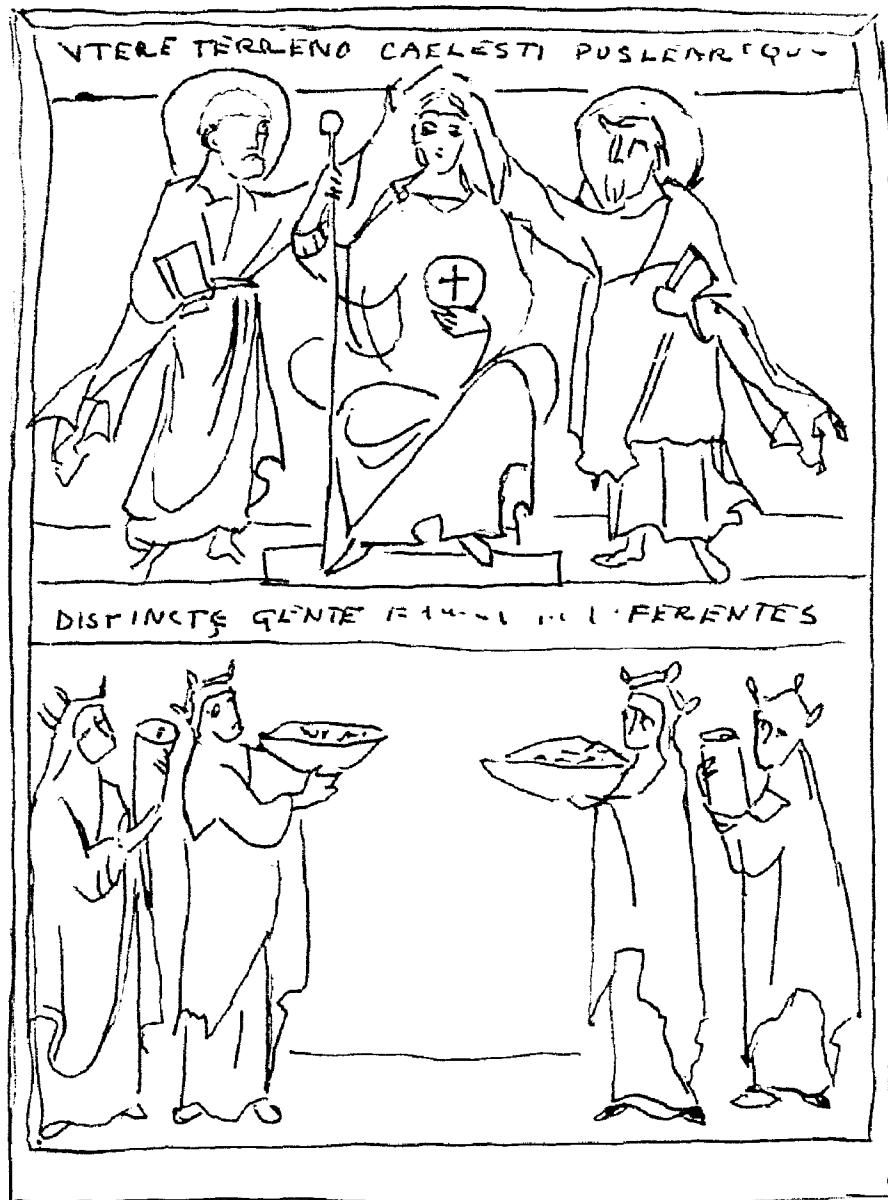
PLATE XII

Evangelary miniature, Reichenau, c. 1000.

Copied after illustration in
Wolfram von den Steinen,
Homo Caelestis, II, 158.

PLATE XII

Miniature, Bamberg Apokalypse
Reichenau school, c. 1000.

Copied after illustration in
Wolfram von den Steinen,
Homo Caelestis, II, 248.

It is a series of four related titles for the only two pages
of miniatures in the book. On each page are two balanced
pictures of human and allegorical figures, one above the
other, with hexameter verses over each picture. The upper
left frame shows the young Otto III (983-1002) being crowned
by Peter and Paul. This gives a strange turn to his title,
<u>servus apostolorum</u>:

Utere terreno, caelesti postea regno

In the picture below, Gaul, Germany, Italy and Slavonia
bring gifts in tribute:

Distincte gentes famulantur dona ferentes

The pictures on the next page show paired virtues trampling
on sins and leading varied males by the hand. One of them
is Otto III of the previous page, led by Penitance. The
upper picture suggests obedience and chastity as suitable
leaders:

Iussa dei complens, mundo sis corpore splendens

The lower picture presents penitance and patience:

Poeniteat culpae, quid sit patientia, disce[5]

The miniatures are addressed to a ruler, reminding him of
his power and recommending appropriate virtues.
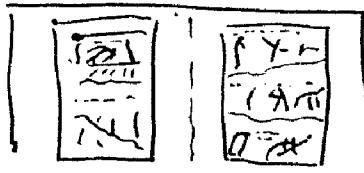
Another series of miniature titles comes from Echter-
nach. They are for a book designed about 1040 (Plate XIV).[6]
The pictures are animated, arranged somewhat like those of a
modern cartoon strip, with titles incorporated in the back-
ground of each episode. The subject is the parable of the
banquet, Luke XIV, 16-24. At the upper left the host and his

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PLATE XIV

Miniature, Echternach, c. 1040.

Copied after illustration in
Wolfram von den Steinen,
Homo Caelestis, II, p. 88.

servants set a table:

Ad cenam magnam vocat hic multos homo quidam

On the facing page, three of the invited guests excuse them-
selves. The first is hurrying to what looks like a small
town, the Biblical <u>villa</u>:

Excusas curte decepte cupidine villae

The second says,

Sunt michi quinque boum iuga quae nunc vado probatum

The third is riding off on a horse, with his wife side-saddle
on the crupper:

Uxorem duxi respondit tertius isti
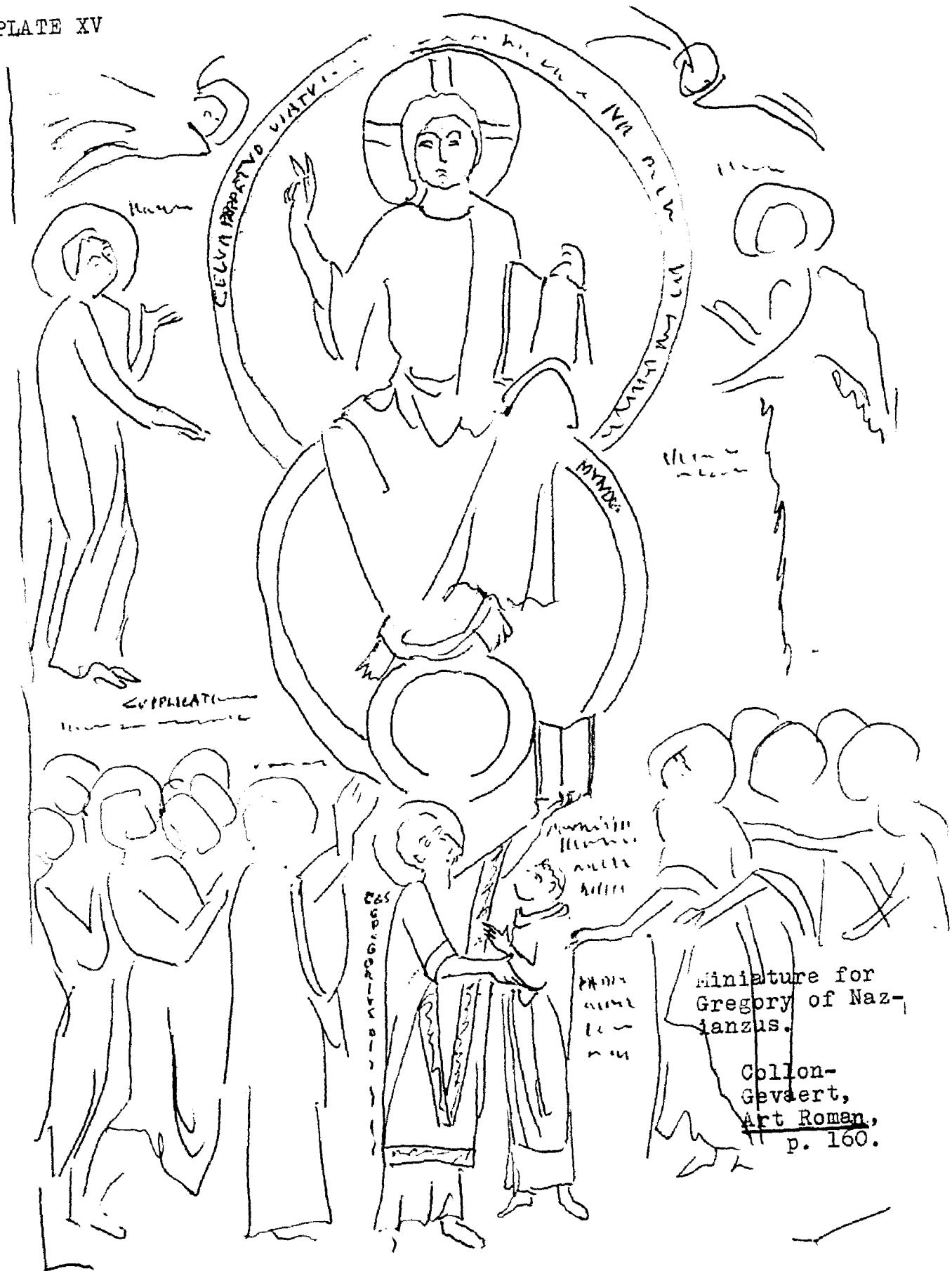
Returning again to the bottom picture on the left, we see the
sick men and laborers moving upwards, at the messenger's
request, toward the waiting table above them.

. . . necnon invitat egentes

Quite different from these titles are a set for a pen-
and-ink drawing in an eleventh century copy of Gregory of
Nazianzus' writing.[7] It resembles a southern apse mosaic.
Christ is in majesty surrounded by double mandorla, angels,
Mary, and John the Baptist; a crowd of suppliant saints and
a monk, the only figure lacking a halo, stand below (Plate
XV). The central characters below are Gregory and the monk.
Gregory's left hand holds up his book in offering, his right
holds the monk's arm. The monk folds his hands in prayer.
Beside them is the explanation:

Aufer huic sceletera /sic7 quot sunt hic grammata
                                              scripta
Postulat extensis Gregorius brachiis

PLATE XV

Miniature for
Gregory of Naz-
ianzus.

Collon-
Gevaert,
Art Roman,
p. 160.

The scribe, for so he is, wants his sins forgiven, as the
inscription at the top reveals:

> Qui dator es vitae, scriptori crimina parce

Angels, Mary, and John add their prayers:

> Angelus huic Gabriel subvenit et Raphael
> Poscit cum matre hoc baptisatum
> Huic miserere Deus
> > Supplicat huic precibus

Part of the mandorla also has a title:

> Celum perpetuto virtutis jure guberno
> Atque meis pedibus incurvat pondera mundas[8]

The hint of humor in this miniature lies primarily in
the titles. In a twelfth century evangelary from the abbey
of Averbode (Plate XVI),[9] it comes in the picture. The page
shows two scenes. Titles are written outside the stylized
frame at top, outer edge, and bottom of the page. In the
upper picture, an elongated Christ Child is viewed by ox and
ass, their heads extending above his manger. Care of the
child seems entrusted to two haloed males bearing inscribed
rolls. The one at the left declares, Puer natus est nobis.
Above, a host of angels hold up their hands in wonder.
Mary's absence in the scene above is perhaps explained by
the lower picture. She is in bed, resting on one elbow, a
rather stoic expression on her face. With her left hand,
she draws the covers tighter about her waist. Joseph is
seated on a chair at the foot of the bed, chin in left hand,
right hand shielding his already draped privities. His jaw
is set; he gazes into space reflectively. The titles are to
be read in the order of top, upper right, bottom, lower right:
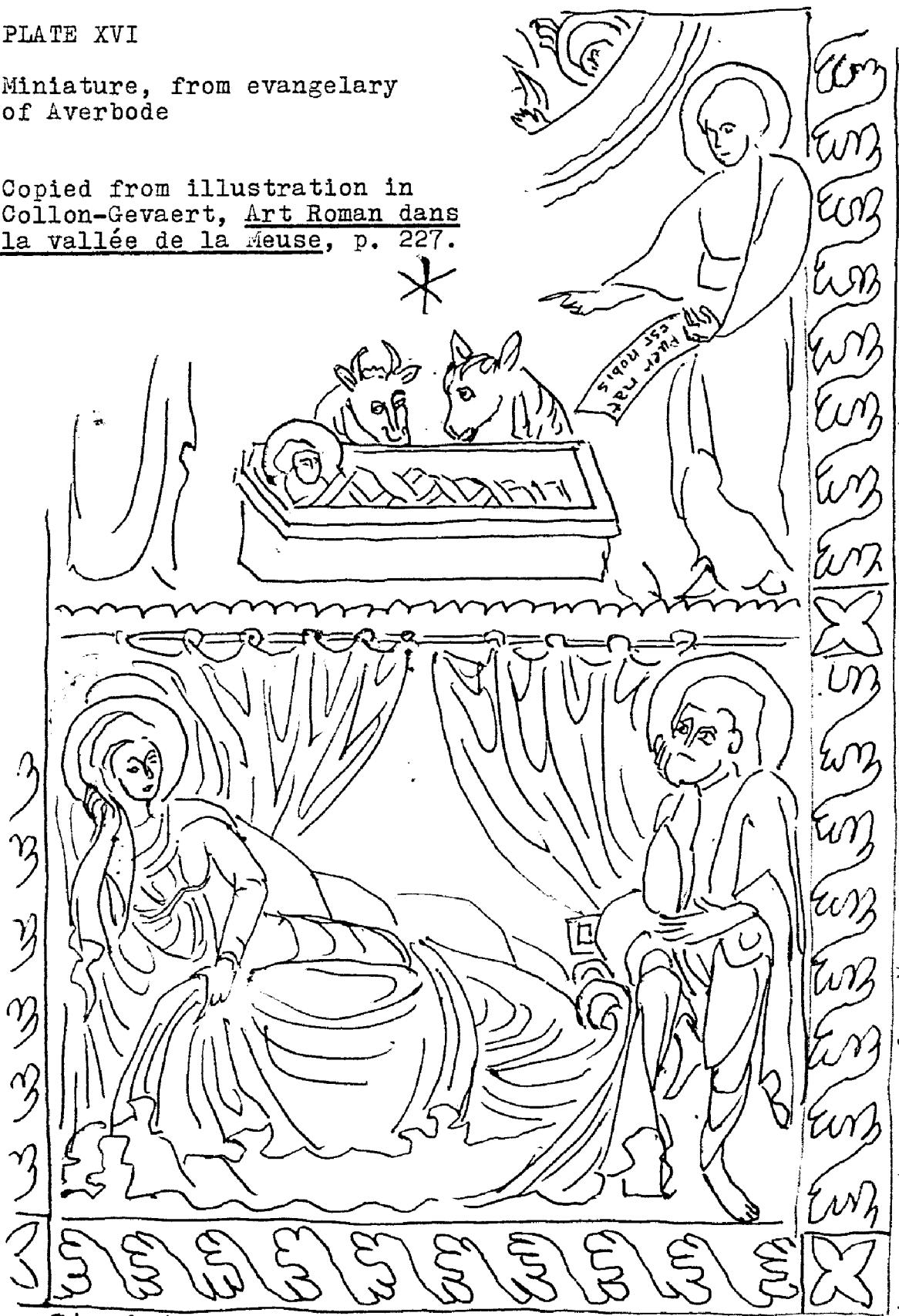
PLATE XVI

Miniature, from evangelary
of Averbode

Copied from illustration in
Collon-Gevaert, <u>Art Roman dans
la vallée de la Meuse</u>, p. 227.

> Quem celi cives venerantur in hoc homo dives
> Laudet amet regem bos et hanc praebet sibi legem
>
> Edit stella maris natum sine semine maris
> Virginis hic partus quum deus est homo factus

The animals look pleased.

Other miniature titles are for secular topics, such as fortune's wheel. A late eleventh or early twelfth century Monte Cassino copy of Boethius' _Arithmetica_ contains two such miniatures.[10] The first, without titles, shows four figures on a wheel; the upper figure holds a staff and a flower. The second miniature is quite similar in general construction, except that the upper figure wears a crown. He is entitled, _Regno._ At his side are the verses:
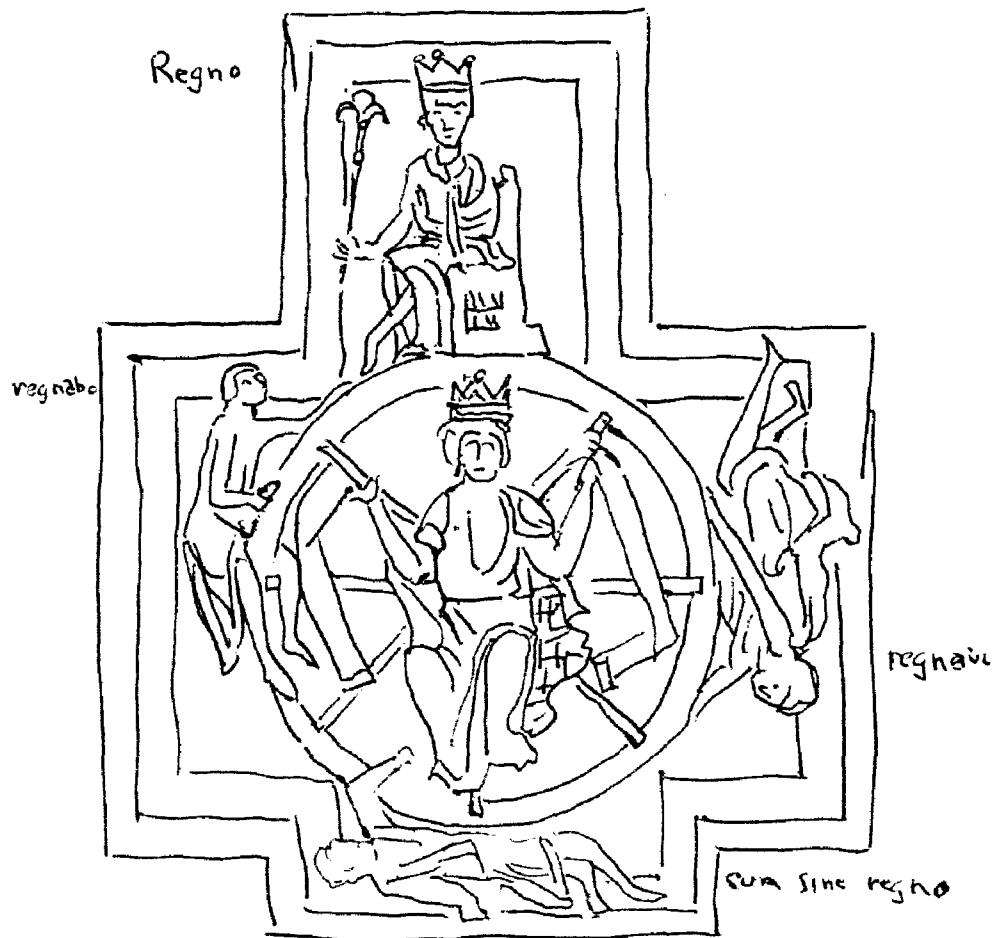
> Stas pater in summo; miserere iacentis in imo.
> Ecce per alterutrum vadit conversio rerum.

At his feet are the words: _Fortunium. Necessitas._ The figure at the right is falling; he is entitled, _Regnavi._ At the left comes the climbing figure, _Regnabo._ The bottom man is _Sum sine regno._ He also has a fuller inscription:

> O ridens animal sursum pete corde tribunal.
> Ante diem mortis patet haec mutatio sortis.

In the middle of the wheel are the words: _Prosperitas. Adversitas._[11] The two pictures in combination are forerunners of a more famous version, the first page of the _Carmina Burana_ (Plate XVII), written in the thirteenth century.[12] As Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann point out, the four titles of the kings are to be read clock-wise, beginning with _Regnabo_, to form a hexameter line. A similar twelfth century miniature shows Fortune and Sapience holding an eight-spoked

PLATE XVII

Wheel of Fortune, miniature from
Carmina Burana, thirteenth century.

Copied from illustration in
Carmina Burana, ed. Alfons Hilka and
Otto Schumann, I:1 (Heidelberg, 1930),
frontispiece.

wheel with the four kings (Plate XVIII).[13] The king at the left declares, rursum ad astra feror, the close of a pentameter line, indicating that this wheel is to be read from the top, giving a hopeful ending. The sides and bottom of the miniature also bear poetic titles.
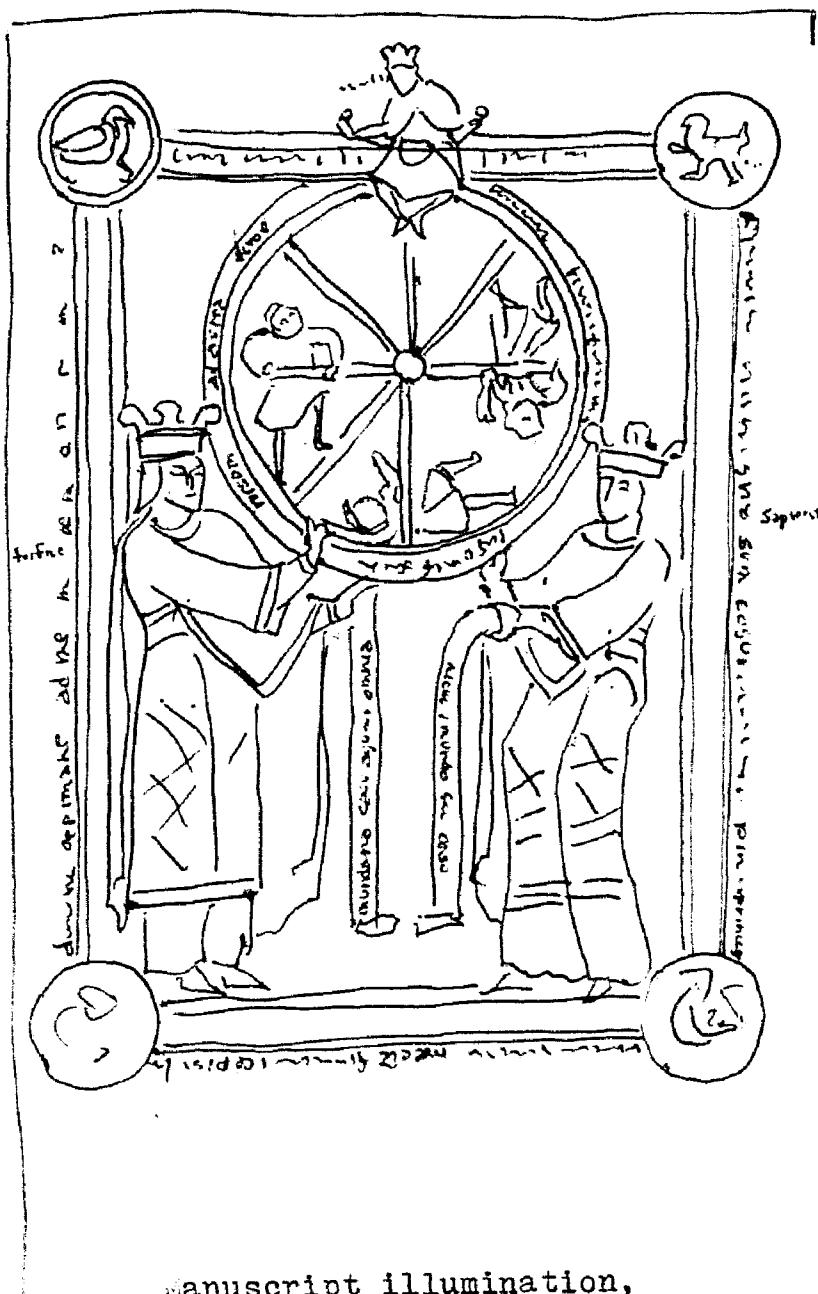
Book and Manuscript Titles

Although a number of miniature titles serve as commentary on the whole work to which they belong, they have a picture to aid in conveying the message. Manuscript inscriptions suffice without the picture. They are of two basic types: the poetic prologue and epilogue, which serve as explication of the book itself; and incipit and explicit, which tell scribe and reader where a particular book begins and ends.

Epigrammatic prologues and epilogues--called epigramma, titulus, and a number of other names in manuscripts--are normally written by a book's author to aid the reader with a summary and reference to major ideas. Reiner of Liège's De conflictu duorum ducum et animarium mirabile revelatione, being a difficult allegorical poem, is well provided with titles of this type.[14] The book begins with a forty-three line caudati hexameter Epigramma sequentio opusculi, addressed to the reader. Book I concludes with a somewhat shorter Epilogus, in reversed distichs, summarizing the allegory. Then comes a Prooemiolum libri secundi:

> Ecce cano pene vulgari singulari versu
> Atque tero plane levibus compendia Pyrgi:
> Quod memores tale tibi gratum carmen, amice.

PLATE XVIII

Manuscript illumination,
Fortune and Sapience, twelfth century.

Copied from illustration in
Howard R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna
in Mediaeval Literature (Cambridge,
Mass., 1927), opp. p. 112.

> Et quia jam pinxit stylus anteriore libello
> Quos pariant agapis fructus impendia sanctae:
> Nunc quoque quid valeant divinae mystica mensae
> Vinum cum pane, suppinget posteriore.
> Pertaesus nostrae si non eris ipse camenae,
> Gratum scribere erit, et nec scripsisse pigebat.[15]

This book concludes with another _Epilogus_, which begins:

> Haud equidem dubitat, quicunque viget ratione
> Omnicreatorem omnia posse.
> Pro libitu, pro consilio utitur ipse creatis,
> Quaqua flexerit, illa sequuntur.[16]

Although Reiner's interest in diverse forms is slightly unusual--he may have been inspired by Boethius or the metrical displays of Luxorius' book titles, preserved in the Salmasian codex[17]--his use of poetic titles is not. Reiner uses them again in his _De adventu reliquiarum S. Laurentii martyris Roma Leodeun_.[18] Benzo of Alba plays with varied approaches in his _Ad Heinricum IV_.[19] Epitaph collections, such as that of Fulcoius, had them. A title by Conrad of St. Nabor seems to be such a one:

> O Ratramne pater, venerabilis ore magister,
> Dulcis, care, decens, facunde, benigneque, prudens,
> Signifer in castris, civium dux tempora pacis,
> Virtutum fama vulgate per avia cuncta,
> Aspice nunc oculo quae sunt hic scripta sereno.
> Elige de multis, quos ad tumbam senioris
> Dilecti vobis et cunctis scribere possis.
> Si qua sonant lepide, placeant, pater alme;
> Duce quod resonant, hoc clausa silentia condant.
> O senior dulcis super omnia nectara mellis,
> Memet Cuonradum celso tibi sterno pusillum,
> Et rogo, sancte pater, quo non est sanctior alter,
> Ut cum finieris versus non valde politos,
> Discas corde bono: Qui fecit vivat in almo. Amen.[20]

Serlo of Wilton's _De primis sillabis_ is given an epigrammatic title.[21] So, too, are several prose monastic documents, the _Praefationes ad Chartarum Farfnese_, of 1092, by a monk

Gregory,[22] and the discipline of that order, composed about 1093 by the abbot Guido.[23]

Related to these book titles are the short metric verses St. Anselm used infrequently to begin chapters of his prayers and meditations[24] and epigrammatic letter introductions and conclusions, such as the following which Guido of Bazoches, on his way to the crusade of 1190, gave in farewell to his nephew Rainaud:

Iam quia vela volant, vos ut volumus valeatis,
Utque placere Deo valeamus, vota feratis.[25]

Such verses are also quite closely related to the epigrammatic benedictions.

Epigrammatic incipits and explicits, like their plain prose relatives, have a practical function: they clearly indicate where a work begins and ends. Usually they tell the author of the work and sometimes the title. But they have other, more endearing, traits, as well. An incipit title from works by St. Anselm of Lucca (+1086), possibly of late date, gives considerable biographic information, probably to prevent confusion of this saint with his more famous name-sake from Canterbury:

In Trinitatis nomine
Sanctae et individuae
Incipit hinc feliciter
Istius libri series;
Quem scilicet ex Italia
Anselmus, quique pontifex
Lucanae fuit Ecclesiae,
Vir prudens ac catholicus,
In Christi fide fervidus
Carpsit ex toto canonum
Et Patrum sanctorum corpore.[26]

The Norman chronicler William of Apulia gives a personal turn to his explicit closing Book Five of _De rebus Normannorum_:

Nostra, Rogere, tibi cognoscis carmina scribi
Mente tibi laeta studuit parere poeta:
Semper et auctores hilares meruere datores;
Tu duce Romano dux dignior Octaviano,
Sis mihi, quaeso, boni spes, ut fuit ille Maroni.
Finis.[27]

Those who worked in scriptoriums must have been peculiarly well aware of the danger of losing beginning and end of a work. As might be expected, scribes seem to have written a number of their own incipits and explicits. A scribe at Abdinghof, in the eleventh century, began his book with an eye to its preservation:

Liber sancti Petri et Pauli in Patherbrune.
Pax seruanti, maledictio tollenti, amen.[28]

An Italian, also of the eleventh century, borrowed an idea from Alcuin[29] to congratulate the reader on reaching the end:

Naufragus ut medio qui gurgite forte laborat,
Mercibus amissis prendere litus amat;
Sic huius metam lector tetigisse libelli
Gratatur, tamquam magno sit pondere liber.[30]

Perhaps he is trying to suggest that the book, though a long one, seems to him fragmentary or corrupt. From Hautmont's scriptorium comes an unambiguous sigh of relief from the third scribe who worked on a single manuscript:

Huic libro lecto tres insudasse videbis
Et cujusque manum scrutando notare valebis.
Ejus principium sulcavit cura Iohannis,
Bocrensis monachus qui primis crevit ab annis,
Sorsque sequens cessit tibi, Cellensis Rainere,
Nec permissus es hic dum perficeres remanere.
His succedente Jacobo scriptore recente,
Est liber expletus: sit scriptor in ethere letus![31]

The Hautmont scribes, who are responsible for a number of extant codex titles, may have lost their labor on this poem: it now appears, not at the end, as we would expect from the last line, but at the beginning of William of Malmesbury's Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium.[32] Beyond their utility, however, these little manuscript inscriptions add a certain charm to the work they accompany, reminding the reader that the book he enjoys is the product of an individual's care, training, and labor.

D. Secular Titles

Now and again, the buildings and belongings of everyday life had titles, too. Guido of Bazoches quotes or perhaps composes a small poem for the Pons Magna at Paris:

> Densus, dives, emax, fervet, suspirat, abundat,
> Navigiis, opibus, mercibus, innumeris.
> Navigiis fervet, opibus suspirat, abundat
> mercibus: Ecce parem non habet iste locus.[33]

There is no direct evidence that the poem is an inscription, but its inclusion in what amounts to a travel guide of the city is suggestive of such a use. Guido's quoted auctoritas for the royal palace on the Isle-de-la-Cité could conceivably have been inscribed on wall or entrace:

> Hec est illa domus, Francorum gloria, quorum
> Perpetua laudes secula laude canent.
> Hec est illa domus, cuius ditione tenetur
> Gallia marte potens, Flandria dives opum.
> Hec est illa domus, cuius Burgundia sceptrum,
> Normanni imperium, Britones arma timent.[34]

Baudry of Bourgueil's two house inscriptions, included with his epitaphs,[35] have something in common with it. Both the

lemma of Baudry's title for a barn and the inclusion of the poem early in the manuscript, with other titles, mark it as one designed for practical use:

In horreo

Horrea nostra deus sufficientia /ditet/ . ...
Quae ditavit agros Faraonis et /horream/ set . . .[36]

Titles for household furnishings are equally scarce. A number have a religious tone. Baudry writes two for a travel bed, one for a table:

XXIII. In lecto itinerario

Hoc deus lecto pausanti proesul adesto.

XXIV. /De eodem/

In te pausemus, bone res, in te vigilemus
Nocte dieque tuos serva, deus, optime custos,
Qui tecum vigilant tecum dormire peroptant.[37]

CXCV. In mensa iteneraria

Quem mensae species invitat et allicit hujus,
Si conviva venis adhibe tibi sobrietatem,
Sobria verba decent et sobria mensa fidelem,
Sobrius ergo cibus tibi sit, sint sobria verba;
Christus edet tecum si Christum vivis edendo.[38]

Fulcoius of Beauvais also wrote a table title.[39] Gerald of Wales made a verse for his bookcase,[40] another for a walking staff. The latter has a lemma longer than the verse itself:

Baculus in capite cameratus ferroque
finali in pede furcatus, et tanquam
loquens introductus, baculique virtutes
varias et proprietates breviter et
efficaciter exsecutus.

Pes ego decrepitis, offensis virga, levamen
Fessus, obscuris orbita, furca focis.[41]

Froumund of Tegernsee wrote a title for his spoon. It seems to play on a slang meaning of coclearius,[42] used in reference

to cheats who drove men mad with love philtres:

Coclearius

Me vult in pingues Froumundus tinguere pultes.
Me primum fingens fictor sibi luserat in me.[43]

Further, there are two inscriptions for fly-swatters. One

may be a thirteenth century work[44]; the other is by Marbod:

Versus in flabello

Improba terretur muscarum turba flabello,
Quae gratis mensis esse molesta solet.
Esse molesta solet, cum dantur membra quieti,
Et quando legimus, esse molesta solet.
Esse molesta solet, cum scribimus, aut meditamur,
Atque modis aliis esse molesta solet.[45]

Sometimes inscribed objects came from the church, to be

given to laymen for their enjoyment. Fulk Rechin, Count of

Anjou (+1109), writes of receiving a golden flower from a

pope:

In fine cujus anni, . . . venit Andegavim papa ro-
manus Urbanus, et ammonuit gentem nostram ut
irent Jerusalem . . . Unde discedens Cenomannium
venit, et inde Turonum; ibique . . . coronatus
est, et cum sollemni processione . . . ad eccle-
siam beati Martini deductus, ubi mihi florem aureum
quem in manu gerebat donavit, quem ego etiam, ob
memoriam et amorem illius, in Osanna semper mihi
meisque successoribus deferendum constitui.[46]

Baudry of Bourgueil appears to have written a title for such

a flower:

De Rosa Aurea

Haec rosa pacis ut est non pax tamen ipsa figura
Sic est ipsa rosae, rosa non tamen ipsa figura
Nec rosa, nec pax est, magis est utriusque figura.[47]

The inscription of the verse on the flower mentioned by Fulk

Rechin is unlikely, though the poem is written as though it

were to be inscribed.

Another object with a poetic title is found in a dream, the dream that Baudry recounts of Countess Adela's bed chamber. It is for Medicine, one of the more important allegoric figures on the bed:

> Aegros curaret, morientis vivificaret,
>   Et trivisse simul hisque dedisse dies.
> Hanc igitur cernens ipsam prius esse putavi,
>   Donec ad hoc titulus me vocat appositus.
> Cura sagax etenim comitissae praecipientis
>   Hanc super effigiem composuit titulum:
> "Haec est de physica quae disputat ars medicina,
>   "Qua praeeunte magis corpora nostra valent."[48]

Although the room is filled with pictures and the bed ornamented by ten other personifications, she is the only figure identified with a poem.

Yet another secular inscription, possibly of the tenth or early eleventh century, comes from Wales. It is on a stone found in the fallen walls of an old parsonage house. On one side is the image of a man and woman standing under a tree or cross. The editor suggests they represent Adam and Eve. The inscription reads,

> Johannis Mordici surexit hunc lapidem.[49]

Here, resemblance to a pentameter line is probably accidental. Welchmen of the period as a rule preferred simple, factual prose. The purpose of the stone is unknown.

None of these secular titles offer any evidence for widespread popularity of epigrammatic inscriptions in either secular or daily monastic life. They do show, however, that a number of poets enjoyed writing titles for objects which customarily needed none.

CHAPTER V

DIDACTIC EPIGRAM

A.   Verse in the Schools

From the first, medieval schools taught religion and
the Latin language. Young scholars studied Donatus, the
Psalter, and the Catonic Distichs, the latter representing
their first introduction to classic literature.[1] They were
brought up in the trivium--grammar, rhetoric, dialectics--
and possibly the quadrivium--arithmetic, geometry, astronomy,
and music. Some went beyond these fundamentals to law,
medicine, or philosophy; others stayed where they had begun,
with the religion that justified the schools' existence. A
twelfth century writer from Champagne describes a student's
program in verse:

> Omnis vel tota cum sit tibi littera nota,
> Sillabica junge, lege, construe, fine remota.
> Artes, philosophos, auctores scire labora;
> Attendas vero que sunt in eis potiora.
> Artes auditas a limine quasque saluta,
> Has ut Sirenes fugias, non est mora tuta;
> Scire ipsas laus est, quas est addiscere sanctum.
> Gloria quanta libet quid erit, si gloria tantum?
> Esse sophus, per quod tu desinis, estne sophia?
> Per quod opinaris, est illud philosophia?
> Fabula quid confert tibi sive comedia leta,
> Sive tragedia tristes expromere sueta?
> Aut prodesse cupit, aut delectare poeta.
> Ennius emuerit Calabris in montibus hortos,
> Non modo metra juvant nostris in finibus ortos.
> Pagina divina sancta est anime medicina;
> Dat Galienus opes et sanctio Justi/ni/ana,
> Et Decreta Patrum, sed precipue Gratiana;
> In reliquis paleas et in istis collige grana.
> Quid tibi pre cunctis aliis rebus mage carum?
> Spiritus et corpus, servare hec non sit amarum.

Ergo Augustinum tu perlegis et Galienum,
Et sic utrumque servare potes per utrumque.[2]

The study of both law and medicine called for here is un-
usual, and the attitude toward secular literature is not
altogether typical of the age, as John of Salisbury's work
and a number of _florilegia_ show, yet the idealized program
serves to indicate some of the aims of twelfth century edu-
cation.

Another French epigrammatist, Marbod, prescribes the
young schoolboy's day:

Institutio pueri discipuli

Si praeceptorum superest tibi cura meorum,
Parce puer nugis, dum rus colo tempore frugis,
Praefigam metas, quales tua postulat aetas:
Quas si transgrederis, male de monitore mereris.
Contempto strato, summo te mane levato,
Facque legendo moram, quartam dum taxat /tardat/ ad
                                                horam.
Quinta sume cibum, vinum bibe, sed moderatum,
Et pransus, breviter dormi, vel lude parumper.
Postquam dormieris, sit mos tuus ut mediteris.
Quae meditatus eris tabulis dare ne pigriteris.
Quae dediscere spero quandoque videre.
Miseris huc quaedam, facies ut caetera credam.
Post haec, i lectum: cum legeris, ito comestum.
Post sumptas escas, si iam monet hora, quiescas.
Si tempus superest, post coenam ludere prodest.
Sub tali meta constat tibi tota diaeta.[3]

Idealized though it is, the day prescribed has its routine,
its important times for reading, and its pleasant intervals
for rest and play.

Epigrams can tell about school life. In the eleventh and
twelfth centuries, they were also an important part of that
life. School masters wrote them to provide the substance
of what was to be learned in an easily remembered form or to

illustrate a grammatical point or rhetorical figure. Students, too, turned to the form for exercise and amusement. The first epigrams students encountered in the schools were the proverbs, supplanting or supplementing the Catonic distichs. The eleventh century proverb writer, Othlonus, tells specifically of the proverb's utility in the prologue to his Libellus proverbiorum:

> Prouerbiorum autem hic collectorum dictis paruuli quilibet scholastici, si ita cuiquam placeat, possunt apte instrui post lectionem psalterii. Sunt enim multo breuioris et planioris sententiae quam illa fabulosa auiani dicta, sed et utiliora quam quaedam Catonis uerba; quae utraque omnes paene magistri legere solent ad prima puerorum documenta, non attendentes quia tam paruulis quam senioribus Christi potius quam gentilia rudimenta primitus sunt exhibenda, ut in his aliquatenus instructi postea saeculares litteras arti grammaticae congruas securius discant.[4]

The more advanced student enjoyed other types of epigrammatic verse. By some of them he fixed new words in mind, learned paradigms and grammatical constructions, became acquainted with rhetorical types and devices. Through others he absorbed a miscellany of facts and bits of learned lore from specialized fields such as medicine.

Much of this school verse found its way into some type of collection--the teacher's source book, the student's gathering from what he came across in his reading, the mature man's selection of favorit passages, the preacher's hord of sententia and illustration fit for sermon. The collections are of three principal types: the florilegia, the subject collections, and the epigram collections of individual authors.

Florilegia

The *florilegium*, a gathering of "flowers," is a typical manifestation of medieval learning, demonstrating habits of excerpting and classifying, serving as a repository of the best, with the works from which its verses come sometimes neglected or even lost. C. H. Talbot has given a just summary of its character:

> The *Florilegium* differs, on the one hand, from the collection of thoughts drawn up by an author as the distillation of his own personal creative activity and, on the other, from a collection of proverbs which reflect the wisdom of human experience handed down by oral tradition and which is for the most part anonymus; it is a kind of nosegay, a selection of the thoughts of other writers gathered together to suit the purposes of the compiler and reflects his aims, his interests and his prejudices. According to his prepossessions as a theologian, philosopher, ascetic or litterateur the excerpts he chooses will fall into one or other category and may be grouped either in alphabetical order or under the names of the authors from whom the excerpts have been drawn. Furthermore, the passages which attract his interest may be taken from either classical or Christian sources. Hence, the numerous kinds of *Florilegia* to be met with in all ages.[5]

Many come from the twelfth through fourteenth centuries, holding work of contemporary authors and of much earlier ones. Perhaps the majority are unedited and only briefly described, if at all, by modern scholars.

Representative of their general type and distribution are five mentioned by Barthélemy Hauréau in his *Notices et* the first three volumes of *extraits de quelques manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1890-1893). Most are relatively small, all are unpublished. In describing *Ancien Fonds 2417*,

written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, Hauréau
remarks that les dernières pages du volume sont occupées par
des vers mêlés.[6] The volume contains long works by Hugh
of St. Victor. Examination of the poems, apparently twenty-
two anonymous religious epigrams, might show if they are
written by Hugh's contemporaries or by later writers.
Ancien Fonds 3705,[7] devoted primarily to sermons of Peter
Comester and Peter of Poitiers, both twelfth century authors,
contains a double enclave consisting of the Proverbia Sene-
cae and a selection of assorted epigrams. The collection
appears to be designed for school use. Ancien Fonds 8433,[8]
from Angers, holds along with longer twelfth century works
two pages of moral sentences, didactic epigram of varied
sorts, songs with musical notation, and rhythms by Philippe
de Grève. Toute la fin du volume est occupée par des
poèmes longs ou courts et d'un mérite très inégal.[9] Some of
these Hauréau discusses, others he simply characterizes as
. . . des vers de toute provenance et n'ayant entre eux
aucun rapport: des maximes, des historiettes mal contées, des
énigmes . . . .[10] Describing Supplément Latin 9593,[11]
devoted primarily to works by Pierre le Chantre, from the
end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth,
Hauréau again comments, à fin du volume, des sentences, des
proverbes, soit en prose, soit en vers . . . .[12] A collec-
tion in Fonds de Saint Victor 14923,[13] is quite long: Du fol.
170 au fol. 311, une abondante compilation de préceptes, de

sentences, en vers, en prose, emprunts faits à des auteurs qui sont le plus souvent nommés. L'écriture en étant du XVe siècle, on ne peut s'étonner d'y rencontrer de fausses attributions.[14]

Other scholars, from time to time, note _florilegia_. W. Wattenbach, for example, in a journey through Steiermark, came upon two twelfth century Vorau codices with school collections.[15] Neither Hauréau nor Wattenbach pay much heed to their finds. Perhaps, indeed, the verse is poor, the selections repetitious or hard to identify, the thoughts hardly worth pondering. Yet someone, at some time, thought them important enough to copy.

As André Wilmart remarks, _Les recueils de cette sorte sont très nombreux. Beaucoup, en effect, paraissent avoir été formés pour des causes de pure utilité, principalement scolaires ou liturgiques._[16] The best known, he reminds us, is the _Carmina Burana_. That, indeed, has been published and studied extensively. Others, too, have been either published or carefully analyzed, usually because their topics are of interest to modern scholars or because they contain fragments or small poems by important authors. Edmond Faral, for example, analyzes and in part reproduces a school text of the early thirteenth century, now in Glasgow, because of its treatises on poetics and epigrammatic examples of rhetorical devices.[17] André Boutemy analyzes MS 1136 of the Arsenal library because it appears to give the most authentic version

of Peter Riga's _Floridus aspectus._[18]

Three important late twelfth century _florilegia_ from northern France and Belgium bring together a miscellany of contemporary verse. The Saint-Martin de Tournai _florilegium_, though unpublished in its entirety, has been well analyzed by André Boutemy.[19] Ten pages in length, it appears at the end of a volume devoted primarily to works by St. Bernard. Long poems on religious and sacramental subjects, such as Hildebert's _De sacramentis_,[20] begin the work; then come short verses: a series of epigrams by Godfrey of Winchester, unusual in a continental manuscript; Hildebert's _De exilio suo_; the epitaph of Adam of St. Victor; a versified life of St. Benedict; short verses directed against women, some of them excerpts from longer works; and a variegated series of epigrams, secular, satiric, religious, didactic. The Saint-Gatien _florilegium_,[21] written around 1175-1180, is much longer than the Saint Martin one, being 125 pages in length. It is somewhat similar in content. It, too, begins with long poems, then proceeds to . . . _une multitude de petits_ _vers_, mainly leonine, joined in a capricious manner; _epi-_ _taphes, épigrammes, proverbes, règles de grammaire, devin-_ _ettes, hexametres classiques demarqués, débris de l'Antholo-_ _gie latine_, for which there is _aucun sens en dehors d'une_ _tradition et d'une destination scolaires_ . . . .[22] It is of special importance as a repository of the small poems of Marbod and Hildebert. The third work, Saint-Omer 115,[23] of

about the same length and date, is even more complicated. It
not only has the usual farago of mixed epigrams, but also
notable collections by individual authors: Theobaldus'
Physiologus, a section of the Delicie clerici, two illus-
trated rhetorics, Marbod's Liber lapidum, a garbled version
of Peter Riga's Floridus aspectus, and Hildebert's Biblical
Epigrams, as well as longer poems such as Bernard of Cluny's
Contemptu mundi and Abelard's advice to Astralab. It also
contains proverbs excerpted from classic authors, arranged
in alphabetical order.[24]

The Florilegium morale Oxonense is of a different type.[25]
It is neatly divided into two parts. The first, Flores
philosophorum,[26] gives prose selections, mainly from Apu-
leius' De Platone et dogmate eius, reflecting Christian
Platonism. The second part, Flores auctorum,[27] holds excerpts
from the work of classic poets: Horace, Juvenal, Ovid,
Maximianus, Seneca the elder, Valerius Maximus. It also
contains classic proverbial material from the Catonic distichs,
Publilius Syrus, and the Proverbia philosophorum. The col-
lector, unlike most compilers of twelfth century classic
florilegia, appears to have read all of the original works
from which his selections are taken himself, although he
fails to identify his authors.[28] Talbot associates the work
with William of Conches' Moralium dogma philosophorum and
John of Salisbury's Policraticus, noting that the type of
selection is typical of the twelfth century but not of the

eleventh.[29] The selections are short, usually one to four
lines in legth, with some prose. They are of interest inso-
far as they and their like supplied models for the writing
of epigrammatic verse.

These collections offer the two extremes of _florilegia_
selection: mingled contemporary epigram and longer poems,
and epigrammatic excerpts from classic authors.[30] It is
quite possible that medieval school boys, attentive to moral
sententia and literary device, saw little distinction between
the two sources. The German _Florilegium Gottingense_, from
a codex written in 1366,[31] combines the two in a collection
of some 351 different entries, for the most part elegiac
distichs and hexameter couplets, mainly rhymed--sentences,
proverbs, and lore epigram excerpted from Horace, Juvenal,
Lucan, Tibullus, and Ovid, among the classics; from older
collections such as the Latin Anthology and the Catonic
distichs; from twelfth century authors such as Alanus of
Lille, Alexander Neckham, Egbert of Liège, Walter of Cha-
tillon, Matthieu of Vendome, Peter Riga; from later collec-
tions such as the _Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum_ and the
Carmina Burana.

The _Carmina Burana_[32] itself includes rhythmic poetry
and vernacular German verse, as well as conventional epi-
grams. It was compiled, apparently by a German, in the
thirteenth century. Although atypical, as far as content
is concerned, it came at a time when collecting was much in

fashion, some fifty years, more or less, after the _florilegia_ of northern France and Belgium were put together.

To judge by published _florilegia_, most which contain contemporary epigram and short school verse were compiled by Frenchmen toward the end of the twelfth century and after. I have seen mention of no eleventh century _florilegium_ with a variety of contemporary epigram.[32a] However, the twelfth century collections contain eleventh century work.

Subject Collections

Restricted in their content are the subject collections. Best known are those of proverbs. Although most of the proverb collections were composed by individual authors, who can in some cases be identified, they tended to change and vary with each recopying, and their moral, prudential subject matter can with some justice be labelled popular. Some of the collections known in the eleventh and twelfth century are quite old. The _Proverbia Senecae_, sayings from the plays of the first century B.C. mime Publilius Syrus, was made in the first century A.D.; it was known to Jerome. Later the collection broke up, and by the tenth century only sentences "A" through "N" were generally known. Thanks to the preservation of a complete Freising manuscript, an eleventh century compiler was able to reconstruct the whole, but in the process the name of the true author was lost.[33] Other early collections are the _Liber Senecae_, proverbs taken from Seneca's own work,[34] and the _DistichaCatonis_,[35] by an unknown

author of about the fourth century. The latter was in vogue during the Carolingian period and continued as a school text for many centuries, gathering additions and variations. By 1150 it has been translated into romance,[36] and new variations, mainly to be associated with the thirteenth century, were beginning to appear.[37] Other works, too, saw new dress during the period. The old Salomonis proverbia, for example, was turned into rhyming verse during the eleventh century.[38]

Wipo, Egbert of Liège, Othlonus, and Arnulfus are the most important writers of proverbs during the eleventh century; Serlo of Wilton produced a collection in the twelfth. Wipo, chaplain to Conrad III and tutor of his son Henry, may have taken his inspiration from St. Columban's Praecepta vivendi. He gathered his monostich moral advice into a unified collection of 100 verses entitled Proverbia . . . ad Heinricum regem filium Chuonradi imperatoris.[39] Egbert of Liège wrote Fecunda ratis,[40] divided into two parts, prora, with poetic reworking of Biblical axioms, and pupis, containing popular fables and satire as well as proverbs. It was meant for use in the schools. Arnulf, a French monk, concocted the somewhat similar Delicie cleri,[41] leonine monostich proverbs grouped into short titled sections. Later in the book a dialogue arises between the poeta and his libellus; beginning and end are marked with elaborate dedicatory sections for Emperor Henry III and his wife. As Ernst Voigt has pointed out, practically all of the proverbs are taken from the

Bible.[42] Othloh, schoolmaster and scribe at St. Emmeram,
draws on the same source for his Libellus proverbiorum.[43]
He was the first to arrange proverbs in alphabetic order.[44]
Serlo abandoned the Bible for his Proverbia, turning instead
to thirty vernacular sayings, for the most part French, for
each of which he gives one to four leonine monostich trans-
lations.[45]

Somewhat similar to the proverb collections were the
fable books, for they, too, held moral advice. The elegiac
fables of Avianus, living about 400, were introduced into
the Carolingian schools and, like the Catonic distichs, used
as a standard elementary text until the fifteenth century.[46]
During the late twelfth century new versions of Avianus and
of the prose Aesop's fables, in Latin verse, came into vogue.
Prominent are the fifty-eight Fables of Walter of England,
based on the prose Romulus; the Novus Aesopus, forty-two
fables attributed to Alexander Neckham; the Alter Aesopus,
by Baldo; and a Novus Avianus.[47] The earliest vernacular
fables, those of Marie de France, come from approximately the
same period.

Collections of lore epigrams are, again, usually by
individuals, though a few, such as the Flos medicinae,[48] a
thirteenth century compilation of epigrammatic medical lore,
are essentially limited florilegia, drawn from diverse sources.

Prominent among lore collections of the eleventh century
are Theobaldus' Physiologus metrice and Marbod's Liber

lapidum. The Physiologus[49] is simply a new Latin version of
the old Greek poem on beasts and their symbolic meanings. It
had already been translated into Latin verse in a version
used by Cassiodorus, Aldhelm, Isidore, and Bede which has
since disappeared. Whether Theobaldus, living about 1022-1035
at Monte Cassino, made use of the earlier translation is un-
known. His work is composed of a dozen sections, some in
hexameters, more in leonine distichs, a few in sapphic stro-
phes or adonics, each section about twenty-five lines long.
The Liber lapidum,[50] based on Isidore and Solinus,[51] tells
of the natural and magical qualities of approximately sixty
different stones in hexameter stanzas of varied length. It
was frequently copied and soon translated into vernaculars.

In the same vein are Odo of Meung's Macer floridus de
viribus herbarum,[52] hexameter verses on sixty-five herbs and
twelve medical remedies, written toward the first half of the
eleventh century, and Peter of Eboli's De balneis Puteo-
lanis,[53] of thirty-six sections, almost all of six distichs,
graced by numerous borrowings from Greek, on the thirty-
five locations of baths in the region of Pouzzoles. Both
works, like the Liber lapidum, in its way, may be considered
medical treatises. Peter of Eboli was, indeed, a physician.

Other collections feature linguistic and rhetorical
material. They fall into two types: those which gather
together lexical or grammatical mnemonic verse, and those
incorporating grammatical or rhetorical exempla. Typical of

of the first kind are the collections of <u>versus differenti-</u>
<u>ales</u>, monostichs contrasting homophones placed at caesura
and end. Most of these, such as the collections associated
with Serlo of Wilton's work,[54] are anonymous. The grammati-
cal and rhetorical exempla are gathered in twelfth century
handbooks such as Marbod's <u>De ornamentis verborum</u>,[55] which
mixes illustrations from the pseudo-Ciceronian <u>Ad Herennium</u>
with verses apparently of his own making; Matthew of Ven-
dôme's <u>Ars versificatoria</u>,[56] which also mixes borrowed exam-
ples with original illustrations, long and short; and the
anonymous rhetorical handbook, following the order of the <u>Ad</u>
<u>Herennium</u>, of the Saint Omer <u>florilegium</u>,[57] containing
eighty-one different terms, each with an illustration of
from two to four hexameter lines.

Author Collections

A majority of the collections mentioned above are the
work of a single author, a gathering of small poems on a
single topic similar to the epitaph collections. There were,
however, other types of collections by individual authors
which apparently featured epigrams of diverse nature. In
some manner, the epigrams and fugitive poems of living authors,
the single poems, the little clusters of poems, found their
way into the <u>florilegia</u>. Once they had gotten into one,
their appearance in others offers no particular mystery.
The question arises, however, how did they come from the
class room or the author's study into a <u>florilegium</u> in the

first place. Wilmart has put forward an interesting hypothesis, based on observation of "nesting," the common appearance of small enclaves of an author's minor verse in the florilegia.[58] He suggests that the poems were originally circulated during the author's lifetime, one by one or several at a time, to form diverse groups, before being swallowed up in the florilegia. This is to say that many of the florilegia poems, indeed all those that are not part of a subject collection, first saw publication in a letter or on a single parchment sheet or so, carried or sent from one individual to another, or from school to school. None of these initial gatherings remain, but they should still be taken into account in a survey of epigrammatic texts and collections.

Peter Riga brings the possibility of another method of transmission, as well, in the introduction to his Floridus aspectus. Addressing Samson, archbishop of Reims, to whom he dedicates his work, he says

> petis autem ut quidquid in versu ab antiquo, in quantum recolligere possum, elegantiori stylo praepollens uno volumine concludam, tuaeque devotioni transmittam. Factum est ut postulasti, et licet libellum istum nulla rhythmorum commendet jucunditas, pluribus tamen in locis (salva auctoris humilitate) sententiarum pondera, et verborum insignia poteris invenire . . .[59]

It is, of course, quite possible that the archbishop wished to have the epigrams for his own pleasure. Yet it is also possible, as the emphasis on "old" metric verse and inspirational topics suggests, that the bishop had specifically requested the collection for use as a school text. In

any event, that is what the _Floridus aspectus_ promptly be-
came, losing its identity through additions and revisions
almost at once in the late twelfth century _florilegia_.

B. School Epigram

Proverb and Fable

By and large, proverbs of the eleventh and twelfth
centuries may be categorized by length. Those one line in
length usually give instruction or warning concerning ethi-
cal, practical, and polite behavior. Those two lines in
length more generally give insight into typical human
behavior or reveal character traits of a certain kind of
person in a specific situation. They frequently contain a
dominant image or metaphor, and they are the usual type
attributed to known authors other than writers of monostich
collections. In some instances, they appear to be epigram-
matic fragments taken from a longer work.

Wipo's hundred _Proverbia_ have a distinctive style. They
are rhythmic, not metric, monostichs, with a strong caesura
and hemistichs tied by contrast or parallelism of thought,
by rhyme, by alliteration and assonance, and by grammatical
construction, as can be noted in the following six proverbs
which begin the collection:

> Decet regem discere legem.
> Audiat rex, quod praecipit lex.
> Legem servare est regnare.
> Notitia litterarum lux est animarum.
> Saepius offendit, qui lumen non adtendit.
> Qui habet scientiam, ornat sententiam.[1]

The proverbs are grouped in clusters of three on topics such

as wisdom, humility, clemency, benevolence and other virtues
particularly suited to a ruler.

Other proverbs in Wipo's style are anonymous:

Bene incepisse est fere absolvisse.[2]

Bene parere est imperare.[3]

Beneficii commemoratio est exprobratio.[4]

Many of the rhymed Salomonis proverbia also follow the same
pattern:

Sapientie principium, habent timentes dominum.

Doctrinam patris audiat, qui legem seruare cogitat.

Qui uult animam seruare, legem debet obseruare.[5]

All of these appear to be German works of about the same
period, that is, of the early eleventh century. Whether
Wipo's proverbs or the rhymed Proverbs of Solomon came first
is a matter open to question.

About twenty-five of Peter Damian's short metric works
are proverbial. However, they do not resemble the Germanic
proverbs of the same period. Most have lemmas, which indi-
cate Peter thought of them as epigrams. And, although many
are monostichs, they tend to take subjects which are more
typical of the two-line proverbs, foreshadowing those of
known French writers a half-century later. The following are
representative:

XXII. Quod melius est, ut scribaris rex in
ferro quam servus in auro.

Elige rex ferro quam scribi seruus in auro;
Clarior in casula rex est quam seruus in aula.[6]

LXXXIV. De stercore turdi fit viscus,
unde turdus ipse capitur

Podice digeritur, pede quo turdela tenetur.[7]

LXXXIX. Quod plerique casti sunt tenaces

Vix opibus largum uideas et corpore castum.[8]

Many have a strong religious orientation, but few are based

on Biblical passages.

Othlonus, Arnulf, and Egbert relied heavily on the

Bible. Othlonus' proverbs are frequently precise quotations;

not all are verse:

Apprehendite disciplinam, ne quando irascatur
    Dominus, et pereatis de uia iusta.
Arta et angusta uia est quae ducit ad uitam.
Anima quae peccaverit ipsa morietur.[9]

Arnulf's, from the <u>Delicie cleri</u>, are grouped in pairs

gathered into somewhat unified paragraphs:

Erudit ignarum patris sapientia natum

Verba patris, fili, non surdis auribus audi:
Recta revelantem maternam suscipe legem.
Principium vere domini formido sophie:
Crimina pellentis documen predisce timoris.
Si sapiens vivas tibi maxime commodus extas:
Vis fatuus fieri tibi fers incommoda soli.
Custos omnimoda cor inservabis opella:
Morte carens uita iusto coalescit in archa.
Indolis eximie puber conaberis esse:
Qualis pubescit docilis pubenda senescit.[10]

The pairing of thoughts is a reflection of Biblical poetics.

Egbert of Liège's proverbs, from the <u>Prora</u> of <u>Fecunda Ratis</u>,

are somewhat similar.

Serlo of Wilton, a century later, takes vernacular pro-

verbs for translation:

Ki meuz ne pot a sa veille se dort.

Pars anus una thori, cum posse caret meliori.
Cui non posse datur melius, vetule sociatur.
Qui meliora nequid, vetule dat basia que quit.[11]

Ceo que oill ne veit quer ne dout.
þat einen ne sen, herte ne reut.

Cor non tristatur pro re, cum non videatur.[12]

Other monostich proverbs come from anonymous collections.

An Oxford manuscript, for example, gives the following:

Aula privatus sis, si vis esse beatus.

Aule vitet onus, qui cupit esse bonus.

Aulam desere, qui vis pia facta sequi.

Aulis exstat is, qui nomen amat pietatis.[13]

These could have been written, perhaps as part of an elegiac
poem, by a single writer. However, not all series of pro-
verbs wherein each line begins with a repeated key word are
the work of one person. The scattered lines may have been
brought together by some compiler, in the manner of the
Carmina Burana selection on invidia:

I.   Invidus invidia comburitur intus et extra

II. Invidus alterius rebus macrescit opimis.
     Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
     ..aius tormentum, qui non moderabitur ire,
     Infectum volet esse, dolor quod suaserit aut mens.

III. Invidiosus ego, non invidus esse laboro.

IV. Iustius invidia nichil est, que protinus ipsos
     Corripit auctores excruciatque suos.

V.   Invidiam nimio cultu vitare memento.[14]

Here, the second selection is from Horace (Ep. 1, 2, 57-60);

the fourth is cited by Jerome; the fifth is Catonic distich

2, 13, 1. The remaining two verses, the first and third
entry, might have been written for the occasion to give a
leonine rhyming framework.

Many of the anonymous monostich proverbs which appear to
be compositions of the twelfth century are simple hexameter
or pentameter verses with leonine rhyme and alliteration or
similar rhetorical colors. The following might be considered
representative:

> Amne canem mina, grates aget ira canina.[15]
>
> Amnis et annus abit, semper sapientia stabit.[16]
>
> Alterius non sit, qui suus esse potest.[17]
>
> Bis dat, qui cito dat, non ergo datum mora rodat.[18]

Their similarity may be better observed by comparing them
with monostichs, possibly of a similar date but more proba-
bly early, mixed in with the genuine proverbs of Publilius
Syrus in a thirteenth century London manuscript:

> Amicus raro acquiritur, cito amittitur.
>
> Beneficii accepti numquam obliviscaris, dati cito.[19]

Although their subject matter is much the same as that of the
others, and the antithesis, too, is similar, the sound is
less smooth, and the meter is basically the iambic trimeter
of the Publilius Syrus proverbs. A prose proverb of the
same London manuscript picks up the usual alliteration:

> Beata mens, que perfecta vicit hoc vitium et nec
> adulatur aliquando nec adulanti credit.[20]

Two-line proverbs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries
are apt to feature vivid imagery, the first person singular,

questions and answers, and metaphor. Their rhetorical vital-
ity may be due in part to the doubled number of possible
morphemes, but it also seems to indicate a greater associa-
tion of the form with traditional epigram. Human nature, not
morality, is their usual theme. The following are representa-
tive:

> Altius ut bullit, plus fervida funditur unda,
> Funditur in nihilum mens feritate tumens.[21]

> Aurem prebere plus approbo quam reticere,
> Quam vocis temere dispendia nulla cavere.[22]

> Angelus Anglicus est: tibi semper credere ius est:
> Cum tibi dicit "Ave!", non sua verba cave![23]

> Auro quid melius? Jaspis. Quid jaspide? Sensus.
> Sensu quid? Ratio. Quid ratione? Nihil.[24]

> Aurora flammea nimis perlucida diem obnubilat:
> Pueri sancitatis nimium pervicax leviter repedat.[25]

> Balnea cornici quid prosunt vel meretrici?
> Nec meretrix munda nec cornix alba fit unda.[26]

> Binis vel ternis miser est mus absque cavernis;
> Infelix mus est, qui non uno lare plus est.[27]

The second is based on a Biblical proverb, the fourth is in
imitation of an epigram attributed to Seneca. Four draw
parallels from natural and animal life. One is an extension
of the pun attributed to Pope Gregory. Such grounding in
popular thought marks them as proverbs, yet their witty anti-
theses link them as well with secular epigram.

Many of the known epigrammatists are credited with
proverbs, generally of the epigrammatic type, incorporated in
longer compositions. Usually it is difficult to determine if
the writer is quoting or composing them, or if he is even

consciously aware that the lines can be taken out of context
to become free-standing proverbs. Of course, a work such as
Hildebert's _De quatuor virtutibus vitae honestae_,[28] with its
reworking of classic, Biblical, and popular moral sentences,
rather clearly demonstrates that the author is both consciously
aware of his debts and ready to be in turn the victim of
excerpter, anthologizer, and plagarist.

Marbod is credited with numerous proverbs from his
longer works. Typical are six dealing with money and avarice
from _Liber de tribus inimicis_.[29] Most are similar to the
second one given here:

> Ambitus in vetitum more deflectit, et infra
> Posse suum quemquam non sinit esse reum.[30]

> Auro Crassus obit, auro ruit Amphiareus,
> Auro castra, duces, vis populique cadunt.[31]

Others appear as rhetorical exempla in the _Liber de ornamentis
verborum_. One, for example, illustrates _contrarium_:

> An metues egrum, quem sanum despiciebas?
> An soli cedes, qui quamplures superabas?[32]

Another shows _conjunctum_:

> Aut etas forme decus atterit aut valetudo.[33]

For the couplets on _aurum_, two possibilities offer: either
Marbod composed the whole poem, as it stands, or he inserted
in the poem a carefully gathered hord of current anonymous
proverbs on the topic. The former possibility seems most
likely, given the classic reference and the homogeneity of
the verses. Such arguments are not applicable to the _Liber
de ornamentis verborum_ illustrations. Other examples of

distichs in Marbod's poetry excerpted by writers and anthologizers are not hard to find, for his style is frequently proverbial. The monostich Proverbia Catonis included with his Carmina Varia II in the Patrologia Latina,[34] however, are not his.

Five other writers are frequently credited with proverbs from their longer works. Typical of Hildebert's are the following:

> Alterius vero nec scrutator curiosus,
> Nec, si delinquat, censor acerbus eris.[35]

> Aura nocens, maris unda tumens irataque pugna
> Non necat ad numerum, femina dira, tuum.[36]

Walter of Chatillon[37] is frequently quoted, as are Alexander Neckham,[38] who also quotes proverbial material, and Matthew of Vendôme.[39] Nigel de Longchamp's Speculum stultorum is also a popular proverbial source.[40] A more painstaking study than this of medieval proverbs would doubtless add a number of other poets to the ranks of those who furnished proverbs to later times through their longer poetic works.

Versified fables, like proverbs, taught prudential wisdom in a delightful way to beginning Latin students. Few are the original creations of their late twelfth century versifiers. A relatively short example of the type is De musca et calvo, attributed to Alexander Neckham:

> Musca caput calvi studio turbaverat acri;
> cui cedens calvus saepe fugarat eam.
> Musca levis ridens tanto magis hunc stimulabat,
> caedebat mutilum quo magis ille caput.
> Calvus ait: Quia me rides, me caedere cogis;
> multociens caedam quo semel intereas.

> Dixit, et instantem violento percutit ictu;
>   Attricta sanie sordida musca fuit.
> Hinc minimus discat non infestare potentem,
>   qui punit subito quod tulit ipse diu![41]

The story appears in both the Phaedrus (I.v.3) and Romulus

(I.ii.13) prose Aesop collections; it was also turned into

verse by Walter of England (XXXII). If the moral is removed,

the story lacks the witty ending but shows the concision and

rapid dialogue characteristic of secular anecdotal epigram.

With the moral, it has the double structure typical of other

epigrammatic types, such as the Biblical epigram. Other

versifiers of the fables, particularly Walter of England and

Baldo, expanded their material so that their versions, as a

rule, are not epigrammatic at all.

Lore Epigram

A medieval Spaniard wishing to learn the months of the

year with their astrological signs could memorize the follow-

ing poem:

De XII Mensibus

> Principium IANI sanccit tropicus capricornius.
> Mense NUME in medioe sol distat sidus aquari.
> Procedunt duplices in MARTIA tempora pisces.
> Respicis APRILES aries frixee kalendas.
> MAIUS a ienorei /sic/ miratur cornua tauri.
> IUNIUS equatos celo videt ire laconas.
> Solsticio ardentis cancri fert IULIUS astrum.
> AUGUSTUM mensem leo fervidus igne perurit.
> Sidere, virgo, tuo Bac/c/um SEPTIMBER op(p)imat.
> Aequat et OCTIMBER sementis tempore libram.
> Scorpius, ibernum precebs, iuvet ire NOVIMBREM.
> Termina/t/ architenens medio sua signa DECIMBRI.[42]

Such mnemonic reviews of miscellaneous information, the lore

epigrams, are almost always concerned with the physical

universe, although a few, discussed below among the religious
epigrams, also tell facts of Biblical history. Sometimes
the lore poems are utilitarian; more frequently, they are
reassuring or arcane, a possible source of comfort to those
looking for certainty or erudition. The subjects presented
give a curious insight into medieval interests. ..ost popular
of all are medical and beast epigrams, both of which can be
gathered in considerable number. In form, the lore epigrams
are short statements, similar to the proverbs, or lists of
varied length, similar to the poem above.

Some medical epigrams, such as those compiled in the
thirteenth century Flos medicinae,[43] from Salerno, may have
been specifically written for the professional medical stu-
dent. A number of other scattered works, too, have a learned
tone. A Spanish collection, for example, gives one on ana-
tomy, possibly inspired by the remarkable eleventh century
Italian dissection of a pig:

> In pede sunt porci viginti quatuor ossa,
> et bene si numeres, viginti quinque requires.[44]

Another, from France, tells of the signs of death:

De signis mortis

> His signis moriens certis cognoscitur eger:
> Fronte rubet primo, pedibus frigescit ab imo,
> Sponte sua plorans mortis prenuntiat horam,
> Anteventi pulsus decurrens prepete cursu;
> Inde supercilium deponit fine propinquum,
> Decidit et mentum, levus minuetur ocellus,
> Defugit et venter, nasus summo tenus albet.
> Vigilias iuvenis patitur si nocte dieque,
> Sique senex dormit, designat morte resolvi.[45]

The poem may be an excerpt from a longer medical treatis.

Insofar as it appears in the school verse collection of St.
Omer, we may suspect that knowledge of the signs of death
was considered of some use to even the layman.

Indeed, enjoyment of popular medical lore, as provided
by epigram, was shared by many outside the medical profession.
The clerics' practical observations of intercourse, for
example, gave rise to a body of sober verse such as the
following:

> Prima dies venae modicae sit provida cenae,
>   Laeta secunda dies, teriia tota quies.
> Prima cibum coitumque **sequens,**vetat altera lucem.[46]

> Si guttur transit Venus et sua puncta remansit
> Camphora per nares castrat odore mares.

> Castrat odorantem sine vulnere camphora amantem,
> Camphora castratum reddit sine vulnera corpus.[47]

> Kafara per nares: castratos reddit odores.
> Kafara castrantem: per nares reddit odorem.[48]

> Bachus cum Venere faciunt nos corde carere;
>   Enervant miserum cor Venus atque merum.[49]

> Susceptum semen sex primis, Petre, diebus
> Est quasi lac, reliquisque novem fit sanguis. At inde
> Id solidat duodena dies: bis nona deinceps
> Effigiat, tempusque sequens augmentat in ortum.[50]

Sleep, dream, bathing, and daily regimen also called for
comment and practical advice:

> Aut brevis aut nullus sit somnus meridianus.[51]

> Somnia proveniunt vacuis, plenisque vel illis,
> Quos deus alloquitur, vel ab hoste dolos patiuntur,
> Vel quibus, ut cupiunt, hic suggerit, ille revelat.
> Crapula, premeditatio, languor et humor abundans
> In somnis maculant: postrema duo sine culpa.[52]

> Balnea sudorem poscunt, frigere minutus,
>   Excitus a somno ludere, stare satur.[53]

In a later age, similar wisdom was to appeal to Chaucer's

Pertelote.

One might expect lore verse about animals to deal with the ordinary ones with which medievals came in contact, but such, as a general rule, was not the case. A list epigram from the Carmina Burana, for example, features many animals which European medievals would have known only through art, literature, and hearsay:

> Nomina paucarum sunt hic socianda ferarum.
> Sed leo sit primus, qui cunctarum basileus.
> Hunc panthera, tigris comitentur cum leopardus.
> Rhinoceros sevus comprenditur atque camelus.
> Hinc etiam validos elephantes iungo vel uros.
> Bubalus, alx, pardus velox nimiumque dromedus,
> Ursus, aper, cervus avide sumuntur in esus,
> Hinnulus et caprea, capricornus, simia, spinga,
> Lynx, lupus atque lepus, vulpes, vulpecula, melus,
> Tartarus et mygole, luter castor tabelusque,
> Mus, mustela, sorex, glis gliris hyenaque cimex.
> Copula spiriolum; reliquorum do tibi nullum.[54]

The poem's encyclopedic nature suggests it was composed primarily for the use of the literary artist seeking names, rhymes, or exotic allusions. Similar in intent, but with a latent moral, is a comparison of beasts with people:

> Nos sus auditu, lynx visu, simia gustu,
> Vultur odoratu, praecellit aranea cultu.[55]

In other verses, wit and practical observation are at work:

> Nec leo nec pardus, traho nomen ab his: leopardus.[56]

> Angelicas pennas pavo gerit et caput anguis,
> Ut fur incedit, clamorem demonis edit.[57]

> Binis pes porci, panis si deest, caro supplet.[58]

Each epigram has its own peculiar orientation, but behind them all stand the great bestiaries of the Middle Ages. The eleventh century bestiary writer, Theobaldus,

presents twelve animals in his <u>Physiologus</u>, the lion, eagle,
serpent, ant, fox, deer, spider, whale, siren, elephant,
turtledove, and panther. Most sections are of about twelve
leonine elegiac distichs; they interlace description and
moral commentary. His verse for the spider has an unusual
meter:

> Vermis aranea licet exiguus
> Plurima fila nectit assiduus
> Qui vivere solet his studiis
> Texere quae solet artificitus
> Sunt ea rethia musca tibi
> Ut volitans capiaris ibi
> Dulcis et utilis esca sibi
> Huic placet illud opus tenue
> Sed sibi nil valet, nam fragile
> Quaelibet aura trahit in patulum
> Rumpitur et cadit in nihilum
> Hos sequitur homo vermiculos
> Decipiendo suos inimicos
> Quos comedit faciens miseros
> Et placet sibi inde nimium
> Quando nocere potest alium
> Ille tamen vicium quandoque facit
> Cum moritur quasi tela cadit
> Quam modo dictus Aranea facit[59]

The poem for the serpent is in sapphic stanzas; that for the
turtledove, in adonics. The division of the poem into two
parts, descriptive and explanatory, is typical.

Marbod shapes his <u>Liber lapidum</u> entries on somewhat the
same model, beginning with a fairly factual description and
ending with a review of healing virtues. The epigram on
jasper is representative:

IV. De jaspide

> Jaspidis esse decem species septemque feruntur.
> Hic et multorum cognoscitur esse colorum,
> Et multis nosci perhibetur partibus orbis.
> Optimus in viridi translucentique colore,

> Et qui plus soleat virtutis habere probatur.
> Caste gestatus fugat et febres, et hydropem
> Appositusque juvat mulierem parturientem.
> Et tutamentum portanti creditur esse;
> Nam consecratus gratum facit atque potentem,
> Et sicut perhibent, phantasmata noxia pellit.
> Hujus in argento vis fortior esse putatur.[60]

In both the _Physiologus_ and the _Liber lapidum_, the sub-
jects are treated like the Biblical epigrams, reminding the
reader that the sensuous world should be understood as
allegory or as a beneficent power holding gifts known only
to the initiate. By the mid-twelfth century, the resultant
dichotomy is abandoned. Peter of Eboli's description of the
Sudatorium, for example, written about 1210, introduces a
thin narrative thread and limits itself to relatively factual
medical commentary:

> Absque liquore domus bene sudatoria dicta,
>   nam solo patiens aëre sudat homo.
> ante domum lacus est ranis plenusque colubris,
>   non fera, non pisces inveniuntur ibi.
> ingreditur si quis parvae testudinis umbram,
>   more nivis tactae corpora sole madent.
> evacuat chimos, leve corpus reddit, in ipso
>   quovis apposita est vase calescit aqua.
> haec aqua languentes restaurat, et ilia sanat,
>   ulcera desiccat sub cute, si qua latent.
> hac re Germanus, Capuae caput, aede repertum
>   ad sacra Paschasii pascua te retulit.[61]

The late twelfth century writer, Alexander Neckham, whose
De laudibus divinae sapientia[62] is a monster compendium of lore
epigram on all major phenomena of the physical world, shows
the type changed to a classic mold, dropping the dichotomies
established by fable and bestiary in his descriptions of birds
and animals and the similar two-part form in his descriptions
of stones:

En philomena novis modulis systemata frangit,
  Cui clemens verni temporis aura placet.
Tunc reddis volucri linguam, Vertumne, canoram,
  Quam bruma mutam Tereus esse jubet.
Nunc te dulcissonae laudat modulamine vocis,
  Terea clamosis increpat inde sonis.
Sollicitat teneras mentes malesuada voluptas,
  Quam dulci cantu Cypridis ales alit.
Insomnes noctes multi duxisse fatentur,
  Quos praeco Veneris frangere voce solet.
Sed philomena vetus juvenum demulceat aures,
  Dummodo psalterium sit philomena mihi.[63]

Jaspidis est species intenso grata virore,
  Fidum solamen partubus esse solet.
Lucet in argento scintillans gratius, artis
  Felici gemmae vis geminatur ope.[64]

Neckham's devotion to Martial, evident in the many quotations in his _De naturis rerum_,[65] may have prompted his new approach to lore topics.

Epigrams of astronomical lore are usually concerned with computing time and naming temporal sequences. The one on the months, quoted above, is so oriented. Another tells of the names for the sun as it progresses through the four quarters of the sky:

Acteon, Lampos, Erhthreus et Philogeus:
 Istis nominibus poterit spectare peritus
Quemque diem tantum tempus retinere quaternum.
Acteon primum Greci dicunt rubicundum:
Nam sol purpureum iam mane novo tenet ortum.
Post graditur Lampos, est qui cognomine fulgens:
Nam tunc splendorem sentimus sole micantem.
Ardens Erythreus sequitur, sic iure vocatus:
Est nam quisque dies medius fervore repletus.
Post hos extremus procedit tunc Philogeus,
Dictus amans terram, quod vespere tendit ad illam.
Nam vult occasum terris inducere certum.[66]

Still another tells of phases of the moon:

Viginti ter tresque dies, horasque quater ter,
Puncta duo, momenta nouem septemque minuta
Si denis athomis coniungas atque novenis,
Fit spatium quo se complet lunatio quaeque.[67]

Alexander Neckham gives one on hours of the day:

<p style="text-align:center">De viginti quatuor horis diei naturalis</p>

Si soli detur praesentis prima diei,
    Luna, tui juris prima sequentis erit.
Si causam quaeris, paucis tibi causa liquebit;
    Nonnunquam brevitas utilis esse solet.
Vendicat ergo dies horas sibi bis duodenas,
    Ut claudat luci nox sociata diem.
Has horas septem potes assignare planetis,
    Sic ut ditetur quisque planeta tribus,
Tres superesse vides, tribus has concede planetis,
    Sic potes incoeptum claudere rite diem.
Ergo cum primam Phoebus sibi vendicet horam,
    Imperio Veneris gaudeat hora sequens.
Tertia se debet Hermeti, quarta sorori
    Phoebi, sustineat quinta subesse seni.
Sexta Jovis sceptro gaudebit, septima Martis
    Horrebit clipeum, caetera nonne liquent?
Ergo, die Solis elapso, luce sequenti
    Ortus se debet, Cynthia, jure tibi.[68]

In _De laudibus divinae sapientiae_, he gives other epigrams
on the planets and related topics.

As a general rule, subjects of the quadrivium, excepting
astronomy, do not seem to have given rise to verse gathered
in _florilegia_. I have seen no epigram on either geometry or
music. One on mathematics may be from an earlier period
than the eleventh century; it appears in a twelfth century
manuscript as a preface to the _Ratio numerorum abaci_ of
Heriger, abbot of Lobbes (+1007):

<p style="text-align:center">Versus de nominibus caracterum
arabicorum ad abacum pertinentium</p>

Ordine primigeno nomen jam possidet Igin.
Andras ecce locum mox vindicat ipse secundum.
Ormis post numerus non compositus sibi primus.
Denique bis binos succedens indicat Arbas.
Significat quinos facto de nomine Quimas.
Exta tenet Caltis, perfecto nomine gaudens.
Zemis enim digne septeno fulget honore.
Octo beatificos Zemenias exprimit imos.

> Terque novant trinum Celentis nomine rihtmum.
> Insequitur Sipos, est qui rota nempe vocatus.[69]

Epigram on geography, legal proceedures, and alchemy may have
had their practitioners. They have, however, escaped my
notice.

Language Epigram

Designed for the student learning the Latin language
and traditional rhetoric are a variety of verses. Some
furnish mnemonic information about vocabulary and grammar;
others illustrate the flowers of rhetoric or serve as models
for rhetorical modes, such as description, complaint, and
the like.

The **versus differentiales**, perhaps the simplest type of
language epigram, are designed to prevent confusion between
similar words, particularly those which differ only in vowel
length. Serlo of Wilton's **Versus de differenciis** is a typical
collection. He arranges verses in alphabetic order according
to the words in question, which appear at caesura and end.
He makes no attempt to provide a thread of meaning which
might link each verse to its neighbor. His entry for the
letter "I" reads

> Expers esse _iugi_ Veneris nequeo prece _iugi_.
> Si curamus _idem_, duo non sumus, immo vir _idem_.
> Cum sit functus _Ytis_, quo vir, coniunx, soror _itis_?[70]

Scattered anonymous poems offer more complicated structures:

> Bello durante si bellum deserit ante
> Miles, iam bellum cesset, non est sibi bellum.[71]

> Est aurum crisis, hominis complexio crasis.
> Crasis materiam, vina, secreta notat.
> Cresis judicium, cresis et usu erit.[72]

Similar in intent is a simple commentary on vowel length:

> A verbo "stare" quae nascuntur breuiare
> Possumus, exceptis "statura, stamine," longis.[73]

A number of little poems which appear to give absurd derivations are also mnemonic vocabulary builders. A far-fetched one of the sort, linking labilis and labes with alea, is quoted by Alexander Neckham:

> Alea, labilis es, in te nihil est nisi labes;
> Estque tibi nomen conveniens quod habes.[74]

He uses it as a chapter heading, with focus on its folk wisdom.

In the foregoing epigrams, correct choice of word and vowel length are at issue. Other types of information about single words also found their way into short poems. The following, for example, from the Saint Martin de Tournai florilegium, tells of feminine nouns in -us:

> "Porticus, Aegyptus, sinodus, cristallus, abissus,
> Diptongus, nardus, colus, incus, costus et aluus"
> Nomina femineo subdimus articulo.[75]

Similar is the anonymous collection, Versus de generibus nominum,[76] associated with Serlo's work, wherein material is arranged in groups according to the word ending:

(-ol)

> Unum finis in ol tantum dat, scilicet hic sol.

(-ul)

> Sunt finita per ul tria, consul, presul et exul:
> Hic consul dicunt, communia cetera fiunt.[77]

Prefixes might be illustrated in a list form:

> Accumbens dormit, discumbens fercula sumit,
> Decumbens plorat, procumbens numen adorat.
> Occumbens moritur, victus succumbere fertur,
> Concumbens violans, incumbens atque laborans.[78]

Sometimes inflectional information is combined in a similar way with a basic vocabulary list, as in the following mnemonic exercises for forms of the nominative and accusative:

> Caelica justitiam generant, humana dolorem,
> Nummus amicitiam, stimulum Venus, ira furorem,
> Latro perfidiam, mulier scelus, unda tumorem,
> Bellum saevitiam, pisces mare, flamma calorem,
> Usus militiam, tonitrum polus, herba virorem,
> Parcus avaritiam, manus actum, lingua cruorem,
> Lis inimicitiam, spes ardua, culpa pudorem,
> Spiritus ecclesiam, gemitum dolor, astra nitorem.[79]

De oppositis

> Turbat hiems florem, nox lucem, larva decorem,
> Ariditas rorem, mors vitam, corvus olorem.
> Tristities risum, labor otia, Styx paradisum,
> Noctua pavonem, lupus agnum, Davus Adonem.[80]

Another type of poem on declinsion simply runs through the cases, as does the following verse on the unfortunate Guarmundus:

> Mundo Guarmundus caret, et diedemate mundus;
> Propter Guarmundi mortem gemit orbita mundi.
> Mors ubi Guarmundo venit, dolor illico mundo,
> Utpote Guarmundum rapiet mors horrida mundum,
> Mors tibi Guarmunde, dolor et gemitus tibi munde,
> Pax cum Guarmundo, quia vix in hoc bene mundo.[81]

Marbod gives instruction on the proper use of singular and plural imperative in similar fashion:

> Dicunt Guillelmo Marbodus et Hugo: Valeto:
>   At soli Thomae dicit uterque: Vale.
> Guillelmo et Thomae juncto Sansone: Valete;
>   Et si trina tribus, vel tribus una salus.[82]

In the last two poems, the school exercise merges with other types of epigram. Often it is difficult to say if verse was written primarily as mnemonic grammar or simply for what it has to say. The following, for example, could be used as a reminder on comparative constructions, yet it is also a proverb:

> Dulcius est melle corpus sentire puellae;
> Acrius est felle poenas tolerare gehennae.[83]

The Disticha Catonis and proverbs in general must have been used on countless occasions for the simple illustration of grammatical constructions.

Lexical and grammatical poems seem intended primarily for memorization. Rhetorical epigrams were probably not meant to be learned by heart, but rather to be consulted and studied for construction. Typical of rhetorical exempla is Marbod's illustration for exclamatio in the De ornamentis verborum:

> O Asiae flos Troja potens! o gloria quae nunc!
> In cineres collapsa jaces. Ubi regia proles,
> Ex Hecuba Priami veniens a semine divum?
> O Hector, quondam Trojum fortissime frustra,
> Conjugis in facie, defectorque parentum,
> Hostiles primo foedasti sanguine currus!
> Nec adeo patriae cladem, tua, perfide pastor,
> Navibus invexit diis exsecrata voluptas![84]

The Saint Omer florilegium rhetoric strives for uniformity in its examples. All are in hexameters, from two to four lines in length. Representative are entries for complexio and conformatio:

> Complexio est que utramque continet exhortationem,
> ut repetatur idem verbum sepius et crebro ad idem

revertatur, hoc modo:

> Que res alludit occulis et mentibus? aurum.
> Que res iustitie titulos obnubilat? aurum.[85]

Conformatio /ā type of prosopopoeia/ . . .:

> Iure loqui sic Roma potest: Ego splendida quondam
> Deliciis, stellata viris, famosa triumphis,
> Quam romana manus multis contexuit annis
> Ecce ruo; data sum cineri, sum tradita flamme.[86]

Illustrations of rhetorical types, as distinguished from rhetorical colors, are less frequently gathered in handbooks. Matthew of Vendôme's illustrations of description and the like are apt to be quite long, such that we may question if he saw them as epigrams or simply as passages appropriate to a full length poem. There is some evidence, however, that Marbod wrote a book of epigrammatic illustrations. Scattered in Marbod's miscellaneous poems are a Commendatio castitatis,[87] Commendatio virtutum per comparationem,[88] Doctrinae commendatio,[89] Descriptio vernae pulchritudinis,[90] Consolatio lugentium,[91] Conquestio captivi afflicti,[92] Dissuasio navigationis ob lucrum,[93] and Commonitorium invectivum ad obsessos in castro,[94] as well as poems entitled Contra seditiosum vulgus (diatribe),[95] Institutio pueri discipuli,[96] and De civitate Redonis (eulogy).[97] The limited alphabetic selection of titles--all but one beginning with "C" or "D"-- is curious, suggesting that the poems may have come from a single page or two where rhetorical types were discussed in alphabetic order. The one epigram which does not fit into the limited alphabetic section is the Institutio pueri discipuli, quoted above. It might have served as titulus for

a school book. If indeed the poems here mentioned came from

a larger collection of exemplary models, the collection must

have been relatively long, as some rhetorical types, such as

commendatio, were apparently illustrated with more than one

entry.

Other, isolated rhetorical exempla can be found in

scattered works. Gerald of Wales, for example, wrote a

number.[98] Examples of tirade and diatribe have been ascribed,

erroneously, to Hildebert. One, plagarizing Bernard of Cluny's

De contemptu mundi, Book II, is addressed to a female poet:

> Femina perfida, femina sordida, digna catenis,
> Mens male conscia, mobilis, impia, plena venenis,
> Vipera pessima, fossa novissima, mota lacuna;
> Omnia suscipis, omnia decipis, omnibus una
> Horrida noctua, publica janua, semita trita;
> Igne rapacior, aspide saevior est tua vita.
> Credere qui tibi vult, sibi sunt mala multa parata.
> O miserabilis, insatiabilis, insatiata.
> Desine scribere, desine mittere carmina blanda,
> Carmina turpia, carmina mollia, vix memoranda,
> Nec tibi mittere, nec tibi scribere disposui me;
> Nec tua jam colo, nec tua jam volo, reddo tibi te.
> Me mihi vivere, pace quiescere, sunt mea vota
> Consului mihi, consule tu tibi, sis tua tota.
> Quoslibet elige, collige, dilige sint tibi mille;
> Sit tibi charior, aut pretiosior ille vel ille.
> Mens tua vitrea, plumbea, saxea, ferrea, nequam.
> Fingere, fallere, prodere, perdere, rem putat aequam.
> Summa potentia funditus omnia destruat ante
> Quam mea sumere, quam mea tangere sustineant te.[99]

Neither the title, Quam periculosa mulierum familiaritas,

nor the personal address suggest exemplary use; the topic,

however, is to be associated with the school.

In contrast to proverb, fable, and lore verse, which

are common from an early time throughout Europe, the language

epigrams appear to be primarily twelfth century French work.

C. Religious Epigram

Religious epigrams, shaped by and for believers, appear to have served a rather constricted function in society. Some may have been designed for the ornament of sermons, others as mnemonic reminders of complicated facts of church or Biblical history, as instruments of instruction for the young priest and monk, as unofficial additions to the liturgy, or perhaps as objects of contemplation. Quite a number are concerned with Biblical history, usually summarizing symbolic, typological and moral interpretations. Even more present simple instruction or statement of doctrine and established teaching on moral virtues, ritual practice, and church offices.

<u>Biblical Epigram</u>

The simplest Biblical epigrams do no more than tell a story. Such a one is <u>De Joseph</u>:

> Patre vocante Joseph, venit hic, pater imperat illi:
> Vade Sichem, fratresque tuos, pecudesque revise.
> Venit Ebron, intratque Sichem, non invenit illic
> Aut pecus, aut fratres. Videt hunc errare per agros
> Rusticus, et quaerit quid quaerat. Reddidit ille:
> Fratres quaero meos, dic sic ubi noveris esse.
> Nescio, respondit; memini tamen inde loquentes
> Sic dixisse: Gregem Dothaim ducamus in herbas.
> Quo properante Joseph, et adhuc procul inde remoto,
> Fratribus est visus; quo viso consiliantur
> Ut perimant illum. Sic et de fratre loquuntur:
> En venit ille Joseph, qui somnia vidit; eamus,
> Interimamus eum, sic scilicet experiemur
> Quid sua portentant, vel quid sibi somnia prosint.
> Intulit ista Ruben, unus de fratribus: Absit!
> Ut fratres fratrem perimant, sed projiciatur
> Vivus in hunc puteum; puteum monstraverat illis.
> Dum dubitant, dubii quid agant diversa loquuntur.
> Ire vident homines quosdam, quos ire videntes

> Hoc pariter laudant: Veniat, vendatur et istis.
> Dicitur ob quantum Joseph vendatur; at illi
> Dant pretium, Josephque suis in curribus aptant.[1]

This epigram and those like it are probably part of longer

versifications of Biblical history.

More typical of the epigrammatic genre, thanks to its

obvious delight in verbal gymnastics, is Marbod's De lapsu

primi hominis:

> Morte gravatur homo; sed homo qui morte gravatur,
> Vivere cum posset, ne vivere posset, amavit.
> Vulnera plangit homo; sed homo qui vulnera plangit,
> Illicitum vulnus mordaci dente peregit.
> Poma momordit Adam; sed Adam qui poma momordit,
> Pro morsu mortem; pro vulnere vulnera sensit.
> Eva fefellit eum; sed eum non falleret Eva,
> Ni decepta foret; serpens deceperat Evam.
> Femina suasit opus; sed opus quod femina suasit,
> Vir vetuisset ei: quod ei vir si vetuisset
> Mandere quod voluit, voluit quod mandere flesset.
> Jure moritur homo; sed homo qui jure moritur,
> Flendo meretur opem; sed opem quam flendo meretur,
> Crimina si repetat, repetit quod crimina perdit.[2]

Another on the same topic shows the concision and wit of

secular epigram:

> Facto de limo patre primo, tempore primo,
> Nascitur ex costis illius uxor et hostis.[3]

Neither poem, however, stresses moral interpretations. In

this respect they are unusual.

Most commonly, Biblical epigrams follow the double form

of fable, with story followed by exegetical interpretation,

as in the following anonymous versified parable:

De vinea evangelica

> Vinea culta fuit, cultores praemia quaerunt.
> Non labor aequalis, aequalia dona fuerunt.
> Ultimus adveniens, dispensatore vocante,
> Tantumdem recipit quantum qui venerat ante.

> Sic Deus ostendit quod, quandocumque venimus,
> Aggrediamur opus, certi de munere simus.[4]

As Joseph de Ghellinck has observed, the general type of poetry, though not always broken into discrete epigrams, can be seen in a number of works, such as Hugues of Amiens' _In Pentateuchum_, a work of 505 leonine distichs and 19 quatrains; the anonymous _Liber genealogicus_, on the Virgin; Laurence of Durham's _hypognosticon_; and Hildebert's _De ordine mundi_, _De ornatu mundi_, and poems on Maccabees and Kings.[5] Peter Riga included the Biblical epigrams from his _Floridus aspectus_,[6] written when he was a student in his early twenties, in his long metrical paraphrase of the Bible, _Aurora_, a work of his mature years. Hildebert's _Biblical Epigrams_,[7] which combine poems on Biblical passages with explanations of church ritual, are perhaps the best examples of the type. Others, of similar design by the twelfth century archdeacon of Nantes, Rivallonus, soon became mixed with those by Hildebert in manuscripts.[8] The interpretations in these poems were generally drawn from patristic writing or Carolingian summaries of patristic work.

A typical example from Old Testament story, written by Peter Riga for _Floridus aspectus_ and later incorporated in the _Aurora_, is the following on Jacob's peeled wands. It explains in its own terms the basic purpose of such poems:

De virgis Iacob

> Vt maiore lucro cumulentur premia, uirgas
> Ordinat ante greges prouidus arte Iacob.

Partim nudat eas, sublato cortice, partim
  Corticis indutas ueste relinquit eas.
Vt maiora metas in Christo gaudia, rectis
  Scripture uerbis instrue, pastor, oues.
Nunc est misterii candor querendus in illa,
  Nunc solo gaudent cortice uerba foris.
Intimus est candor instructio mistica, co/r/tex
  Interior dici littera sola potest.[9]

The form is quite simple: an initial statement of the inci-

dent is followed by an explicit statement of meaning, with

about equal importance given to each.

Other exegetical epigrams show more complicated struc-

tures, such as those in the following three epigrams on the

gifts of the Magi. The first is by Hildebert, the second

anonymous, the third by Peter Riga, coming once again from

the **Floridus aspectus:**

De tribus trium magorum muneribus

Dat magus aurum, thus, myrram. Rex suscipit aurum,
  Thura Deus, myrram qui moriturus erat.
Thus orando damus, aurum sapiendo superna,
  Myrram dum carnis mortificatur opus.[10]

In apparitione Domini

Ut didici pro re triplici lux haec celebratur.
Unda merum fit, per puerum baptisma sacratur;
Tres Dominum trino trinum domo venerantur.
Noscitur ex aere quia debet sceptra tenere,
Myrrhaque mortalem probat, et thus pontificalem.[11]

De tribus donis magorum

Quid thus designet, quid obumbret myrrha, quid aurum
  Exprimat inquiro, pagina sacra docet.
Haec tria pondus habent sacris induta figuris;
  Haec tria plus pretii quam foris intus habent
Testa lapis cera est, quod verba foris tibi dicunt,
  Quid latet interius, nucleus, unda, favus.
Eliciet testa nucleum, lapis evomet undam,
  Cera favum premet, si bene cuncta notes.
Mortuus in myrrha Christus signatur, in auro
  Rex, in thure Deus, sunt tria forma trium.
Huic offers myrrham, credatur mortuus, aurum

Regem credendo, thus venerando Deum.
Quid latet intus adhuc de verbis elice sensum.
Rursum mellitus prodiet inde liquor.
Per myrrham macerata caro, doctrina per aurum,
Per thus signatur vox lacrymosa precum.
Dat myrrham qui se macerat, thus quilibet orans
Cum lacrymis, aurum qui sapienter agit.[12]

Hildebert took his material apparently from Rabanus Maurus, whom he follows in many of his Biblical epigrams. Gregory the Great's commentaries were also a favorit source for this type of verse.

Other Biblical epigrams simply summarize curious or hard to remember information. Three typical examples:

Ter quinquagenos David canit ordine Psalmos;
Versus bis mille sexcentos sex canit ille.[13]

Quot sint anni ab Adam ad Christum

Bis decies deni centum quinquagies anni
A patre primaevo sunt ad Christum minus uno.[14]

De duodecim patriarchis

Confessor vel laus stat primus in ordine Judas.
Cernentem natum Ruben vocitato secundum,
Tertius accinctus Gad vel tentatio dictus,
Quartus Aser cujus nomen sonat ipse beatus,
Nephtalim natum debemus ponere quintum,
Manasses sextus oblivio sive coactus,
Septimus est positus Simeon habitatio dictus,
Octavi nomen Levi sonat additionem:
Issachar est merces, quem nonum ponere debes:
Sit Zabulon decimus, habitaculum forte vocatus;
Joseph undecimus, augmenti nomine dignus;
Dextrae filius est Benjamin, et ultimus hic est.[15]

These are essentially mnemonic lore verses. More complicated and relatively numerous are the poems presenting Christ's relatives:

Ex Joachim, Cleopha, Salome, tres Anna Marias
Quas habuit junxit Joseph, Alphaeo, Zebedaeo.
Unius haec mater, haec quattuor, illa duorum.[16]

Nupserat Anna viris tribus. Hos si nosce requiris,
Hic manifestatur quo nomine quisque vocatur.[17]

De duobus Jacobis

Ex Jacobis non litiget amodo quivis;
Hic satus Alphaeo fuit, alter a Zebedaeo.
Quem prius audisti, fratrem memor assere Christi,
Jerusalemque situm legimus, quem saepe petitum,
Vulgoque solemnis Maii solet esse Kalendis.
Ultimus ast iste frater fuit Apocalistae,
Galliciaeque solum se gaudet habere colonum.
Anna, viro Joachim, peperit te, Virgo Maria,
De qua processit sine semine vera Sophia.
Post hunc de Oleopha peperit tibi, Virgo, sororem,
Quae parit Alphaeo Joseph Jacobumque minorem.
Hoc quoque defuncto cuidam Salome copulatur,
De quo natorum Zebedaei genitrix generatur:
Sic tribus una viris peperit tres Anna Marias.[18]

Sometimes factual reminders and exegesis are mixed, as
in an epigram on the Gospel beasts:

Virgo Joannes avis, vitulus Lucas, leo Marcus,
    Est homo Matthaeus. Quattuor ista Deus:
Est homo nascendo, vitulus mortem patiendo,
Est leo surgendo, Jovis ales summa petendo.[19]

The medieval reader of this poem, like the modern, probably
valued it for its clear and easily remembered statement of
who was what. Biblical lore lists, such as the one on patri-
archs, above, and Hildebert's De plagis Egipti and De XII
lapidibus et nominibus filiorum Israel,[21] are patterned after
earlier poems such as the Nomina Musarum, falsely attributed
to Ausonius.[22]

Moral and Doctrinal Epigram

Many epigrams tell of Christian virtues and vices. By
and large, vices are favored over virtues in school collec-
tions. A short epigram on sexual sin in marriage shows the
type unadorned:

> Quinque modis peccat cum sponsa sponsus abutans:
> Tempore, mente, loco, conditione, modo.[23]

The analysis is clear, brief, and scholastic. It may be
compared to Hildebert's epigram on _Quot modis temptamur vicio_
gule, included among his Biblical epigrams, which in twelve
hexameters presents the five forms of temptation and gives
Biblical examples for each.[24]

Sister epigrams praise specific virtues. Chastity, for
example, is featured in the _Commendatio castitatis_:

> Ut flos in pratis, sic gratia virginitatis
> In muliere bona, maribus quoque prima corona.
> Ad res corruptas quos non trahit ulla voluptas,
> Proxima castorum laus est virtutis eorum
> Qui semel experti nolunt ad foeda reverti.
> Tertia non talis, prior est et proxima qualis,
> Sed pars virtus tamen est, et causa salutis
> Scilicet illorum qui post grave flagitiorum
> Assuetumque malum trahunt a crimine talum
> O bone Messia, de virgine nate Maria!
> Quam sunt felices quibus hoc mitissime dices.
> Inter virgineas sit portio vestra choraeas,
> Cum quibus est aequum me, quas et pergere mecum;
> Hos quoque mercedis ratio secernet ab haedis
> Quorum vita munda decor est in sorte secunda.
> Ultimus o utinam nostram regat ordo carinam
> Ad vitae portum, paradisi scilicet hortum!
> Quem colit aeterno gaudens per gramina verno
> Gens felix, cum qua, si non rosa, sim saliunca.[25]

Both title and length suggest that this might be a rhetorical
school exercise. Peter Damian's _Laus elemosinae_, of an
earlier period, is quite similar:

> Fenerat ille Deo, qui sumptum praebet egeno;
> Reddere promisit, qui non mendacia nouit.
> Soluitur expletum grauiori fenore lucrum;
> Pro modico magnum, pro caeno redditur aurum.
> Sic hemina batum, lucratur dragma talentum;
> Sic obolus regnum, cyathus mercatur Olympum;
> Caelica terrenis redhibentur, fixa caducis.
> Ignes unda necat, lapsus elemosina purgat;
> Est aqua mors flammae, mors est elemosina culpae;

>Haec replet irriguis lacrimarum corda fluentis,
>Haec uitiis uacuat, uirtutum floribus ornat,
>Haec redimunt ipsum pietatis uiscera Christum.[26]

Peter Damian's diction and style are not those of the twelfth

century French writers, but the inspiration for the verse

is probably much the same. As F. J. E. Raby remarks, "he

never wrote except in /a/ studied and careful manner, using

every art that he had learned in the dispised schools. 'My

grammar is Christ'/Epit. VIII.8, _mea igitur grammatica_

Christus est, qui homo pro hominibus factus est/, he once

said, but he took an obvious pride in his compositions, and

remained to the end, as a man of letters, what the schools

had made him."[27]

Other epigrams on moral conduct may contrast virtues

and vices:

>Spernere mundum, spernere sese, spernere nullum,
>   Spernere se sperni, quatuor haec bona sunt.
>Quaerere fraudem, quaerere pompam, quaerere laudem,
>   Quaerere se quaeri, quatuor haec mala sunt.[28]

>"Esse velim doctus!" "Vis? Sis mundana relinque
>Despice, temne, fuge, contere! Doctus eris."[29]

>Commendatio virtutum per comparationem

>Virginitas flos est, et virginis aurea dos est;
>Concubitus faex est, merces sua pessima nex est;
>Ebrietas fax est, lymphae potatio pax est;
>Ira leo trux est, patientia praevia lux est:
>Livor edax crux est, et ad impia tartara dux est;
>Vera fides nix est, fraus et deceptio pix est;
>Mens humilis thus est, inflata superbia pus est.[30]

Whether they stem from proverb or school exercise, these

moral poems can border on philosophic epigram, differing

only in their specific Christian world view.

Basic doctrinal teachings of the church are the topics

of yet other epigrams. They are rooted in the Bible, but
their emphasis is on right belief, not on Biblical source.
Churchmen doubtless found use for them in sermons.

The Fall and Redemption are popular topics:

Mala mali malo mala contulit omnia mundo.[31]

De peccato originali

Tot siderum /scelerum/ mortis totus propesubditur
                               orbis,
   Ut lue sit vacuus nec puer exiguus.
Quae mala serpenti debentur, eamque regenti
   Landere qui monuit quod Dominus vetuit.
Ex illa dirus satagit draco fundere virus,
   Quae bona sunt removens, quae scelerosa fovens.[32]

Serpens, femina, vir, genator, virgo, caro, vita,
Fallit, dat, sumit, redimit, nutrit, lavat, intrat,
Evam, fel, mortem, mundum, Christum, scelus, astra,
Spe, gustu, fructu, verbo, gremio, cruce, morte.[33]

So was the Virgin Birth and Incarnation. Peter Riga
treats the subject at length:

De partu Virgineo

Aaron virga, Dei Virgo peperisse feruntur;
   Arboris illa nuces, aetheris ista Deum.
Semine virga caret, profert sine semine fructum;
   Nescit Virgo virum, concipit absque viro.
Fert sine radice, genuit sine seminis usu
   Arida virga nuces, integra Virgo Deum.
Floruit illa, dedit fructum, nux prodiit inde;
   Concipit, ista parit, nascitur inde Deus.
De virga nux exoritur, de Virgine Christus;
   Virga Maria fuit, nux Homo-Christus erat.
In testa sane species humana notatur,
   In nucleo deitas, in nuce Christus-Homo.
In testa latens deitas, in carne moratur
   Cum nucleo testa, cum deitate caro.
Dulce sapit nucleus, mulcet sapor iste palatum;
   Dulce sapit deitas, cor regit iste sapor.[34]

This has several companion pieces, organized in much the same
manner by reference to Biblical typology and traditional
symbolism, such as the De partu B. Virginis,[35] Hildebert's

<u>Cur Deus homo</u>,[36] and the anonymous <u>Contra Judaeos</u>.[37] The
subject matter borders on that of many hymns and sequences.
It is linked to the Christmas celebration,[38] and it could
easily be adapted by simple abbreviation to inscription.

Poems on Christ himself almost always appear to be in-
scriptions.[39] One on the founding of the church may also
have been a title:

> Petrus es, ecclesiam super hanc ego construo petram.
> Paule, meum gentes nomen portabis ad omnes.
> Vox et preco vias verbo parat alter Elias.
> Agni primicie comitantur eum sine fine,
> Frontes inscripti de nomine patris et agni.[40]

Hell and the Last Judgment inspired verse similar to
themes of the Fall and Redemption. Peter Damian demonstrates
that the topics could generate a personal response:

LXVIII. Amicum terret

> Quot digitis scribo, totidem tibi carmina mitto.
> Aspera uox: "Ite"; nimium iucunda: "Venite".
> Congregat haec agnos, uox altera dissipat haedos.
> Perpensae uoces poterunt componere mores.
> Si regni requiem cupimus, metuamus et ignem.[41]

Marbod shows they were also fit for school exercise:

De multiplicibus damnatorum poenis

> Daemonis inventum sceleris sunt millia centum,
> In quibus hunc mundum trahit ad poenale profundum,
> Quo qui clauduntur, nequiendo mori moriuntur:
> Vellent quippe mori, quia pars mors nulla dolori:
> Quo miser ille furit, quem flamma perennis adurit.
> Frons, oculi, naris, cervix, locus auricularis,
> Os, guttur, mammae fiunt ibi pabula flammae.
> Dorse, latus, venter flagrant indeficienter,
> Nec frigent coxae, nec mentula conscia noxae.
> O quantum est tristis qui traditur ignibus istis!
> Quam fit lugubris qui traditur esca colubris,
> Qui vim fetoris vix sustinet omnibus horis,
> Saevi tortoris qui tunditur undique loris!
> Scilicet immitis fit in omnibus ultio diris,

> Est tamen ipsorum distantia suppliciorum,
> Quae sic pensantur, ut crimina perpetiuntur
> Poenas majores majora, minora minores.[42]

His De differentia meritorum et locorum,[43] touching on the
same topics, is a more elaborate work, comparing and contras-
ting heaven, earth, and hell.

Epigrams of Church Ritual and the Religious Life

Epigrams mirrored the daily life of religious and sec-
ular clergy. A number treat of the mass:

> De sumptione sacrae Eucharistiae

> Dat Jesum Jesus, manet omnis ab omnibus esus
> Manditur illaesus, bibitur non vulnere caesus.
> Mysterium pulchrum, crux ara, calixque sepulcrum,
> Corpus grana sacrum, cruor uva fit, unda lavacrum.[44]

> De communione et postcommunione

> Gaudia Christoicolis confert communio sanctis
> Qua verum Domini corpus sub pane paratur,
> Et specie vini sanguis conceditur esse.
> Hoc sacramentum sumit pius ore sacerdos;
> Hoc faciat pura semper durabile mente.[45]

> Cum vadis ad altare
> missam celebrare,
> te debes preparare,
> vetus expurgare
> de corde fermentum;
> sic offers sacramentum:
> invoca Christum,
> Psalmum dicas istum:
> "Iudica,"
> Teque ipsum preiudica,
> Israel et Iuda
> cordis mala denuda.[46]

Others tell of the priest's duty as confessor:

> Haec sunt quae tardant hominem confiteri

> Sperat, desperat, praesumit, diligit, horret,
> Negligit, ignorat, pudet; his confessio tardat.[47]

> Sordibus imbutum, quamvis mala quaeque secutum,
> Vera facit tutum confessio, dans sibi scutum,
> Et tribuit vires confessio ne recidivet.
> Est bene securus, fit ei confessio murus.[48]

Two poems, one based on the other, are associated with the

work of John of Garland and Peter of Blois:

> Confessor dulcis, affabilis atque suavis,
> Prudens, discretus, mitis, pius atque benignus.[49]

> Confessor dulcis, affabilis atque benignus
> Sit sapiens, justus, sit mitis compatiensque.[50]

Such poems are primarily addressed to priest and confessor,

giving advice on the character needed for the work and the

difficulties and results of their offices, rather than to

the communicant or person seeking confession.

The routines of the church year called for verse.

Peter Damian tells of monastic practice in a single line:

> XXX. Pransuri dicimus: 'edent paupere';
>   silentium solventes dicimus: 'pretiosa
>   in conspectu domini.'

> Sicut "Edent" mensas, reddit "Pretiosa" loquelas.[51]

Another poet comments on a point of liturgy:

> Cur dimittamus Alleluia in Septuagesima

> Quandiu rex Babylon sibi subdidit Israelitas,
>   Alleluia cohors psallere non potuit,
> Sed grave supplicium tulit annis septuaginta;
>   Hinc a Christicolis Septuagesima fit.
> Cum captivus homo sentit crimen dominari,
>   Flere dolendo magis quam jubilaret libet.
> Sed pietas cum parcit ei divina reatum,
>   Gaudet et exsultat, perstrepit et jubilat.[52]

Such a poem is quite similar to the Biblical epigrams which

explain events, such as the coming of the Magi,[53] closely

linked to days of the ecclesiastic calendar. The canonical

hours of the day also receive mention in epigram. One series

takes them up in order, commenting thus on nones:

> Exiit in nona reus homo de paradiso:
> In nona Christus animam dedit, atque fideles
> In /De/ tenebris ut eos reduceret, inde revisit.
> Spe factus consors, tam laetas sortis eorum
> Laudibus instet homo, reditum roget ad paradisum,
> Qui clausus nona est, et tunc nonaque patebit.[54]

Other epigrams take up more general matters of religious life. One, for example, discusses the three orders, lay, priest, and religious, at some length, reaching back for Biblical parallels and types for the explanation.[55] Another comments on who should go to Rome:

> Percutiens clerum Romam petat; excipiuntur
> Inscius, erudiens, leviturque jocans minor aetas,
> Janitor officii praetextu, vimque repellens
> Femineus sexus, valitudo, relligiosus,
> Conjunctam feriens cum persona coeuntem.[56]

Yet others give specific directions to the monk:

> Monache, cui curas non contemnis nocituras.[57]

> Sit tibi **potus** aqua, cibus aridus, aspera vestis,
> Dorso virga, brevis somnus durumque cubile.
> Flecte genu, tunde pectus, nuda caput, orans
> Haereat os terrae, mens coelo, lingua loquatur,
> Cor dictet; sit larga manus, jejunia crebra,
> Mens humilis, simplex oculus, caro munda, pium cor,
> Recta fides, spes firma, duplex dilectio semper
> Ferveat, assiduis precibus, justis tamen, ora.
> Haec age, peccator quem vere poenitet; a te
> Hic potius poenas peccatis exige dignas
> Quam tibi perpetuas addicas judicis iras.[58]

Infrequently, epigrams were used for prayer and religious observance. Benedictions were a specialty of Ekkehard IV, who wrote two collections, <u>Benedictiones super lectores per circulum anni</u> and <u>Benedictiones ad mensas</u>.[59] The benedictions for the year are sometimes rather long, and frequently linked by subject. Marginal notes tell of appropriate use:

In conversione sancti Pauli

Morti tunc apices, modo vite scribe loquaces.   In II
Iam, lupe, factus ovis cunctis fore disce suavis. nocturna
Antei sibi vilis Paulo Saul pollet herilis.
Beniamin hic veterum genus amplificavit avorum.
Lau Stephani precibus, quibus efficeris, lupe, Paulus.

Lau duodena throno, quem servat sors sua Paulo.[60] In
evangelio

The table benedictions are for the most part monostichs or

distichs, arranged by edible to be blessed. Among those

for fish and wine:

      Hos pisces coctos cruce sumamus benedictos.

      Sancta dei dextra benedicat pocula nostra.[61]

No later writer composed benedictions with Ekkehard's facil-

ity, but several remembered the form. Fulbert of Chartres

concludes his sixth sermon, <u>In ortu almae Virginis Mariae</u>

<u>inviolatae</u>, with a prayer:

      In natale tuo nobis, pia Mater, adesto,
      Virtutes augens, culparum pondera delens.[62]

An anonymous writer offers another in what may be a building

inscription:

De gratiarum actione

      Actis grata datur pro tanto munere Christo.
      Exorat Dominum populus, laudesque revolvit:
      Tum redit ad proprias, prolatis laudibus, aedes.
      Missa est, ita domum, Christum laudate fideles:
      Missa est, ite domum, cuncti gaudete fideles.
           Deo gratias. Amen.[63]

Two abbesses of the Alsatian convent of Hohenburg, Rilindis

(+1169) and Herrad of Landsberg (+1195), write little exhor-

tations and prayers for their sisters:

> Dominae Rilindis ad sorores Hohenburgenses
> in persona Christi tetrastichon hexametrum
> et eruditissimum.

> Vox, quos includit, frangit, gravat, attrahit, urit
> Hic carcer moestus, labor, exsilium, dolor, aestus.
> Me lucem, requiem, patriam, medicamen et umbram
> Quaerite, sperate, scitote, tenete, vocate.[64]

> Ejusdem Herradis ad easdem sorores tetrastichon:

> Onivei flores dantes virtutis odores,
> Semper divina pansantes in theoria:
> Pulvere terreno contempto currite coelo,
> Quo nunc absconsum valeatis cernere sponsum.

> Eiusdem ad Christum distychon.

> Esto nostrorum pia merces Christe laborum,
> Nos electorum numerans in sorte tuorum.[65]

Rarely are the prayers, benedictions, and exhortations developed to any length. They have much in common with object titles.

Religious epigram as a whole was the invention of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but it sprang from the old forms of religious inscription, philosophic epigram, moralized fable, proverb, and lore verse. Its primary function lay in teaching religious truths and proper conduct in the religious life.

CHAPTER VI

SECULAR EPIGRAM

Although religion and morality were quite important in the schools, school verse is in its way secular quite frequently. Thus, when I use the term secular to characterize the epigrams of this chapter, I use it in a very narrow way to suggest those which grew out of the imitation of classic models. Four types stand out: satiric epigram, distinguished by its tone and, in a general way, in its origin in imitation of Martial; anecdotal epigram, which has its models in the Latin Anthology and the fable; philosophic epigram, inspired primarily by writers like Seneca and Boethius; and that lesser but ancient type, the riddle. I have further distinguished four mixed forms: display verse, which plays with the Latin language; the epigrammatic letter, a short form of the verse epistle; eulogy and vituperation, socially useful forms as contrasted with other rhetorical exercises; and the short lyric, a non-epigrammatic type which had much in common with the epigram.

The secular epigrams have one principal in common. The antithesis and contradiction which is typical of epigram as a whole appears in them as a denial of the ideal, the desirable, the hoped for, and an affirmation of the often unpleasant, sometimes amusing reality. Thus secular epigram stands in opposition to didactic verse, champion of perfection, and admits quite bluntly that the world is what it is, a thought

that brings laughter in the satiric and anecdotal epigram, a sigh in the philosophic ones, puzzlement in the riddle, and in all a strong urge to stand firm by the proprieties of language and established tradition.

A. Traditional Types

The four traditional types here treated are based on classic models. Insofar as the philosophic ones are modeled primarily on Seneca's epigrams, the many falsely ascribed to him, and the Catonic Distichs, all work of late classic times taken up by the Carolingians and to a great degree consonant with the beliefs of the Catholic church, one would expect them to appear the earliest in the eleventh century. As a general rule, however, they do not. For the most part they are undated, anonymous works, but their usual style suggests they were written later in the century. Peter Damian, indeed, wrote a few, but he greatly favored satiric and religious verse. The anecdotal epigram, like the philosophic, appears later in the century, though again based on Latin Anthology and Carolingian models. Riddles, mainly anonymous, were in all probability produced in small numbers from time to time throughout the period here considered.

Satiric Epigram

Satiric epigrams of the eleventh and twelfth centuries fall into a number of types. Three of these types may be considered basic and to a large degree independent: the personal satire, which satirizes a "you," normally a named

fictional personality; the verse letter, addressed to a sympathetic "you," usually unnamed in the poem but identified in the title; and the objective satire. There are, in addition, a number of variants of these three types.

The personal satire, short, elegiac, pointed, addressed to the object of satire, can be clearly identified as an imitation of Martial's favorite pattern. The addressee exemplifies some social vice or displays some petty personal foible, often one satirized by Martial. Two good examples are anonymous poems on a bad marriage, found in a Paris manuscript:

> Ancillam nuptae, famulum tibi, Naevole, quaeris,
>   Nutriciem puero, cum puer ortus erit;
> Cumque sis omnibus his vestemque cibumque daturus,
>   Non poterit sumptus res tua ferre tuos.
>
> Nupta tibi sine dote datur, ut audio dici;
>   Unde miser vives tuque domusque tua.
> Dum tu solus eras soli non sufficiebat
>   Res tua, sufficiet nunc minus illa tibi.[1]

Frequently, the name of the person satirized is given in the lemma, as in the following poem by Marbod, such that the epigram has the appearance of a letter:

> Ad Scaevolam
>
> Tu majora feras, dum dona minora repellis,
>   Scaevola, nonunquam perdere magna soles.
> Nam semel excluso, nec adhuc redeunte datore,
>   Jam nihil accipiens falleris arte tua.
> O vafer! O prudens! dum semper maxima captas,
>   Fiunt magna nihil calliditate tua.[2]

All three poems are typical Martial imitations of the late eleventh century or later. One by Peter Damian, probably written about 1063, when he visited Cluny, appears by its

topic and elegiac form to be an imitation, too:

Contra Cluniacensem abbatem qui eum in Gallias duxit

      Mors mea, grandaeuam perimis, Cluniace, senectam;
        Efficis, ut non sim, dum petis, ut bene sis,
      Ut tibi mella fluant epulae, pigmenta rubescant,
        Amplaque conditos praebeat olla cibos.
      Scabra fit ut nostris desint uel cantabra mensis.
        Dum tibi seruo dapes, me manet atra fames.[3]

It still has the late Latin diction and the imperfect, one-syllable leonine rhyme characteristic of early eleventh century work, dropped by the later imitators.

Personal satire by major authors of the turn of the century, such as Hildebert and Godfrey of Winchester, are frequently such skilled imitations that they have been mistaken over the course of several centuries for works of the Silver Age poet.[4]

Hildebert wrote five personal satires, two of them addressed to real people,[5] three for fictional ones.[6] His Ad Milonem shows that he was not squeamish in choice of classic topics:

      Thura piper vestes argentum pallia gemmas
        Vendere, Milo, soles, cum quibus emptor abit.
      Coniugis utilior merx est, que vendita sepe,
        Nunquam vendentem deserit aut minuit.[7]

Godfrey of Winchester (c. 1050-1107), prior at St. Swithian's born in Cambrai, is credited with the largest collection by far of satiric epigrams, the Liber proverbiorum mentioned in Chapter One. It contains 238 epigrams and a title, the epigrams arranged in order by length: 101 distichs, 97 elegiac quatrains, and 40 longer poems of from three to nine distichs. Each is graced with its own explanatory lemma,

usually summarizing the content. All are unrhymed, though
a few are serpentine. The names are sometimes Greek derivi-
tives. Topics, as Raby rightly points out,[8] are inspired as
much by the <u>Disticha Catonis</u> as by Martial; learning, honor,
vices, manners, friendship, gifts, death, appetite, and
poverty make frequent appearances. Humor and satiric point,
as well as ribaldry, though not the predominant notes of the
little poems, are relatively common, as are figures of sound.
Typical are the following:

> XV. Libros non pretium eorum habere,
> non multam proficere

> Libros ferre manu, non sensum corde nec ore,
> Verbum, Caune, parum proficit, immo nihil.[9]

> CXX. Rebus inutilibus operam non adhibendam

> Arte tua crines reparasti; Leda, marito,
> Pulsa canitie redditur ecce color.
> Arte tua nervum tendis relevare mariti,
> Sed jacet et languet, heu! quia vincitur ars.[10]

> CCX. Non ridere ne rideamur

> Ridebas facies aliorum, Pallidiane,
> Ridetur facies, Pallidiane, tua.
> Humanum faciem pallor maciesque tulere,
> Longe diversam substituere tibi.
> Ecce genas sulcat sine pondere pellis aniles,
> Quales in silva simia scalpit anus.[11]

Henry of Huntington (c. 1084-1155) can also be credited
with a number of personal satires. Standard Christian vices
are most frequently his mark. One of his best is addressed
to himself:

> In seipsum

> Sunt, vates Henrice, tibi versus bene culti,
> Et bene culta domus, et bene cultus ager.

> Et bene sunt thalami, bene sunt pomeria culta,
> Hortus centimodis cultibus ecce nitet.
> O jam culta tibi bene sunt, sed tua male cultus;
> Se quicunque caret, dic mihi, dic quid habet?[12]

Matthew of Vendôme (c. 1130-end XII), who had made a "careful study of models such as Statius, Lucan and Ovid, as well as Tibullus and Propertius,"[13] shows his acquaintance with Martial as well in the opening and closing of his _Ars versificatoria_, where his fellow scholar in Orleans, Arnoul of Saint-Evurce, writer of glosses on Lucan and Ovid and hostile rival and critic, is gleefully satirized under the name of Rufus. The closing one, with its rhyme and exuberant word play, shows that simple imitation of Martial is of little concern to Matthew:

> Turpe quidem Rufo, quod rufas praedico fraudes,
> Sed tamen invitus pernitiosus ero.
> Rumpere, Rufe, loquar, rumpantur ut ilia Rufo;
> Quicquid conabar dicere versus erit.
> Extasis occursu quateris dum Thaida solus,
> Solus amas; nec habes, solus habere putans.
> Concolor utrimque rufizat copula, Rufum
> Rufa subit, simium simia, capra caprum.
> Invide Rufe, bonis digitis, ad fenora pronis,
> Leges Othonis recolis putealque bibonis.[14]

Some of the anonymous personal satires also depart somewhat from the classic model. An early twelfth century epigram firmly identifies the recipient, a school master named Babio, with a pig; it is notable for three-syllable rhymed hexameter form.[15] Another, addressed to an unnamed miser liberal with promises, extends to nine distichs, an unusual length for this type.[16] One would conclude that their authors, too, were not attempting a deliberate imitation of Martial, but simply working in the general style to

their own ends.

The second major type of satiric epigram, a variety of verse letter, stems in part from a tradition established by Fortunatus and the Carolingians. What satire is present is mild, often unpointed, and directed more against some outer social ill than against the usually unnamed recipient, who is normally treated in a kindly, though perhaps slightly humorous way. The opening title of Marbod's Carmina varia II might be regarded as such a poem:

M. Redonensis episcopus, R. Lincolniensi episcopo

Nec mihi verba dari, nec te dare verba decebat;
Turpe mihi falli, sed plus tibi fallere turpe:
Nam sicut qui dat, magis accipiente probatur,
Sic qui promittit, nisi det, plus vilis habetur.[17]

More typical is Hildebert's Ad Odonem. Although the poet is shown as foolish, the point is directed against a society which has created his troubles:

Moribus, arte, fide, celesti pectore dignus,
   Cum superes alios, desipis Odo tamen.
Credis enim populum versus curare disertos,
   Et placuisse putas moribus, arte, fide.
Dotibus his quondam sacri placuere poete,
   Ingeniumque dedit predia, nomen, opes.
Nunc aliud tempus, alii pro tempore mores,
   Nunc odium virtus, sceptra merentur opes.
Nil artes, nil pura fides, nil gloria lingue,
   Nil fons ingenii, nil probitas sine re.
Nullus inops sapiens, ubi res, ibi copia sensus.
   Res sapiunt: pauper nil nisi pauper erit,
Divitibusque reis non tollunt crimina nomen,
   Sed quos lex damnat, equat habere deis.
Hinc est quod populum aurum quasi numen adorans,
   Audet in ignotum sepe venire nefas.
Speque lucri tociens excedere ius et honestum
   Sustulit, ut gratis iam iuvat esse reum.
Ius ruit, ordo perit, sceleri placet ora manusque
   Vendere, quamque inopem tam pudet esse probum.
Non igitur mirum si quisquam pravus et excors

> Divinum carmen nullius esse putat.
> Quem comitantur opes sapiencia vera reliquit,
> Semper mobilibus incomitata bonis.[18]

By and large, this suggests study of satirists such as Horace

or even Juvenal.

Less closely related to the classic works, more closely

to the Carolingian letter writers, are the poems which take

up such well-worn topics as gift giving and friendship. An

early one by Froumund of Tegernsee requests furry boots:

> VIII. Pro caligis hirsutis quamvis vilibus
>
> Excelsi montes iam condunt ninguine cautes
> Flamine perduro spirant et frigora campo,
> Undique disturbant famulum me turbine vestrum,
> Pelliciis sed et incursus depellitur omnis.
> Parte tegor, de parte alia me concutit algor,
> Maxime per suras inserpunt frigora venas,
> Crescula concrescunt, lapidosa ut stiria durant.
> Hoc poteris sarcire, pater. Quod si hispida pellis
> Redditur aut vetulum noviter vel sutila tectum,
> Quicquid id est, quod largiris, venerabile donum est.[19]

The specification _quamvis vilibus_, the closing _venerabile_,

the whirl of servants, all bring out the mild but quite evi-

dent point. Another, by Baudry, turns down a request for a

horse:

> CLXVIII. De equo postulato et non dato
>
> Ut mittamus equum ratio non postulat aequum,
> Sed tibi conducti sim spes et causa vel empti.[20]

One attributed to Marbod reproaches a friend for his absence.[21]

Another replies to a request for poetry:

> Ad amicum hospitem
>
> In partes istas post quinque reversus aristas,
> Vis a me scribi carmina pauca tibi.
> Carmina pauca quidem, sed dulcia concupis idem.
> Misti more cibi poscis utrumque tibi.

> Quod petis ecce damus, quia quod petis hoc et amamus,
>   Ut carnem breviter per leve currat iter.
> Quod vis cunque volo, quod non vis, hoc quoque nolo.
>   Et quod ego nolo, te quoque nolle volo.
> Dilato letho, per tempora longa valeto,
>   Concedantque citum fata tibi reditum.[22]

The poem is merged, as indicated by the closing farewell, into the long tradition of the friendly verse letter, discussed more fully below. Yet in the background lie Martial's many satiric epigrams on the request for poetry.[23]

In variations of the personal satire and letter satire, the satiric tone may be largely absent, except as it appears in the opposition of practicality and an unobtained ideal. A variation may simply show a single side of the implied dialogue of the letter form. In these, the author talks only of himself, with no reference to a reader. Baudry so handles a spring theme:

<div style="text-align:center">CXL. Providentia contra lasciviam</div>

> Veris adest tempus quod amat lasciva juventus,
>   Quae viciat teneros temperies animos;
> Humida prata virent, humus albicat, arbuta florent,
>   Et vernant passim floribus arva suis.
> Gnaviter ergo meum muniri pectus oportet,
>   Nec male pro vernis obruar illecebris.[24]

The <u>Versus magistri Serlonis, quando scolis renuntiavit,</u> reputedly marks his conversion:

> Linquo "coax" ranis, "cra" corvis vanaque vanis--
> Ad logicam pergo, que mortis non timet ergo.[25]

Three anonymous examples come from French manuscripts:

> Si qua suae laudis offendunt nobila lucem,
>   Non moveor; vidi vix sine nube diem.[26]

> Dives eram dudum; fecerunt me tria nudum,
> Alea, vina, Venus; tribus his sum factus egenus.[27]

> Miror ego quare. Quoniam video superare
> Flumina magna mare, _de la, sol et gomant à rè._[27]

These show influence from the proverb and, in the case of
the last, from the riddle.

Love greetings are another variation of the letter
satire. They have been studied at some length by Hans Wal-
ther.[28] One is in the form of a riddle, which yields the
answer, _Amo_:

> Prima triangula sit, tripedem prepone rotunde
> Et converte! scies, quis sit mihi morbus et unde.[29]

Another is from the beloved, telling her lover of danger:

> In misera luna si nocte quieveris una,
> De vita dubito; locus est infirmus, abito.[30]

A third, possibly by Alexander Neckham, promises for a happy
encounter:

> Aspectu leni veniens pectus mihi leni!
> Nil mihi rescribas, attamen ipsa veni![31]

In another variation, modeled in part on the proverb,
the second person singular again appears but must be under-
stood as the general reader, not a real or fictitious recip-
ient of a personal message. One reads:

> Albus signat equus quod sis vir justus et aequus.
> Si non sis aequus dedecet albus equus.[32]

This seems to be a close cousin to a longer objective satire
on the papal horse:

Golias de equo pontificis

> Pontificalis equus est quodam lumine coecus,
> segnis et antiquus, morsor, percursor iniquus;
> nequam propter equam, nullamque viam tenet aequam,
> cespitat in plano, nec surgit poplite sano:
> si non percuteret de vertice saepe capistrum,
> et si portaret passu meliore magistrum,
> nil in eo possemus equo reperire sinistrum.[33]

Here there is no trace of the personal address of the poet to someone else or reference to himself. This third basic type of satiric epigram, the objective satire, drops the personal note and concentrates, instead, on some third person, butt of its light irony or wit. De abbate usurpante pontificalia is representative:

> Abbas sola gerens insignia pontificatus,
> Scilicet annellum, guantos, scandalia, mitram;
> Cum super abbatem sit et intra pontificatum,
> Esse potest neutrum, vel si dicatur utrumque,
> Centauro simile monstrum reor esse biforme:
> Quod si pontificem simulat, sed permanet abbas,
> Permanet ergo latens sub pelle leonis asellus,
> Aut velut in scena personam fert alienam.[34]

Similar poems carp at unfaithful monks turned vagabond[35] and over-indulgent abbots.[36] Preserving a hint of the personal note is one attributed by William of Newburgh to Johannes episcopus Portuensis, Albus cardinalis publico praedicando coram cardinalibus, on the consecration of Pope Gregory X:

> Fertur per saltem noster Theobaldus in altum;
>   Invidia fratrum fit pater ille patrum.[37]

An earlier epigram, by Peter Damian, also comments on a change of station:

> XC. De illa qui nutritus Arretii, Pomposiae abbas fuit
>
> Qui solet insipidis uentrem satiare lupinis,[38]
> Gutture nunc epulas ructat turgente marinas.

Two rather weak examples are inspired by Lucan's pauper Amyclas (Phars. V, 539):

> Securus, quia pauper erat, vivebat Amyclas.
>   Eligit hoc sapiens vivere quisque modo.

> Securus, quod pauper erat, vivebat Amyclas,
> Tutus in exiguo stamine dormit inops.[39]

These appear to be late flowers of the classroom.

Variants of the objective epigram introduce dialogue and personification, as in an epigram from the Carmina Burana and Hugh Primas' address to a cloak:

> "Responde, qui tanta cupis!" modo Copia dicat.
> "Pone modum! que vis dono." --"Volo plena sit arca."--
> "Plena sit!" --"Adde duas!" --"Addo." --"si quatuor
>   essent,
> Sufficerent." --"Sic semper agis; cum plurima dono,
> Plus queris, nec plenus eris, donec morieris."[40]

> Res erit archana de pellicia veterana.
> Vilis es et plana; tibi nec pilus est neque lana.
> vilis /es/ et plana. res est, non fabula vana,
> quod tua germana fuerit clamis Aureliana.
> Nec pulices operit, latebrasque pulex ubi querit,
> quas quia non reperit, ipsa reperta perit.[41]

Frequently, satiric epigrams appear in pairs. Sometimes one seems to have been written in response to the other, perhaps in an exchange of letters. In Serlo of Wilton's work, for example, the following exchange appears:

Versus Primatis:

Primas Serloni. Nebulo nebulas nebuloni.

Serlo e contra:

> Nulla tui doni sit gratia pro "nebuloni".
> (Et michi, qui quondam, semper asellus eris.)[42]

The Primas is, of course, Hugo of Orleans. Another well-known pair is the Epigramma de Goliardo et Episcopo, which André Wilmart attributes to Hildebert and Hugo.[43] Among anonymous pairs is one which seems to be inspired by legal dispute:

In avitiam

> Nominis ex vitio decet avitiam vitiari /vocitari/
> Scilicet a vitio dicitur avitia.

Pro avitia

A vita, non a vitio magis aestimo dictam.
  Ergo pati vitium non decet avitiam.[44]

Another pair, ascribed by William of Malmesbury to quidam

versificus, takes simony for a subject:

Surgit in ecclesia monstrum, genitore Losinga
  Simonidum secta, canonum virtute resecta.
Petre, nimis tardas, nam Simon ad ardua temptat:
Si praesens esses, non Simon ad alta volaret.
Proh dolor! Ecclesiae nummis vendentur et aere.

Et infra:

Filius est praesul, pater abbas, Simon uterque.
Quid non speremus si nummos possideamus?
Omnia nummus habet; quod vult facit, addit et aufert.
Res nimis injusta, nummis fit praesul et abba.[45]

A second example quoted by William was inspired by a specific

event, the finding of a penitential metal ring circling the

body of Godefrey, Abbot of Malmesbury (+1105), after his

death. As William tells it, an unknown detractor wrote the

first part:

Mortificare decet vitiis carnalia membra;
  Non decet ut ferro mortifientur ea.
Nunc naturali decuisset morte resolvi;
  Quam quia praevenit, est homicida sui.

William himself wrote the reply:

Immo decet quocunque modo cohibere cadaver;
  Hoc exempla docent, hoc tenet alma fides.
Nec voluit ferro properam consciscere mortem,
  Ferrea sed vitiis ponere frena suis.[46]

The epigrams above show statement and response. Other

epigram groups, not necessarily associated in manuscripts,

arise simply because a topic is popular, or perhaps because

it was considered a good school assignment. The antidote for

pear poisoning, in particular, inspired many poems:

> Haec pira praesento; sed post pira sumpta memento
> Quod cibus in stomacho non est sanus sine Baccho.
>
> Post pira credo mori si vinum deficit ori;
> Sed quia nolo mori potabo de meliori.[47]
>
> Fert pira nostra pirus, sine uino sunt pira uirus.[48]
>
> Post pira presbiterum quere vel adde merum![49]

Four other sayings with the same message, beginning with the same words as the last example, appear in Hans Walther's collection of proverbs.

The topics touched upon in satiric epigram are extensive. As Joseph de Ghellinck has observed, schools of the twelfth century taught how to write both epigram and invective, inviting imitation of models of Horace, Martial, Juvenal, and other classic satirists, and perhaps suggesting topics of the type that were popular in satiric lyric of the time, such as clerical concubinage and simony, and the complications arising from the investiture controversy. For this twelfth century satiric literature as a whole, Ghellinck points out the major themes of simony of the high clergy, venality and cupidity of the lower orders, and moral criticism of prelates and monks. In addition, he remarks on the continued interest in the favorit topics of Hildebert and his group, invectives against the world, reflections on the instability of fortune, and diatribes against the fascinations of the feminine sex.[50] As an illustration of the forms in which a particular topic could flourish, I have here chosen for further examination and commentary about forty epigrams on the relatively unimportant topics of love and sexuality. All appear to be

from the twelfth century; the majority are anonymous.

Sixteen epigrams on sexuality are gathered together in
a twelfth or thirteenth century collection[51] along with a
few other epigrams on other topics. Of the sixteen, thirteen
clearly deal with homosexuality. Most of these are simple
two-line poems, rhymed and unrhymed; the longest runs to
seven lines. The tone is that of condemnation, ironic commen-
dation, or simple satire. Those which condemn the vice border
on the moral epigrams of didactic verse:

> Hostem natura Deus ictu fulminis ure,
> Qui maris in gremium disperdit opus geniture.[52]

> Carnotum, Senonis, pereant ubi prostat A/donis/
>   Lege lupanaris: sunt ibi stupra maris.
> Hic infecta malis urbs nobilis, urbs specialis
>   Parisius tenero nubere gaudet ero.
> Tu magis insanis his omnibus, Aurelianis,
>   Que titulum sceleris huius habendo peris.[53]

Those which praise the vice combine sarcasm with satire of
women:

> Femina vas vicibus condit avara tribus.
> Redditur hinc Sodome scelus ymitabile multis,
> Quod tantum teneros annis cupit atque decoros.

> Certius hoc certo nichil est, quam quod Venus omnis
>   Expers sit mellis, si Ganimede caret.[54]

Others are openly satiric, with epigrammatic point at the
end:

> Audivi dici quod sepius hic venerizat,
> Set Venus est felix, quia non nisi garcifarizat.[55]

> Aurelianenses sunt primi, si bene penses
> Illorum mores, puerorum concubitores.[56]

If the last holds a veiled reference to Hugh Primas, such
reference has escaped all critical discussion of the poet's

life.

The three heterosexual epigrams included in the collection are physically oriented:

Corpore pigmeos, hos inguine crede gigantes,
    Nam longam caudam quisque pusillus habet.
Sit licet iste brevis, iactura tamen brevitatis
Inguine pensatur, quod longum constat habere.

Cui peccare licet, peccat minus, ipsa potestas
    Semina nequitie languidiora facit.
Cui peccare minus licet, illum rara potestas
    Peccandi gravius in scelus omne trahit.[57]

Consilio Veneris michi mittit amica sabelum,
    Ventrem con cauda vult retinere sibi.[58]

The first two suggest a certain everyday realism in their placid antithetical statement; the last lacks the complementary tone of a love greeting. All apparently appealed to the reprobate at Orleans who seems to have put the collection together.

F. J. E. Raby, discussing a poem about Tamar and her brother, observes, "As Hauréau has pointed out, poems of this kind and questionable epigrams were not meant for publication to all the world. They were either composed in secret, like the poems which Guibert of Nogent fashioned in the cloister, or were meant for a circle of discreet friends. Medieval ideas of seemliness were formally strict, but there was great laxity in practice . . ."[59] Although it would be reassuring to believe questionable epigrams had a restricted audience, selections in the St. Gatien florilegium would indicate they were, in point of fact, used in school. That collection includes the following:

> Testiculis oculis priuauit trux homo David,
> Testiculo nebulo memet quoque trux ab utroque.
> Vos recolo solo priuari, doctor ilari,
> Flet colus et solus, qui restat uos inonestat.
> Testiculi muli non possunt mille quod ille.
>
> Expaueat tellus nouus uxor sponsa nouellus.
> Deformi bellus datur Iuoni ribotellus.
>
> Innumeras aedes colit innumerus Ganimedes.[60]

Perhaps these served as discussion pieces for a special class
in sex education.

Amatory epigram in the <u>Carmina Burana</u> is more sedate:

> Vincit Amor quemque, sed numquam vincitur ipse.[61]
>
> Non est crimen amor, quia, si scelus esset amare,
> Nollet amore Deus etiam divina ligare.[62]
>
> Est Amor alatus puer et levis, est pharetratus.
> Etas amentem probat et ratione carentem;
> Vulnificus pharetra signatur, mobilis ala;
> Nudus formatur, quia nil est, quo tenatur.
> Insipiens, fugitans, temeraria tela cruentans
> Mittit pentagonas nervo stridente sagittas,
> Quod sunt quinque modi, quibus associamur amori:
> Visus; colloquium; tactus; compar labiorum
> Nectaris alterni permixtio, commoda fini;
> In lecto quintum tacite Venus exprimit actum.[63]

The date of the first two is uncertain; for the last, there
is the evidence of a twelfth century manuscript.[64] The first
and last owe much to Ovid; all are abstract, quite out of the
style of Martial's erotic epigrams. Further, the first is
proverbial, with the commonplace felicity of antithesis which
marks so many of the one-line proverbs. The second, too,
can be read as a proverb, though its saving <u>divina</u> is pur-
posely withheld as long as possible, to give a hint of epi-
grammatic point. The third gives the standard Ovidian charac-
terization of the love god; the scholastic list structure of

the conclusion reveals the medieval touch.

I have read three other anonymous amatory epigrams isolated in manuscripts. The personal note is again strong in two:

> Si cuiquam capto vel taetro carcere clauso
> Proximus illius vel quis dixisset amicus:
> Cras dimitteris, haec ultra non patieris,
> Annorum mille noctem fore diceret ille,
> Ac pro spe nimia, nox insomnis foret illa.
> Si fuerit verbis amor aut medicabilis herbis,
> Omnia portarem, quo tela cruenta fugarem.
> Non est quo fugiam vel cuius munere vivam,
> Corpore laxatus, graviter sum corde ligatus.
> Non horresco iugum nec pondus id est mihi durum.[65]

> Nescio quid sit amor, nec amoris sentio nodum.
> Hoc scio: si quis amat nescit habere modum.[66]

The frame of reference is classic for both poems. While love is presented as an unwanted passion, the element of satire belies the explicit statement. The third epigram on the surface appears to be a simple medieval vilification of women:

> Est adamas mulier, pix, rannus, carduus asper,
> Lappa tenens, vespa pungens, urtica perurens.[67]

I include it here because of the prominent sexual symbolism. The carduus asper is second cousin to the rose, and the clinging, stinging, burning adjectivals have connotations that are not normally found in other diatribes against the female sex, where women are frequently allied with snakes and berated for folly and duplicity.

The love epigrams by known authors show grace and wit. Henry of Huntingdon's single epigram on the topic is suggestive of proverb:

> Qui tenerorum vulnus amorum non reveretur,
>   Innumerorum tela dolorum perpetuetur.[68]

A charming sketch by Arnulf of Lisieux gives a picture of

young lovers:

> Ad juvenem et puellam
> affectuosius se invicem intuentes
>
> Occurrunt blando sibi lumina vestra favore.
>   Et voto arrident intima corda pari:
> Alterno facies sibi dant responsa rubore:
>   Et tener affectum prodit utrinque (utrumque) pudo
> Mutua discurrens ultro citroque voluntas
>   Lascivum mentes foedus inire facit.
> Alternis radiis oculorum flamma refulget,
>   Perplexusque oculos foederat intuitus.
> Ipsae animae proprias quasi permutasse videntur
>   Sedes, inque novis degere corporibus.
> Complexus tacitos animorum gratia nectit,
>   Corporeisque parat nexibus auspicium:
> Procedet felix duplicato copula nexu,
>   Concurrentque suis corpora spiritibus
> Utilis optatos dabit exspectatio fructus,
>   Et laetos parient anxia vota dies.[69]

Serlo of Wilton's seven amatory epigrams, of which the follow-

ing are representative, are playful:

> Dum studeo, dum solus eo, tres cerno puellas:
> Opstupeo studioque meo res addo novellas.[70]
>
> Parce, Cupido! Lora tibi do -- me minus ure!
> Quo feror, o di? que prius odi, sunt michi cure.
> Que probo, sperno; que michi cerno noxia, quero.
> Hunc gero morem, quod timeo rem, quam fore spero.[71]

In others, slightly longer, he interweaves classic allusions.

On the whole, the twelfth century epigrams of sexuality

and carnal love show a fushion of wit with a sense that love

is an unwanted emotion. The latter feeling is countered by

an acknowledgement of its power and possibly its value, some-

times revealed in the tone of satire itself. Almost entirely

missing is the detail of sexual play and perversion that

typifies the erotic epigrams of Martial and Ausonius.

Anecdotal Epigram

The anecdotal epigram, like the satiric, is in part definable by form. It is basically narrative, impersonal, swift, and frequently humorous. The following story of the Trojan war, from the Carmina Burana, illustrates one popular type:

> Armat amor Paridem; vult Tyndaridem, rapit illam;
> Res patet; hostia adest; pugnatur, menia cedunt.[72]

Written in the margin near a long rhythmic poem on the same event, it is a school exercise in abbreviation. Numerous other classic stories, of late twelfth or early thirteenth century date, are found in a collection of rhetorical verse and poetry manuals by Geoffrey of Vinsauf and Gervais of Melkley.[73] Classic stories, however, are not the only ones chosen for anecdotal retelling, nor are the poems invariably products of the late twelfth century schoolroom.

Most popular of abbreviated stories, to judge by remaining epigrams, was the legend of the Snow Child, widely spread in Europe during the Middle Ages.[74] One of these epigrams follows in manuscript the De mercatore, a Latin comedy on the story:

> Hii versus precedentes habentur breviter per
> hos versus sequentes:
>
> Coniux absente gravidata viro redeunte:
> "Nixit in ore meo, sum gravis" inquid "eo."
> Inde dolens multum puerum vir vendit adultum,
> Et dixit: "Niveum sol liquefecit eum."[75]

The manuscript contains selections from Matthew of Vendôme;

the anecdote may be his work. A second short version comes

from a Zürich manuscript:

> Dum vir abest, puerum parit eius adultera coniux
> Et reduci narrat, quod nive sit genitus.
> Hunc apud Ethiopes vir vendit et ella requirit.
> "De nive conceptum sol liquefecit" ait.[75]

Finally, three versions are given by Geoffrey of Vinsauf as

examples of abbreviation in his _Poetria nova_:

> Rebus in augendis longe remorante marito,
> Uxor moecha parit puerum. Post multo reverso
> De nive conceptum fingit. Fraus mutua; caute
> Sustinet; asportat; vendit; matrique reportans
> Ridiculum simile, liquefactum sole refingit.
>
> Vir quia quem peperit genitum nive femina fingit
> Vendit, et a simili liquefactum sole refingit.
>
> De nive conceptum quem mater adultera fingit
> Sponsus eum vendens; liquefactum sole refingit.[77]

Contexts and the word breviter in the introduction of the

De mercatore quatrain would suggest that all of the epigrams

are school exercises or models. The precise relationship

between the Latin and vernacular versions of the story is

obscure, but the short anecdotes are probably based on Latin

versions, not on the vernacular poems or their hypothetical

oral progenitors.

One other anecdotal epigram has equally notable narra-

tive analogues. It gives the story of "The Priest and the

Wolf":

> **Parvus** erat limes quo presbyter ire solebat,
> Et lupus; hic ad oves, presbyter ad dominam.
> Rusticus hoc sensit, foveam facit. Ecce, sub atra
> Nocte, lupus veniens corruit in foveam.
> Sicut erat solitus et presbyter ibat eodem,
> Quoque lupus cecidit presbyter ipse cadit;
> Cumque moram facerat, ancillam rustica misit.
> Quid tunc? Haec etiam corruit in foveam.

> Ad foveam vir mane redit, tres invenit intus;
> Hanc fugat, hunc jugulat, huicque pudenda secat.[78]

This epigram is not so obviously an exercise in abbreviation; it could have been reduced much further had the author so desired. The story appears again in a fabliau, _Du prestre et du leu._ The French version is relatively short--twenty-eight lines--and closely resembles the Latin version:

> Un prestre maneit en Chartein;
> S'amoit la fame à .I. vilein.
> Le vilein, qui garde s'en prist,
> En la voie une fosse fist
> Par où cil seut venir laienz.
> .I. leu vint la nuit et chiet enz,
> Car la nuit estoit trop oscure . . .

The end is developed to a point:

> Le leu tua, et esbourssa
> Le prestre, et la garce enchaça.
> A ceus avint grant meschaance,
> Et au vilein bele chaance.
> Li prestres honte li fesoit;
> Li leu ses bestes estrangloit;
> Chuscun d'eus acheta mout chir,
> Cil son deduit, cil son mengier.[79]

The authorship and date of this fabliau are not known, but it is related in theme to those of the jongleur Gautier Le Lou, who was working toward the middle of the thirteenth century in Hainaut.[80] The story is given in a German version, _Von der Wolfsgruben_,[81] and as the fifty-sixth story of the _Cent nouvelles nouvelles_, considerably modified and lengthened.[82] The Latin epigram may be based on one of the vernacular versions; its companion poems in the manuscript associate it with the twelfth century.[83] Thus the possibility remains that the epigram is the original verse version of the tale, based on oral rather

than literary sources.

The manuscript with **Parvus erat limes** contains other anecdotal epigrams, lacking analogues. One of these has a heroin with the name of a character from medieval Latin comedy:

> Dum vir dormit adest moechus, clam Lydia surgit
>   Inque thoro famulam collocat illa suam.
> Uxorem moechus vitiat famulamque maritus;
>   Sub specie uxoris utraque fit gravida.
> Infantem domino dat servula, nupta marito;
>   Suscipiens nuptae, rejicit ille suum.[84]

Hildebert also used a character from comedy, Milo, as the protagonist of one of his anecdotes.[85] Other anecdotes, however, may have been suggested by real life incidents. At any rate, one would like to suppose that life made its contribution to the following, which Hauréau signals as student work because of the tirade rhyme:

De quodam rustico

> Concilium domino papa Romae celebrante,
> Rusticus irrupit clamando: "Tacete, tacete!"
> Concio tota silet quasi grande quid afferat ille.
> Uxor erat quam perdiderat, turba rapiente.
> Hanc vocat, illa venit. Gravisus ea veniente:
> "Uxor adest, inquit, fundite, turba, valete."
> Rident pontifices; pudet hos tamen et piget aeque
> Tali ridiculo sua seria postposuisse.[86]

The relationship between the anecdote and death verse, reflected in frequent death motifs, has already been discussed above in Chapter III. The verses are also related, in some degree, to fables. The verse fables of the late twelfth century, mentioned above in Chapter V, however, are not the immediate inspiration. As a group, they are not particularly short, and they typically end with a moral,

which never appears in the anecdotal epigram. Rather, the
anecdotes are to be allied with isolated fables, probably of
an earlier date, such as the following:

> Fertur, erat binis meretricibus unus amator.
> Haec aetate fuit marcida, floruit haec.
> Ille viro senior, junior sene, mixtus utroque,
> Nec bene non canus, nec bene canus erat.
> Hunc miserum dum quaeque sibi cupit assimilari,
> Fit neutri similis dissimilisque sibi.
> Alterutrum quia dum gremiis incumbit earum,
> Huic junior canos, vellit anus reliquos.
> Sic deformatum, depilem ridiculumque
> Exponunt populo. Ridet eum populus.[87]

This particular poem is based on the **Phaedrus Aesop fable**
(II:2); it does not appear in the prose Romulus. In the
thirteenth century it is cited in sermons. Fables of this
type, such as Theodulf's De equo perdito,[88] a witty thief
tale, were occasionally written by Carolingians; others
appear in Egbert of Liège's Fecunda ratis.[89]

In general, one may say that the anecdotal epigram
appears to have sprung from a triple source: death verse of
the Latin Anthology, fable, and school exercise in abbrevia-
tion of comedy and classic myth. The sources are reflected
in topics of death, animals, marital infidelity, peasant
cunning, and classic myth.

The type was well developed by about 1100, for Hildebert
is quite at home with varied topics. Two of his, De Milone
mercatore[90] and De quodam servo,[91] are episodes of lower-
class sexual infidelity. Two more, De Lucretia and De herma-
phrodito,[92] tell of exceptional deaths, both drawn from
classic stories but shaped by Latin Anthology models. Two

others are based on classic tales alone:

> Cum peteret puerum Saturnius, Yfis Yantem,
> Cetus ait superum: "Scelus hoc.   Illud voco culpam."
> Quo prohibente nefas, ludum ridente virorum,
> Altera fit iuvenis, fit femina neuter eorum.
> Si scelus esset idem, sentencia celicolarum
> Alterutrum transformaret, neutramve duarum.[93]

Here, Hildebert is working in a fairly complicated manner with

the story of Iphis and Ianthe (Ovid, Met. IX, 676-797) and

the contrasting yet parallel story of Zeus (Saturnius) and

Ganymede.   It is the latter story which gives the material

for his other classic anecdote:

> Lumina, colla, gene, flavi flaxura capilli,
>   In Ganimede suo flamma fuero Iovi.
> Iupiter in puerum querens sibi pauca licore,
>   In puero statuit cuncta licere deus.
> Oblitusque poli curas, et murmura divum,
>   Et linguam lese coniugis, atque Iovam,
> Iliacum tulit ad superos, ad sidera sidus,
>   Et se tunc tandem credidit esse deum.
> Utque puer pelex visu tactuque placeret,
>   Oscula nocte Iovi, pocula luce dabat.[94]

These are not, as some later classic anecdotes, simply school

exercises.

To judge from relative numbers, the anecdotal epigram

was quite popular during the following century.[95]

Philosophic Epigram

A third major type of secular epigram is serious in

tone and objective in its statement, giving philosophic

commentary on the nature of reality.   The poems may be

most easily subcategorized by topic.   In general, they are

assessments of life in this world, relatively divorced from

the typical religious thoughts of sin and salvation, and

close to a classic awareness of the brevity and passing nature
of life. Although a few remark on some typical quality of
human nature, most present the futility of riches and power,
the fickleness of Fortune, and the brevity of life. Directly
or indirectly, Seneca and Boethius provide much of their
inspiration. However, they easily drift from their center
into the commonplaces typical of epitaph, the moral observa-
tion of fable, and the practical wisdom of proverb.

A few are quite specific about human nature. One attri-
buted to Marbod operates like a small beast fable, with the
lesson omitted:

<div style="text-align:center">De volucre conculcante gramina</div>

> Dum pedes incedit volucris, nova gramina laedit.
>   Quo volet ergo volet, gramina ne violet.[1]

Applications to human life go unstated. The beast fable
technique is perhaps better seen in another epigram about
bulls and boys:

> Bella movet citius, cui desunt cornua, taurus,
>   Quam qui cornuta fronte ferire potest:
> Sepius in vico pueros pugnare videmus
>   Quam validos homines, quis solet esse vigor.[2]

The structure is rigidly balanced with antithesis and compari-
sons. Similar strong antitheses, to a degree typical of
epigrams as a whole but more especially suited to those
poems which set up metaphoric parallels, are evident in an-
other commentary on human nature which lacks the beast
imagery:

> Vir bene vestitus pro vestibus esse peritus
> Creditur a mille, quamvis idiota sit ille.
> Si careat veste, nec sit vestitus honeste,
> Nullius est laudis, quamvis sciat omne quod audis.[3]

Here, the pattern is a four-fold weft of well-clothed/ill clothed; wise/foolish; praise/blame; and, in the background, foolish multitudes/discerning readers. In all these poems, the attention is directed toward discrepencies between appearance and reality.

The major topic of philosophic verse is life's insta-bility and uncertainty. On Fortune herself, there are a number of epigrams, not all as complicated as the following:

<div align="center">De infidelitate fortunae et amoris</div>

Nulli fidus amor, nulli fortuna fidelis;
   Nulli dispensant mel sine felle suum.
Extollit fortuna suos, prosternit eosdem;
   Et quibus illa favet, non favet illa diu.
Urit amor, blanditur amor, delectat et urit:
   Et amor, blanditur amor, delectant et urit:
Tempus, magis unde placet, vulnerat inde magis
   Casus illa rotae, temperat illa vires,
Stante rota fortuna favet; cadit haec, premit illam;
   Succedit tempus, sed variatur amor.
Nutrit amor gemitus, generat fortuna timorem;
   Gaudia principium, finis utrique dolor.
Haec ludit vices varias, comitatur utrasque,
   Inque diem tenebras, in tenebrasque diem.
Unde magis fortuna placet, fert inde dolorem;
   Et quod dulce magis subripit illa cito
Non equidem semper delectat amor. Sibi semper
   Suppositum quoddam triste reservat amor.
Fortunam curae, curae comitantur amorem;
   Hinc sitis, hinc gemitus, hinc labor, hinc lacrymae,
Miscet amor lacti laqueos, mellique venenum;
   Et fortuna malis plurima dura bonis.
Sic nec fidus amor, sic nec fortuna fidelis;
   Sic fortuna quidem, sic quoque frangit amor.[4]

Comparable is the <u>Versus de rota Fortunae</u>,[5] one distich longer, which omits the comparison, employs standard imagery. Short poems on the topic seem to be mainly preserved as titles for pictures of the goddess and her wheel, as noted in Chapter III, or as simple proverbs.

Commentary on Fortune was not necessarily through personification. A personal statement is given by Alexander Neckham, on his leave-taking from St. Albans:

> Dulce Verolamium linquo recessurus.
> Linguere uix dixerim cum sim reuersurus.
> Quis tamen recedens est reditus securus?
> Succubuit uictus undis etiam Palinurus.[6]

The goliardic stanza cum auctoritas would suggest that this comes from a longer poem.[7] Another poem by Alexander is more traditional:

> Dulcescit crebro fructus radicis amare:
>   Si labor est radix, ars tibi fructus erit.
> Spes fructus iubet arva coli, preludere bellum
>   Laurea; pluris sunt parta labore gravi.
> Si consultius est quam numquam discere sero,
>   Incipe! Nonne voles tu didicisse? Voles!
> Insta! mors instat, etas matura negabit
>   Vires, quas iuveni grata iuventa dabit.
> Disce velut semper victurus, et ut moriturus
>   Confestim vivas! Expedit ista sequi.[8]

Here, it is the certainty of old age and death, not the unexpected, that the poet emphasizes.

When death is explicitly the topic, epigrams are often much like titles, perhaps echoing philosophic sections of death roll verse. Hildebert's two epigrams on death appear as titles at the close of letters to Matthilda of England.[9] The Epigramma de domo lignea, quoted above in the introduction, resembles a building inscription.[10]

Other verses call attention to the vanity of wordly possessions in the face of death.

O dives, dives non omni tempore vives,[11]

runs one sentence, falsely attributed to Saint Bernard. The much copied and varied Quid inde? implies the same:

> Dives ait: Si nobilitas mea magna, quid inde?
> Si mea magna domus, mea splendida mensa, quid inde?
> Si mea sponsa decens, generosa, pudica, quid inde?
> Si doceam socios in qualibet arte, quid inde?
> Si supplex hominum mihi serviat ordo, quid inde?
> Tam cito praetereunt haec omnia quod nihil inde.[12]

For these poems, there is Biblical inspiration. Although
riches are seen implicitly as a gift of Fortune, of no use
at the time of death, the repetitions probably bespeak a
closer tie to liturgical formulae than is found in the
epigrams on Fortune personified.

Other philosophic epigrams are no more than a loosely
bound gathering of proverbial and classic commonplaces, some-
what similar to the sections of the _Delicie cleri_. Two poems
are representative:

> Vivere sub meta lex precipit atque propheta.
> Est velut unda maris vox, gloria, laus popularis.
> Omina sunt hominum tenui pendentia filo.
> Jui differt penas, peccandi laxat habenas.
> Nil fieri stulte credit, qui peccat inulte.
> Discit enim citius meminitque libentius illud,
> Quod quis deridet, quam quod probat et veneratur.[13]

> De instabilitate rerum humanarum

> Omnia sunt hominum tenui pendentia filo,
>   Et subito casu quae valuere ruunt.
> Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus,
>   Et certam praesens vix habet hora fidem.[14]

In the first poem, from the _Carmina Burana_, the composer has
seen fit to tie together a number of one-line proverbs,
possibly but not necessarily of his own invention, along with
a third line from Ovid (Pont. IV, ep. 3, 35) and sixth and
seventh from Horace (Ep. II.1, 262-263). The second starts
with a slight variant of the Ovidian line, then continues
with lines 36, 49, and 50. Both epigrams appear to be of

and for the schools, where proverb and classic excerpts came together in reading lesson and _florilegium_. Although the appropriation of proverbial material is more difficult to identify than that of classic poetry, there are a number of poems, such as the following by Hildebert, which may well draw on proverb:

> Virgo seni, generosa novo, prelarga tenaci
> Iungitur, et differt tempore, gente, manu.[15]

In general, the philosophic epigrams appear to spring from inscriptional verse, classic models from _florilegia_, and proverb. They are probably the most conservative and repetitious of the secular epigrammatic types.

Aenigma

The riddle was not particularly popular during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to judge from the almost total lack of preserved independent collections. The _Logogryphi et aenigmata_ attributed to Philip of Harvengt, [16] of thirty-nine distichs, is perhaps the best example. However, the _florilegia_ compilers admitted isolated riddles and small groups of word games into their gatherings every now and again. Many of these appear to be new additions to the old tradition of classic time.

Some are real problems. One preserved in a late twelfth century manuscript reads:

> Res fit ab his, sed ob es, das hic es, fit ab hoc et
>   ab res,
> Et quod ab hoc vel ab hac non fit in hoc sed in
>   hac.[17]

This puzzle becomes less difficult in another version,
preserved with Gervais of Melkley's <u>Dilecto suo Johanni Albo</u>,
a rhetorical handbook, along with a number of other riddles:

> Res fit ab his, sed ob aes. Dat hic aes. Fit ab
> hoc et ab hac res.
> Quod fit ab hoc et ab hac, non fit in hoc, sed in
> hac.[18]

As Faral observes, it has to do with a galant and a courte-
san. The agile mind of a young Latin student or an amateur
cryptographer could probably solve the following:

> Prima sonat quartae, respondet quinta secundae,
> Tercia cum sexta nomen habebit auis.[19]

Like the riddle love greeting mentioned above, it is based
on spelling. The answer is not given in the manuscript.

Other riddles are relatively easy. One spelling riddle
by Peter Riga comes provided with its own answer:

> Anatole, disis, arctos, mesembrio, mundi
> Quattuor hae partes esse loquuntur Adam.
> Anatole dedit A, disis D, contulit arctos
> A, mesembrio M; collige: fiet Adam.[20]

More conventional, based on ambiguous meaning, is one on the
shell of a nut:

> Ligneus est lectus, nulla tamen arbore sectus:
> Solvere qui poterit, solvat et eius erit.[21]

Syllabic division of the river name, Volturnus, gave
rise to three variations:

> Est quoddam flumen, quod habet mirabile nomen:
> Si capud, est miles, si caudam dempseris, ales,
> Si ventrem tollis, est hoc, venit unde cicatrix.[22]

> Est domus in terris, sed vivit semper in undis.
> Si caput abstuleris, apparet fortis in armis.
> Si medium tollis, ictus mucrone patescit.
> Si finem abstuleris, volucer petit aethera pennis.[23]

> Una novem constat trisillaba pars elementis,
> Cuius si quando dematur sillaba prima,
> Quod remanet miles quondam pugnavit in armis.
> Si medium tollas, facient remanentia plagam.
> Demas postremam, volucrem duo cetera signant.
> Totum iungatur, fluvium signare videtur,
> Nec voces id agunt, sed vocum significata:
> Hoc tot Vulturnus per partes posse videtur.[24]

The last is by Baudry of Bourgueil, who wrote four shorter
word games, such as the following palindrome on <u>rotas/</u>
<u>sator</u>:

> Si cupis ipse rotas qui terras scindis habere,
>   Retrogradando sator quod cupis invenies.[25]

Longer <u>aenigmata</u>, similar to those of Aldhelm, carry
symbolic and descriptive suggestions. I have seen no indi-
cation of the answer to the following. One may speculate that
it is nothing more complex than faith, hope, and charity,
though the frequent allusions to honor and the appearance of
<u>amor</u> in the poem itself plainly show that some other answer
is desired:

> Copia tres hominum triplici provexit honore;
> Tres ita provectos triplici sociavit amore.
> Sic fuit una tribus, ut tres amor uniat unus;
> Sic tres unit amor, ne separet hos nisi funus.
> In quibus exemplar fit tertia vita duarum,
> Et vice conversa, de lumine lucet earum.
> Sunt sibi pro speculis, exemplaque mutua praebent,
> Tresque tribus quod sunt alternatim sibi debent.
> Felices quibus elimat zelo meliore
> Tertia vita duas, nec honor tabescit honore.
> Hic bene servit honor, quia nullus servit honori
> Jure tenet virgam, cui non est virga timori.
> Felix, cujus honor se possessore tumescit,
> Quando non ipsi, sed ab ipso gloria cessit.[26]

On the whole, the riddles of the period are short, and
they are more frequently palindrome or logograph than classic
<u>aenigma</u>.

B. Mixed Forms

A number of epigrams are so structured by rhetorical devices that they seem to form a type in themselves, though their content alone might mark them as belonging to types discussed above. These display verses are generally a product of the schools, but they cannot invariably be accounted didactic verse. Many other short poems belong to genres which include long poems as well. In particular, verse letters, eulogy and vituperation, and metric and rhythmic lyrics may appear to be epigrams, raising questions of classification. Further, what appear to be epigrams may occur in much longer works, such as narrative. An examination of some of these poems which defy simple classification will mark out certain limitations of the genre.

Display Verse

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but particularly in the twelfth, a number of poets took great delight in complicated rhyme and rhetorical patterns. Their highly structured verse is more disciplined, on the whole, and more penetrable, than that of the Celtic writers of the seventh and eighth centuries, though it is the school verse of the Hisperica famina which best foreshadows something of the later spirit.

The organizing device could be rhyme. When Marbod wrote the following Nugae poeticae, he carefully limited himself to perfectly ordinary words. Consequently, the poem conveys a

residue of meaning, though one can hardly call it philosophic:

> Altus mons, firmus pons, libera frons, vitreus fons,
> Arbor nux, sacra crux, leo trux, bona lux, vigilans dux,
> Candida nix, nigra pix, pomo frix, aqua Styx,
>   volucris strix,
> Fertile rus, corruptio pus, et amica luto sus.
> Longum crus, curvat grus, rodit mus, redolet thus.
> Est mordax dens, estque memor mens, est patriae gens,
> Urbis plebs, virtus spes, omnia res, graditur pes.
> Cogit vis, turbat lis, in tribus aequivocat glis.
> Ditat dos, vernat flos, stillat ros, acuit cos.
> Uxor fratris glos, mugit bos, cuncta trahit mos.
> Dat sors, aufert mors, resonat vox, furta tegit nox.[27]
> Jus carnis, vis rectoris, id est jus juris utrumque.

A skilled writer of versus rapportati could make statements
with more meaning, although the modern reader certainly will
become so engrossed in the cross-word puzzle problem that he
may overlook what the writer is trying to say. Peter Riga, as
mentioned earlier, wrote a title series with entries such as
the following:

De nativitate Xoisti

> Natus, casta, nitens, exultans, perfidus, emptus,
>   Rex, virgo, sydus, angelus, hostis, homo,
> Querit, nescit, dat, declarat, perdit, adorat,
>   Nos, labem, lumen, gaudia, iura, Deum.[28]

There were other verbal gymnastics at the skilled technicians'
fingertips, as well. Adnominatio was Serlo of Wilton's choice
for the following little poem for a female flower of the
spring:

> Flos floris, flori, florem, flos, flore liquori
> Es, nitor equalis tibi, das michi, plus specialis,
> Ver veris, veri, ver, o ver, vere, videri
> Vis, mea, flos pares, spumis rutilas, mage clares.[29]

Telestichs, acrostichs, anagrams, and the like also appear
in eleventh and twelfth century epigram, but not as frequently
as in Carolingian verse.

Alexander Neckham shows other types of word play, related to logograph and palindrome. The first is a type of retrograde verse; the last is a tongue-twister:

> Ala teget messem, sedes sanas tenet ara.
> Ara tenet messem, non sus, murum tenet Odo.
>
> Jmmundis dispar parva valere reor.
>
> Hospita sit sospes, non hospes ut hospita sospes.
> Hospes sit sospes, non hospita sospes ut hospes.
> Hospes sit sospes, sit et hospita sospes et hospes.[30]

Closest to absolute nonsense is the "Devil's Speech" in the Carmina Burana:

> Amara tanta tyri pastos sycalos sycaliri
> Ellivoli scarras polili posylique lyvarras.[31]

The poem brings to mind Irish style, though it appears to be a deliberate jumbling of comprehensible Latin.

Verse Letters

The satiric letter is mentioned above as a common subtype of epigram. In general, those letters which are satiric in tone, or gently reproachful in the set topics mentioned, are short and limited to a single topic. The verse letter form itself, however, gives rise to many types, varying in tone from warm personal regard, mutual interest in objective matters, to stylized vituperation and panegyric. As F. J. E. Raby comments, "the cult of friendship expressed itself naturally in the poetic epistle, and here Ovid was once again the master."[32] A number of writers of the turn of the century, such as Godfrey of Reims and Baudry of Bourgueil, specialized in epistles. Marbod wrote a small collection of love letters[33];

later Matthew of Vendôme published a collection of specimen

verse letters.[34] The question of which letters, if any, are

more epigram than epistle may best be investigated by look-

ing at the works of known epigrammatists.

Among Froumund of Tegernsee's thirty-six poems in the

Tegernsee letter book are a number of verse letters.[35] I

shall choose one as representative:

> Gens habitans Alpes tibi mandat, domne, salutes,
>   Maxime Froumundus, qui cupit esse tuus.
> Queam lacrimosa tuis insistunt tempora servis!
>   Decedis patria, quid sunt regna tua?
> Com pater hinc transis, orphellus fit puer omnis,
>   Sis precor in regno, dux generose, tuo.
> Nil mea vita valet, si non te semper adoptet;
>   Cum caput abfueris, tunc ego truncus ero.
> Si poteris, possum, si non, peitus quoque nil sum.
>   Ne mala contingant te, mea vita petit.
> Sed potius precor, ut pergas, iam despice curas;
>   Prospera cuncta tuis advenient populis.
> Egredere ad gentes, vir virtutum, sapienter;
>   Letus enim transis, laetior inde venis,
> Et nomen tibi preclarum Deus, auctor honorum,
>   Inde reportandum det semper imperium,
> Et narrent famam totam per posteritatem,
>   Qui non sunt nati, sint memores meriti.
> Dicite concordi comitantes voce popelli:
>   'Deduc incolomem tu, Deus alme, ducem.
> Angelici cives, Heinricum ducite sancti
>   Per cunctam, gradiens quam subit ipse, viam.
> Salveris iuvenesque tui cuncteque phalanges,
>   Que tecum pariter dulce legunt et iter.
> Perge salus nostre gentisque revertere salvus,
>   Sit procul occursus conventusque malus.
> Regnorum rector sis destructorque malorum,
>   Sis timor insidiis, pax mansura tuis.
> Aurea namque tuam deducat semita vitam,
>   Pax saliat membris, gaudia sint animis.'[36]

One would hardly be tempted to call this epigrammatic.

Though it is shorter than some roll inscriptions, it seems

rather long. Further it is quite personal, with a specific

greeting, and also occasional, referring to happenings which

tie it to time and person in a manner that is not found in epigram as a whole. More importantly, the underlying contradiction which characterizes epigram as a whole is absent, or at least complex and hard to identify. However, a comparison with roll verse is instructive. Similar greetings appear in roll verse; the roll verse is quite as occasional as this; and the antithesis of roll verse, life against death, is quite as general as the basic antithesis of this letter, absence against presence or, better, well-being against harm. Perhaps this is to say no more than that roll poems, too, are epistles, as well as inscriptions on a roll.

Fulcoius' letters[37] raise a further question. They are generally rather long, on current topics, personal, ranging over a wide variety of points, such that the temptation to consider them epigrams is slight. Yet they are included with his titles in Uter. In some sense he may have seen them as companion pieces to the inscriptions. He could have intended to do nothing more than collect his early poetry in a single volume, but we have no assurance that this was the case. The manuscript with Baudry's verse presents a similar situation. The collection is basically a group of letters, some personal, some fictional in imitation of the Heroides, united with epitaphs and a very few other types of epigram. A few of the letters, mentioned above, are so short that Baudry limits himself to a single topic and omits his usual greeting. But it is doubtful that he thought of those letters as being particularly unusual because of this or different in kind

from the many other longer letters in his collection.

Hildebert's short poems are found united in no single manuscript, though a sizeable numer are gathered in several. They are primarily epigrams, though there are verse letters, too. Some of the letters, such as the following, are quite brief:

Ad A. comitissam

Augusti soboles, serie sublimis avorum,
    Missa tibi placeant quantulacumque precor.
Nolo manus sceptris, vel cervix apta corone
    Ad mea flectantur munera: mente fave.
Ut satis est populo superum meruisse favorem,
    Sum cadit ad magnos hostia parva deos,
Sic implet votum tua grasia. Plus homine erro,
    Si plus affectem quam placuisse tibi.[38]

Ad nepotem

Formula vivendi presto est tibi: pauca loquaris,
Plurima fac: sit utrisque comes modus, utile, pulerum.
Sobrius a mensis, a lecto surge pudicus.
Obsequiis instes: ea pro te premia poseant.
Ut decet et prodest, et amabis et oderis idem.
Stans casum metuas, speres prostratus, et illum
Quem colis in titulis, miserum abiectumque tuere.[39]

If we wished to make a distinction between epistle and epigram here, we might observe that the first letter is quite obviously designed to be sent to the countess so that Hildebert may obtain her favor, and is, consequently, a letter, whereas the second is totally lacking in truly personal advice and is, consequently, a didactic epigram. Such a classification, based on questionable internal evidence of whether the letter was or was not sent to the person named in the lemma, is of doubtful use. External evidence of whether a letter was originally published for a large audience

or sent to its announced recipient is usually lacking. Many epigrams, because of their personal address, are similar to the epistle; some epistles, because of content and length, are epigrammatic.

Eulogy and Vituperation

The relationship between eulogy and death verse is mentioned above in Chapter III. Eulogy for the dead is so close to commemorative epitaph that it is perhaps useless to make a distinction. A poem in honor of the two kings of Jerusalem, Godefroi of Bouillon and his brother Boudouin, shows the type:

> Gentibus expulsis frater prior atque secundus
>   Rex in Jerusalem fortis uterque fuit.
> Multa prior, sed plura sequens pro tempore gessit,
>   Nam frater breviter rex fuit, iste diu.
> Hostibus hi quasi fulgur erant, quasi murus amicis,
>   Intus praevaluit pax gladiusque fortis.
> In bello dorsum, pro pace tributa dederunt,
>   Non est majores terra secuta viros.
> Ecclesias clerus, plebs urbem, rura coloni
>   Implebant, segetes horrea, vina penus.[40]

Another is the verse for Robert Guiscard, Norman conqueror in Italy, quoted by William of Malmesbury in his Gesta regum Anglorum:

> Hic terror mundi Guiscardus, hic expulit urbe
>   Quem Ligures regem, Roma, Lemannus habent.
> Parthus, Arabs, Macedumque phalanx non texit Alexin,
>   At fuga; sed Venetum nec fuga nec pelagus.[41]

At most, these poems lack the specific statement, "he died"; in other respects, they are quite in the same spirit as the epitaphs.

Eulogies were also written in praise of the living. In

one sense, they may be regarded as rhetorical exempla , to
be classed with the descriptions, arguments, laments, and
other forms of the class room. However, they obviously were
used for practical and polite purposes in the larger world of
society. Some, with appropriate salutations, became letters.
Others may have been designed for oral delivery. Adapted for
a letter close is one by Guido of Bazoches:

> Flos michi spes fructus, semen, spes utilis herbe,
>   Arboris insicio, fons michi spes fluvii,
> O vini spes uva michi, spes messis arista,
>   O puer egregii spes michi magna viri,
> O generis sublime decus, Rainaude, meique
>   Altera pars anime, cor mihi cordis ave!
> Te tuus ille suum quo debet amore salutat,
>   Cuius es ex sibi te dante sorore nepos.[42]

Delicately turned is Hildebert's little poem apparently for
Adela of Blois:

> Desipit et peccat qui te mortalibus equat.
> Est in laude parum, sed eris mihi prima dearum.[43]

These poems may be regarded as epigrammatic, yet as numerous
others testify, panegyric was not necessarily short[44]; further,
it could crop up as a section in long narrative works.

Eulogy could also honor families and cities. One for a
house is by Marbod:

> Domus paterna

Arcta domus gaude per avos parta tibi laude.[45]
Insofar as the arcta domus is the physical house itself and
the verse is short, this could conceivably be designed as a
simple inscription.

An epigrammatic eulogy for Poitou appears in the Hilde-
bert miscellany:

De Pictavi civitate, et ejus rege

Servili depressa jugo longumque sepulta,
   Erige Pictavis libera facta caput.
Libertas tibi sera redit, de pulvere serge,
   Tolle jugum, terge lumina, plaude manu.
Consulibus seducta tuis, tibi consuluisti:
   Rex tuus ecce tibi mitis et acer adest.
In sibi subjectos mitissimus, acer in hostes;
   Expedit urbs illo regia rege regi.
Ille salutaris dum lucifer exit in ortus,
   Occasum Martis stella cruenta petit.
Pax viget, arma jacent, labor occidit, otia vivunt.
   Cessat lege dolus, fertilitate fames.
/Urbs latro/ne vacat, via caedibus, arva rapina,
   /Hostis frende/ntis obsidione fores.
/Non pallet, pulsi/s canibus, formidine civis
   /Non implet/ vulgus seditione forum.
/Praemi/a militibus redeunt, et civibus aurum,
   /Et/ suus obaesus inviolatus honor.
Servis libertas, fessis tutula colonis,
   Spes miseris, risus flentibus, ira malis.[46]

This might be contrasted with another poem, De civitate
Redonis, ascribed to Marbod:

Urbs Redonis, spoliata bonis, viduata colonis,
Plena dolis, odiosa polis, sine lumine soli,
In tenebris vacat illecebris, gaudetque latebris.
Desidiam putat egregiam spernitque sophiam.
Jus atrum vocat omne patrum, meritura barathrum.
Causidicos per falsidicos absolvit iniquos.
Veridicos et pacificos condemnat amicos.
Quisque bonus reputatur onus, nequit esse patronus.
Bella ciet, neque deficiet, quia pessima fiet.
Nemo quidem scit habere fidem nutritus ibidem.
Quid referam, gentemque feram, saevamque Megaeram?
Ruricolis fit ab armicolis oppressio solis.
Mors currit, quia praedo furit, villasque perurit.
Ira Dei non obstate ei plena rabiei.
Qui graditur miser exuitur, pugnisque feritur.
Pauperibus deest inde cibus, sunt vulnera gibbus.[47]

Another pokes fun at the Liguriens:

Vulpe salitur ovis dum densis vepribus haeret,
   Hac genitos Ligures fabula stirpe refert.
Impliciti sunt sex vitiis: a vepribus unum,
   A vervece duo, cetera vulpis habet.
Gens a vepre tenax, ove simplex, vellere mollis;
   Gens a patre suo cauta, dolosa, pavens.[48]

Attacks of this type appear to be directed largely against groups, not against individuals.

Most popular of subjects for invective was the female sex. Two typical epigrammatic examples are anonymous:

> Femina corpus, opes, animam, vim, lumina, voces,
> Destruit, annihilat, necat, eripit, orbat, acerbat.[49]

De perversa muliere

> Aufert, includit, fallit, nudat, dat, adurit,
>   Privat, monstrat, habet, exspoliat mulier.
> Primo viventi paradisum, carcere Joseph,
>   Ornatu Judam, crine virum validum,
> Uriae mortem, moechando David, Salomonem
>   Religione, Petrum voce diabolica.[50]

Except in length, these resemble longer tirades on the vices of women, such as Hildebert's De tribus vitiis muliebri amore avaritia ambitione,[51] the attack incorporated in Bernard of Cluny's De contemptu mundi,[52] and Peter the Painter's De mala muliere.[53]

The short eulogies and vituperations, although in one sense rhetorical epigrammatic types, are closely tied to the verse letter, on the one hand, and to longer forms of satire and invective on the other.

Metric and Rhythmic Lyric.

A considerable body of metric lyric poetry, spontaneous outpouring of feeling or careful imitation of the odes of Horace, the Amoretti of Ovid, or other popular classic verse, is found with epigrams among the lesser verse of eleventh and twelfth century epigrammatists. Hildebert's two meditative lyrics on Rome[54] are representative, as are Serlo of Wilton's love

poems.[55] In length, many of these are no longer than the longer epigrams, though taken on the average they are longer than the average epigram. Hildebert's, for example, run about eighteen distichs. However, it is not their length but their tone and organization which remove them from the epigrammatic genre. A comparison of one of these, Marbod's little poem on the broken vase, may illustrate in a way what epigram is not:

Vas fractum

Porticus est Rome, quo dum spatiando fero me
Res querendo novas, inveni de saphiro vas.
Institor ignotus vendebat cum saphiro thus.
Thus socius noster tres emit denarios ter,
Vas tribus et semi solidis ego prodigus emi.
Hoc inconcussum dum tollere sollicitus sum,
Pro confino mundo de viminibus pretium do.
Ponitur introrsum sanum vas, inde memor sum,
Extrahitur fissum, tristis miser inde nimis sum.
Inter convivas magni foret hoc pretii vas,
Si foret allatum, sicut positum fuerat tum.
Lator at hoc pressit, cui prospera nulla dies sit.[56]

Thanks to the biographic element, the reader is forced to see the poet as someone other than himself. Epigram rarely creates this effect; when the first person is used, it is divested of specifying detail, so that the reader may iden-tify with it and make its feelings his own. Further, the poem has an organization directed by discursive thought, memory, and the play of emotions, beginning with an actual incident, proceding to the pride and solicitous conscious-ness of prodigality associated with the purchase, telling briefly of the breaking of the vase and the sorrow that ensued, then returning to speculations about how it was

broken, the sadness turning to vain anger. Epigram generally
gives no such play of emotions. The story of the vase also
lacks the social consciousness that is usual in epigram, be
it in didactic instruction, back-hand satiric acknowledgment
of ideals, or appeal to universal agreement on matters of
universal concern.

Short rhythmic lyrics which might in any sense be con-
sidered epigrams are rare. One of these is by Odilo of Cluny.
It appears in his prose Epitaphium Adalheidae Imperatricis,
for the wife (+999) of Lothaire II of Italy and later Otto
II of Germany, mother of Henry II. It is a short eulogy.
Odilo makes no specific introduction, as he usually does for
quoted verses by others:

> Haec enim Augustarum omnium Augustissima nominari
> et venerari est digna.

> Nemo ante illam
> Cervicosam Germaniam
> Has cum suis principus
> Ottonem, regem nobilem,
> Ex quo genuit filium,
> Ita auxit rem publicam,
> Ac fecundam Italiam,
> Romanis subdidit arcibus.
> Romae praefecit caesarem,
> Imperio dignissimum.[57]

The verse is basically eight-syllable iambic; rhyme breaks
the poem into two corresponding sections of five lines each.

A few other short rhythmic verses come from England
toward the end of the twelfth century. One is an epigram-
matic, humorous epitaph for the wicked world:

> Ecce mundus moritur
> Sepultus in vitium,
> Et jam Rome legitur

Ejus epythaphium;
Tumbe superscribitur
Hoc exordium: veh, veh filius Eve.[58]

This might be only the beginning stanza of a longer satiric
poem.[59] Alexander Neckham is apparently the author of three
other little rhythmic poems:

Delirat et desipit, quippe iam senescit
mundus, dum degenerans ratio brutescit;
virtus in se fervida torpet et tepescit;
que sit dandi gratia, gens moderna nescit;
Crescit amor nummi, quantum pecunia crescit.

Langueo,
sed pereo,
dum amoris,
sed furoris
saucior.
sed crucior
telo, sed tormento.

Inopes divitias,
admonet, ne sitias,
Crassi mors tam nota
quod casus sit facilis,
testatur volubilis
Ixionis rota.[60]

Hans Walther comments that they scheinen entweder Teile aus . . .
verschiedenen Dichtungen zu sein, oder sie sind--was wahr-
scheinlicher sein dürfte--nor Entwürfe; sie haben jedenfalls
keine Beziehung zueinander.[61] As single stanzas, they are
unusual. By and large, rhythmic verse is usually stanzaic
verse, as the epigram never is.

A Note on Epigram in Narrative

Medieval writers sometimes use epigram as ornament in
longer works. Animal epitaphs in satire are surprisingly
common. Bicornis, the horrid example presented to Brunellus
the ass in Nigel Longchamp's Speculum stultorum, is thus

remembered:

> Quae dum stulta fuit, doctos docuisse probatur,
> Haec postquam sapuit, vermibus esca datur.[62]

Ysengrim's epitaph is more formal:

> Unum pontificem satis unum claudere marmor
> Sueverat, ex merito quisque notandus erit.
> Undecies senis iacet Ysengrimus in urnis.
> Virtutum turbam multa sepulcra notant.
> Non Idus Junias exortu veris is inter
> Cluniacum et sancti fest Johannis obit.[63]

The _Ecbasis captivi_ also has an epitaph.[64]

In serious poetry, proverbs are frequently incorporated.
Herrad of Landsberg, among many others, regularly took them
in. So, too, did Alexander Neckham.

Historians sometimes used verse to enliven prose narrative.
Reiner of Liège, for example, introduces a few illustrations
in his _De claris scriptoribus monasterii sui_. He says that
the monk Gislebert wrote two long works in verse, then ex-
plains:

> Planus et facilis est, verumtamen digne laudabilis,
> quia facile usus difficili est opera secundum hos
> suimet versiculos:
>
> Carmina composui gratoque labore peregi
> Sane difficilem proponendo mihi legem.
> Lex fuit, ut verbum curarem reddere verbo.
> Ardua res certe multa dignissima laude
> Et labor egregius est ex sermone pedestri.
> Ex humili prosa salienti currere versu,
> Atque sequi cyclum patulum, sic ut sibi quivis
> Speret idem, sudet multum, frustraque laboret.[65]

Guibert of Nogent also uses verse in his _Gesta dei per
Francos_.[66] Most of the selections are simple hexameters
or distichs, apparently of his own composition, carrying
along the narrative. He also includes longer passages of

adonics, sapphic strophes, and other uncommon measures. The
technique is similar to that of Odilo, mentioned above.

Much more common, of course, are the quotations of short
excerpts from the classics, characteristic of countless
medieval prose compositions.

C. Known Writers of Secular Epigram

The known writers of secular epigram[67] who have come to
my attention fall into a number of fairly distinctive groups.

The epigrammatists of the early eleventh century--Fulbert,
Froumund, Ekkehard IV, Peter Damian, Guibert of Ravenna, and
Benzo of Alba--are above all individualists, working for the
most part in idiosyncratic ways. There is no evidence that
they knew each other, or that they in any way borrowed from
or influenced each other. With the exception of Peter Damian,
not one appears to have specialized in secular epigrammatic
writing. Fulbert's few epigrams are mainly religious and
didactic. Froumund's are primarily religious; his secular
ones are mainly mixed types--epigrammatic letters, eulogies,
satiric thanks. Ekkehard IV wrote only one secular epigram,
also a letter; his other works are titles and benedictions.
The Italian writers are much better acquainted with the uses
of satire in politics and as a means of attack against weak-
ness in the church.

Although the interest in satire serves to separate the
northern writers from the southern in this early period, they
still have much in common. All except Fulbert are writing in

the Holy Roman Empire. None engages in the type of personal satire which aims at eccentricity or strongly suggests the themes of Martial. Although a number of them were teachers, none wrote any significant number of didactic epigrams on any but religious topics.

The next major group of writers, spanning a stretch of almost a hundred years, from about 1050 to 1150, are Frenchmen--Fulcoius, Marbod, Baudry, Ulger of Angers, Hildebert, Arnulf of Lisieux. Although some of them spent part of their life teaching, their major work was in the higher ranks of the clergy; most were bishops. Unlike the earlier group of writers, these men were acquainted with each other and with each other's work. Marbod, Baudry, and Hildebert, as letters show, knew of each other.[68] Ulger, bishop of Anger, was a pupil and friend of Marbod.[69] He was also an opponent to Arnulf of Lisieux at the Lateran Council of 1139.[70] All of them traveled and moved their residence with fair frequency. In tracing their course, one may mark out a general territory for them--the north-west quarter of France, Maine, Normandy, the Touraine, to a lesser extent Brittany and Norman England. They were products of the cathedral schools; their work has the epigrammatist's mark of humanism, a strong secular tone, topics drawn from the classics, and an elegance of phrasing and correctness of classic grammar, less apparent, perhaps, in the earlier writers of the group, more apparent in that of the later. For all that, titles still form a goodly share of their production, and religion is not slighted.

Closely related to this French group are their contemporaries in England--Godfrey of Winchester, Reginald of Canterbury, William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon. Most of them had at least some connection with the continent. Godfrey was born in Cambrai. Reginald came from Poitou, may have begun his religious life at Bec, before Baudry became abbot there, and knew Hildebert, to whom he sent his life of St. Malchus. William of Malmesbury was of partly Norman parentage. He quotes Hildebert's poetry with approval.[71] Henry of Huntingdon was brought up in the household of the Norman bishop of Lincoln, Robert Bloet, where he may have come into contact with French Latin verse. Godfrey and Henry show a particular fondness for imitation of Martial, practicing the personal satire with a zeal not seen among the continental writers, though they add a heavy moral weight to the essentially light tone. Reginald of Canterbury and William of Malmesbury seem more attached to inscriptional forms, as were Fulcoius and Baudry. None of the English writers exhibit the variety or the originality of their more noted French contemporaries.

The latter part of the twelfth century saw a new blossoming of epigrammatic writers, professional educators for the most part from both France and England with connections at the budding universities in Paris and Oxford, men with a taste for satire and travel--Hugh Primas of Orleans, Serlo of Wilton, Matthew of Vendôme, Peter Riga, Joseph of Exeter, Nigel Longchamp, Alexander Neckham, and Gerald of Wales.

Hugh, whose rhythmic verse has given him the reputation of a vagabond poet, apparently taught at Beauvais, Amiens, and Reims, as well as at Orleans and Paris. At Paris, probably, he knew Serlo of Wilton, an Englishman by birth who early immigrated to the contenent, taught at Paris, and eventually entered a Cluniac, then a Cistercian monastery in France. During Hugh Primas' time at Orleans, Matthew of Vendôme was apparently working there, too, to make the enmity of his "Rufus"; there is no evidence that he actually knew Hugh. The other English writers of the late twelfth century are less closely knit to the Frenchmen, but all had seen Paris and lived there, usually as students. Once Gerald saw the young Serlo, and was struck by his beauty.[72] Satire is the dominent note in the epigram of these writers, many of whom wrote rhythmic satire, too. In the earlier writers, Hugh Primas, Serlo of Wilton, and Matthew of Vendôme, it is biting and bitter; in the others, it is more witty and urbane. Only Peter Riga shows a more than passing interest in religious epigram. Most wrote didactic verse of other types, however, particularly language epigram.

These four major clusters of figures account for most of the known epigrammatists of Europe during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Not a single Spaniard is represented. After Benzo of Alba and Peter Damian, no known Italian produced epigrams. After Froumund and Ekkehard IV, no German did, either, unless we accept Philip of Harvengt as an epigrammatist on the basis of false ascriptions. Thus, it

is possible to see epigram as primarily a product of France and England, if one takes into consideration only the writing of men whose names are still of record. This limitation of the genre's domain, however, is in part artificial. Anonymous epigram in German, Italian, and Spanish manuscripts clearly show there were writers in the outlying countries, as well.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Three major questions were proposed in the opening of
this study. What are the characteristics of eleventh and
twelfth century epigram? In what literary traditions and
from what sources did it arise? How did it develop over
the course of the two centuries? Answers to these questions
were sought first in a taxonomy of the genre.

Medieval epigrams are essentially of two types, inscrip-
tional and literary. The inscriptional epigrams may be
subclassified as inscriptional death verses and as object
titles. Prominent among death verses are the roll inscrip-
tions, written by churches and monasteries on rolls circulated
to announce death and request prayers. Most are preserved
in rolls carried in France and England. Epitaphs are another
important type of death verse. In general, they are suited
to inscription on tombs, though a number were published in
collections. Some, which I have called tomb epitaphs, hold
specific reference to the body or the tomb; others, the
obituary epitaphs, lack this reference but tell the day of
death; yet others, the commemorative epitaphs, lack both
reference to tomb and death day. A third type of death verse,
favored only in limited areas of southern France and northern
Italy, is the calendar inscription, entered on a church
calendar so that the deceased may be remembered yearly with

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prayers.

Inscriptions for objects of human construction, the
tituli, are most frequently associated with the church.
Some are for wall decorations and structural features, such
as arches and windows; others ornament objects within the
church. Other titles are designed for books. Some of these
accompany miniatures; others, by authors and scribes, comment
on the content of the books they accompany, their authors,
or the labors of transcription. Titles for secular objects
such as beds or eating utensils are rare; most of them are
to be associated with the routine of monastic life.

Literary epigrams, designed for reading or recitation
independent of any set visual context, were sometimes a
vehicle for instruction, sometimes a simple source of pleasure.
The didactic epigrams taught both the material of the school
and the truths of religion. Among the school epigrams are
proverbs and fables, bearers of prudential wisdom suitable
for easy memorization and early reading. Lore epigrams give
factual and imaginative instruction about animals, medicine,
computation, and similar topics. Language epigrams are
designed for instruction in grammar and rhetoric, either
telling the student linguistic facts or providing suitable
models for imitation. Religious epigrams tell about Biblical
incidents and their symbolic interpretation, about Christian
teaching on virtue and sin, about doctrinal beliefs. They
also explain ritual, rule, and custom associated with the
religious life. All these epigrammatic types are frequently

found gathered together in _florilegia_, along with the secular
epigrams which study of the classics made possible.

Many secular epigrams are satiric, aiming at such
human foibles as political error, ecclesiastic venality, and
sexual misconduct. Some have the sharp personal address
characteristic of Martial's work; others take the form of a
verse letter or objectively attack their object. Other
secular epigrams give anecdotal narratives. They developed
from imitation of Latin Anthology poetry and fable, sometimes
as an exercise in abbreviation, sketching short incidents
of marital infidelity, cunning theft, unusual death, and
classic myth. Yet other secular epigrams are philosophic,
reflecting on human nature and fortune in the spirit of
pre-Christian writers. Riddles are another type which arose
directly from the study of classic models. Developed from
a broader base of intersecting literary traditions are the
rhetorical display verses of the school, the short letter,
eulogy, diatribe, and lyric.

Characteristics of Eleventh and Twelfth Century Epigram

The many types and subtypes of epigram enjoyed by medi-
evals present considerable diversity. Their classification as
epigram may in some cases be questioned by a modern reader
familiar with epigram of a later time. Some of them, such
as the proverb and epitaph, he may know as distinctive genres
set apart to themselves. Others, such as the epigram of
personal satire, he may consider as representative of all

epigram. Still others, such as the satiric verse letter, he may well choose to categorize as occasional verse, not epigram at all. Further, there is no reason to suppose that medieval authors and readers thought of these differing types of verse as forming a distinctive genre. They had no one word to refer to all of them, except for the general term _versus_, though they did with some consistency speak of the inscriptional types as _tituli_ and commonly used the special names of _epitaphium_, _proverbium_, and _aenigma_. Although they gathered the various types into collections, none of these both includes a variety of types and at the same time excludes other kinds of non-epigrammatic verse. Therefore, the characterization of epigram here presented does not purport to suggest either a medieval view of the poetry or more recent critical views of epigram as an abstract concept. Nevertheless, it does present certain characteristics common to the many types of poetry here considered.

Practically all the epigrams have four major traits in common: 1) they are relatively short, 2) they are metric, 3) they are framed as statements of a relatively limited thought, and 4) they are based on an antithesis or contradiction, expressed or implied.

The length of an epigram is determined largely by its being the statement of a relatively limited thought, simply stated with neither repetition nor incremental development. However, other factors also help determine the length. Inscriptional verse is limited by the object for which it

is designed. A tombstone or grave cover can conveniently be ornamented with a twelve-line poem; a longer poem demands a more elaborate tomb and a special design; a shorter verse may better suit the designer and artisan. Inscriptions for the decoration of a church wall, because they must be read from a distance yet not detract from the painting which they accompany, tend to be quite short, a monostich or at most a quatrain. Roll verses and manuscript epigrams, on the other hand, may well be carried on for fifty lines or more, and some of them are, though as a rule the length is closer to a dozen lines, perhaps because the forms are in many instances dictated by politeness rather than by an overwhelming desire on the part of the poet to express himself.

Limitations on the length of didactic epigrams arise from their use. Many of them are meant for memorization; others are the school exercises of relatively inexperienced young poets. Their length can in part reflect the age and sophistication of the intended audience. Proverbs, for example, used as the first secular reading texts in grammar schools, are normally but a line or two in length; exemplary rhetorical types and some religious epigram, to be studied by older pupils, may be much longer. However, the length of the proverb was by the eleventh century already established, quite apart from its use, by a long tradition of vernacular and Latin proverbs which served as models for the eleventh and twelfth century proverb writers, so that one must say the established form in part led to use, rather than that

use led to form. The length of secular epigram as a whole
appears to be established primarily through imitation of
models. While in some instances the poets seem aware that
"brevity is the soul of wit," wit itself is not a universal
characteristic of medieval epigram.

Eleventh and twelfth century epigram is normally metric.
By far the commonest meters are the dactylic hexameter and
the elegiac distich. They are typically leonine in the
eleventh century, leonine, caudati or unrhymed in the twelfth.
Departures from and elaborations on these forms--epanalepsis,
dactylic trinini, hendecasyllabics, for example--are rare.
The variations of rhyme and meter displayed by the roll verse
are somewhat typical of variations in epigram as a whole.
Interest in more complex rhyme schemes and perfect two-
syllable rhyme which appears during the late eleventh century
in France probably reflects educational practice in the
cathedral schools, where rhyme must have been studied as
a part of poetics. The turning toward unrhymed elegiacs in
the twelfth century, notable in epitaphs, may be regarded
as a humanist trend, reflecting conscious and wide spread
imitation of classic models. In part, too, sophistication
of rhyme and metrics appears to reflect the expectations of
chosen audiences. Roll verse, destined for a wide audience
of clerics and literate nobility, is normally in the medieval
variation of Virgilian hexameters. It achieves its most
striking effects through complex rhyme schemes. Writers
of book inscriptions, conscious of a more highly educated

audience, try out less common classic meters. Twelfth century humanists such as Hildebert strive to achieve what will be recognized by fellow poets as being in the very form and manner of classic models.

Although there are a very few death inscriptions in rhythmic verse and a handful of other short rhythms which might be termed epigrammatic, for all practical purposes a rhythmic poem is not an epigram. The almost total absence of rhythmic pattern in epigram should be seen in the light of twelfth century devotion to rhythmic verse, as witnessed by Abelard's laments, the sequences of Adam of St. Victor, rhythmic hymns written by the very men who wrote epigram, and popular goliardic lyrics. Typically, however, the rhythm is a lyric, meant to be sung, not read, with the associated formal characteristics of stanzaic structure and thematic repetition, neither of which is used for epigrammatic statement. The lack of rhythmic experimentation in epigram suggests further that the genre is basically conservative and imitative during the period, tied to established social conventions and to a sense of tradition in the school.

Epigrams are simple statements of truths, truths sometimes expressed in hortatory form but seldom if ever questioned or tied explicitly to a larger framework of belief or knowledge. Questions appear rarely. When they do appear, they are rhetorical, not speculative. The cleric who asks what is better than gold can immediately supply the correct answer. The riddle writer also knows his answer and expects

his reader or listener to find it. The request and command in epigram may also be seen as an affirmation of fact. The roll writer who comments, "We have prayed for yours; pray for ours," is essentially announcing that members of his congregation have died. The proverb writer who appears to request his listener to live quietly at home adds the clause, "if you wish to be blessed," so that the proverb actually presents the statement, "To live quietly at home brings blessing."

The statements of epigram are simple statements. At most, in list forms, epigrams may analyze their topics; they do not, however, approach them from varied angles or repeat and rephrase their commentary. Further, they are statements of truth, not of fancy or reverie. However, each truth brings with it an antithesis or contradiction. The kind of truth and the manner in which it and its opposite are presented vary according to epigrammatic type.

Death epigram as a whole has one basic function: to testify that a certain person lived and died. Each kind has its own focus in this announcement. Roll verse, as a general rule, states or implies that prayers have been said for the dead person and reminds the readers that prayers are to be said in turn for others. Fundamentally, it acknowledges death's universality and the continuing life of the spirit. The emphasis in epitaphs is not on prayer but on the dead person's life on earth and life in heaven. The form is in a sense a magical vehicle for certifying the truth of what otherwise might be doubted or remain unknown. The

certification is frequently supported by the specific naming
of death day, the very moment of the deceased's passage from
this false life to the true life of the soul. Although the
lyric lament expresses grief much more fully than does death
epigram, the epigram has a fundamental, psychological solace
in its affirmations that in all probability accounts for its
continuing popularity throughout the Middle Ages.

Some titles work in much the same way. Those which tell
of donors, dates, workmen, and people who saw that the work
was undertaken commemorate human creativity. What was not,
now is, the epigram affirms, certifying further that the
coming into being was precisely as stated, with an historical
accuracy which a modern art historian will normally find
satisfactory. Those which comment on the object itself,
however, certify a less material truth. The ark is not a
boat, as it appears to be, but a church; the cross is not an
instrument of torture or a simple design of crossed lines,
but God himself. In each instance, the statement concerns
the higher, symbolic truth; commentary on the object itself,
as seen by the beholder, is neither necessary nor desired,
for its material existence is illusory when the symbolic truth
lies hidden.

The truths of didactic epigram are plainly stated; their
antitheses are normally concealed. Proverbs tell truths of
human nature, give proved formulae for the conduct of life;
language epigrams tell how Latin should really be written;
lore epigrams reveal truths of the learned and physical

world, as the medievals understood it. Religious epigrams
proclaim the verities of Christianity. Frequently, the poems
give no surface indication of contrast or contradiction,
though occasionally, as in the versus differentiales, the
contrasts are made explicit. Yet all of them gain their
meaning and significance from the ever preset human possibility
of error, ignorance, misunderstanding, false belief, willful
heresy. Without the truthful statement of the verse, the
reader lies in danger of doing the precise opposite of what
he should do, of thinking something is right which is actually
wrong. It does not greatly matter whether or not the proverb
specifically states that swift gift giving is better than
slow, or the grammatical epigram, that feminine nouns in -us
are apt to be mistaken for masculine nouns. Stated or un-
stated, the contrasts exist, and without them the didactic
epigram would have no justification for its existence.

The basic truths and antitheses of secular epigram are
more complex. Essentially, however, they all stress the
validity of fact in this less than perfect world, and they
place the facts in opposition to a desirable perfection
which is presently unrealized or impossible of achievement.
Frequently, the contrasts are perceived as humorous. Satire
rests on the assumption that what it brings forward for
ridicule occurs in real life. The pointing out of human
foibles which do not exist is labor lost for the satirist.
At the same time, the satirist suggests that there are other
standards, other actions, which can and should be substituted

for the realities which call down his scorn. Point is achieved
by veiling the contrast, then revealing it at the very end
of the poem. The anecdotal epigram normally sets fact against
false perception. The true story of the Snow Child's birth
and death, for example, is sharply contrasted with the lies
of the parents; the man who calls for silence in the august
assembly of churchmen sets up a false expectation which is
shattered by his following words; the impossible deaths of
hunter and hermaphrodite are proved real. In philosophic
epigram, false appearances and vain wishes are set against
the somber, philosophic realities of life in this world.
Wealth is an illusion; death waits at the end of life; he
who is fortunate may expect a fall. Riddles set true des-
cription against false supposition, the latter supplied by
the reader or listener.

Epigram in Europe from 1000 to 1200

At the opening of the eleventh century, two major epi-
grammatists were at work, Froumund of Tegernsee and Ekkehard
IV of St. Gall, the one Bavarian, the other Swiss. Both were
primarily interested in religious topics, particularly in
religious titles, though Froumund wrote secular epigrams, too.
As Ekkehard's two great church title series reveal, church
decoration of a type which called for inscription was still
popular during that period of the late Romanesque. A few
death rolls, unknown to later time, may have been traveling
through their regions, picking up a few poems as they went.

At any rate, rolls had circulated in the Lorraine and east-
ward earlier, in the tenth century, and were appearing in
France. The Ottonian Germans were writing epitaphs in fair
number, drawing inspiration from Carolingian models and the
sylloges of an earlier period. Epigram production of any
type in France, Spain, and England was minimal, limited
primarily to a few epitaphs and, in Spain and Italy, a little
eulogy and didactic verse.

As the century progressed, Peter Damian arose as an
epigrammatist of the first order, turning out a body of
proverbial, satiric, and religious epigram which in number
and variety had not been paralleled since Carolingian times.
In France, the roll verse was beginning to come into its
own. The poems became shorter, fell into established pat-
terns, and appeared more frequently on the rolls. Toward the
middle of the century, Peter Damian was joined in the writing
of secular epigram by other Italians, such as Benzo of Alba,
interested in politics. Meanwhile, the cathedral schools of
France were teaching the writing of poetry. The result of
their effort became apparent toward the third quarter of the
century, not only in the epitaph, which had been practiced
continuously throughout the century, but also in a multitude
of disparate epigrammatic types.

The roll verse of France by the third quarter of the
century was showing a remarkable proliferation of rhyme
schemes. The rhymes themselves became perfect, as they had
not been before, and more commonly of two syllables. The

traditional roll topics and commonplaces, which tended to
change slowly, were treated satirically and with rhetorical
display. At the same time, the French humanist churchmen--
Fulcoius of Beauvais, Baudry, Marbod, Hildebert, and their
like--were setting a whole new trend in secular epigram by
imitation of Martial and Latin Anthology poets, while con-
tinuing to pursue and develop inscriptional and religious
verse. The Conquest brought Norman poets and churchmen to
England, sparking a similar revival of epigrammatic produc-
tion there, most notable in the work of Godfrey of Winchester.
Much anonymous work, represented in this study by didactic
and religious epigrams as well as by some secular ones, must
have been written in schools of the time. France, Norman
England, and the fringes of the Holy Roman Empire--Alsace,
the Lorrain, Flanders--enjoyed a flourishing of the epigram-
matic form which paralleled a renaissance of Latin literature
in general and just slightly preceded the turn toward lyric
rhythmic forms of the mid twelfth century.

Toward the middle of the twelfth century, epigram with-
drew from the bishop's court to the school in France, to
judge by the known writers of epigram after Hildebert--school
teachers, for the most part, fond of didactic verse--and by
the growing number of school text _florilegia_. Minor writers
in Germany, Italy, and Spain, who have left no names,
apparently turned to the form as an echo of the French revival.
A few political satires in Italy, from the late twelfth
century; a _florilegium_ of thirteenth century Spain, crammed

with secular epigrams and proverbs of a fairly pedestrian
nature; an occasional anonymous secular epigram which hints
of rusticity, testify to the expanding circles. In all pro-
bability, a number of anonymous religious and didactic
epigrams come from this latter part of the century, penned
by the schoolboy set to his task by a master or by the master
himself. All over Europe, inscriptional verse was on the
wane; roll verse turned up less and less frequently in the
rolls; church titles, along with the Romanesque in art, fell
out of favor; only the epitaphs continued to appear with
regularity.

The retreat of epigram back to its place of origin, the
schoolroom, in the latter part of the twelfth century may
have been a reflection of dwindling interest in classic
metric Latin verse as a whole. However, there were more
specific social factors working for both its rise and its
decline in the larger world, factors related to the availa-
bility of models and to the writers' attitudes toward the
models which they chose.

The original impulse to epigrammatic writing in the early
eleventh century came rather clearly in Germany. We can see
this inception not only in the placement of Froumund and
Ekkehard IV but also in the Ottonian German epitaphs, the
culmination of work begun earlier during the tenth century
by men who took inspiration from Carolingian and Italian
models. Although we must assume that this early development
was fostered by the monastic schools, the writing of

inscription apparently caught on because it had social value.
For the first time in about a century, the Ottonian rulers
and their equals and associates could read Latin. The monas-
tic writers were at hand to give them reading material--epit-
taphs for their tombs, miniature inscriptions for their ornate
books, and curious works like Wipo's Proverbia for their amuse-
ment and instruction. Even Peter Damian must have had a
secular audience partly in mind when he wrote his personal
satires on delicate political issues such as the choice of an
anti-pope. For their material, the writers drew on the familiar
work that lay to hand, the old epitaph sylloges, collections
such as the Salmasian manuscript, Carolingian models of
inscription and verse letter. When they strove for excellence,
the German writers were apt to seek it in the curious vocabu-
lary of the Irish style, which lingered at St. Gall long
after Moengal died, and elsewhere, too, to judge by the Greek
transliterations in German epitaph and in Froumund's verse.
In Italy, of course, the Irish tradition was lacking; but
the classic forms survived as a living shadow of their old
self in the grammar schools, or so it appears from Peter
Damian's verse.

When epigram rose as a major phenomenon in France, it
came with a new inspiration and a new use. By the 1080's,
the decade when Fulcoius was probably writing his epitaphs,
and perhaps earlier, acquaintance with the classics is patent,
suggesting already a generation of men who, in the schools,
knew and loved Ovid; Godfrey of Winchester and, slightly

later, Hildebert, let us know beyond the shadow of a doubt that Martial was not only read but considered a most suitable model for imitation. Yet the largely inscriptional verse of the Ottonians still lived on, marginally in the death rolls, which from time to time show influence from Ottonian epitaph, though by and large they developed parthogenetically, more clearly in the epitaphs of Baudry, which specifically imitate Ottonian phrasing and organization. Further, the early inscriptions gave inspiration for religious verse. The Biblical epigram, which seems so typical of Hildebert's time and later, had parallels in Froumund's poetry. As for the anecdotes, those exercises in abbreviation, the fables of Aesop and Carolingian writers lie in their parentage. The cathedral schools of France were quite eclectic in their provender of epigrammatic models.

The new breed of epigrammatists were apparently writing not, as those in the early part of the century, to cater to and educate an uneducated laity but rather to establish their own claim to education of the most excellent sort. To judge by the evidence of known writers, the men of the turn of the century were men of the church and men of affairs, correspondents with their like and with laity of the highest rank who, like Baudry's Countess Adela, were themselves accomplished in the Latin language. Although we can only guess how a man like Hildebert made public his poems, sober or risqué, the evidence of distribution in florilegia, as well as common sense, would indicate they were originally sent out like

verse letters to a select group of people who would like to
think of themselves as being as talented as he, and who could
admire his classic tone and respond in kind. The epigram of
the turn of the century, while made possible by the schools
and undoubtedly fostered there, is at its best the badge of
those who belong to a select society. It seemingly attracted
a multitude of zealous young men who wished to join it, failed,
and left their anonymous poetry as tribute to the attempt.

In the second part of the twelfth century, when epigram
falls from its position in the world to a place in the schools,
its fall is accompanied by a shift in values and linguistic
custom in the world at large. The second and third generation
Norman-English nobility and their contemporaries in central
and south-western **France** were turning more and more to vernacu-
lar poetry as a source of amusement, as witnessed by the rise
of French romance and the **trouvères**. Settling of the inves-
titure controversy tended to remove churchmen from councils
of state and send them back to their strictly religious and
educational pursuits. The church reforms signaled in monas-
tic life by the rise of Carthusian, Cistercian, and other
orders, in secular life by the crusading impulse, also
called the churchmen from trifling social amenities to more
weighty concerns of the spirit. Further, the rapid growth
of the universities during the twelfth century in all proba-
bility turned the educator from leisure pursuit of poetry
to the more immediate problems of teaching Latin--in England,
a second language which did not come with ease--to a hord of

students. The epigram ceased to function as a badge of literary attainment and became once again the tool of the educator.

However, as an educational instrument, epigram was now much more flexible than it had been. Behind the schoolboy and master setting themselves to the tasks of miniature composition lay not only classic and Carolingian models but also the work of the eleventh and early twelfth century writers. To judge by the frequency with which Hildebert's poetry appears in _florilegia_, his work had become as acceptable in the classroom as the poetry of Martial or Seneca. Hugh Primas and Serlo of Wilton reveal the ease and imagination that freedom from strict imitation of the classics brought. Yet few followed their lead, perhaps in part because of the new rhythmic lyrics.

In the community of students, epigram had lost its prestige. The new lyrics were the staple of the mythic wandering scholar's social diet by the mid twelfth century, not the polite verse letters and classic imitations of the earlier generation of literary friends. Nor had it a saving practical virtue. Accomplishment in the art of epigram would certainly still open the door to a post as schoolmaster but not to a bishopric nor to colloquy with the great of the land.

So epigram, once the mark of the accomplished, fell away in the later years of the twelfth century. It did not disappear, of course. Peter Riga, Alexander Neckham, and

Gerald of Wales, each in his way, show that it lived.   But

it had lost its inspiration and vitality.   It lingered on as

school exercise, as proverb, as religious verse, until men

rediscovered it, with new eyes, in the Renaissance.

ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURY LATIN EPIGRAM

II

Appendices, Footnotes, Bibliography

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN APPENDICES

" " : irregularity in rhyme (scattered omissions, assonance)

2s : two-syllable (rhyme)

c : caudati couplet rhyme (one-syllable unless noted otherwise)

cr : cruciferi rhyme (ab,ba)

cv : caudati ventrini rhyme (ab,ab)

Dst : elegiac distich (unrhymed unless noted otherwise)

Hex : dactylic hexameter (unrhymed unless noted otherwise)

Hex/Dst : combination of hexameters and distichs

l : leonine rhyme (one-syllable unless noted otherwise)

l/c : combination of leonine and caudati rhyme

Mono : monostich

Pent : pentameter

s : serpentine (reciproci) verse

t : tirade rhyme (a,a,a, . . .)

ta : tripertiti adonici rhyme (two-syllable rhyme on spondees in second, fourth, sixth foot of Hex)

td : tripertiti dactylici (one to three-syllable rhyme on dactyl in second, fourth foot of Hex, with rhyme also at end)

ts : trinini salientes (two or three-syllable rhyme ending on first long syllable of second and fourth foot, with rhyme also at end)

u : unisoni rhyme (aa,aa)

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ca_, ed. Buecheler, Riese, and Lommatzsch. Leipzig,
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Misc : Hildeberti carmina miscellanea. PL 171, 1381-1442.

MGH : <u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</u>. AA : <u>Auctores Anti-</u>

<u>quissimi</u>. PLAC : <u>Poetae latini aevi carolini</u>. PL :

<u>Poetae latini</u> . . . (same series). SS : <u>Scriptores</u>.

NA : <u>Neues Archiv</u>.

N&E : <u>Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque</u>

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Plessis : Frédéric Plessis, <u>Poésie latine: Epitaphes</u>.

Paris, 1905.

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<u>Bon, Comte de Flandre</u>. Paris, 1891.

PS : <u>Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi</u>, Vol. 2

of Hans Walther, ed., <u>Carmina medii aevi posterioris</u>

<u>latina</u>. Göttingen, 1963-1967.

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<u>Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle</u>

<u>Ages</u>. Oxford, 1953.

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<u>in the Middle Ages</u>. 2 vols. Oxford, 1957.

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Hildebert of Le Mans," Ph.D. diss., Oxford, Merton,
1960. To be published Teubner, Leipzig.

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Briefsammlung. Berlin, 1925.

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1458.

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Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century. 2 vols.
London, 1872.

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In Chapters II and III, a roman numeral followed by an
arabic numeral is in reference to roll and title in Delisle.
The name of a country followed by an arabic numeral is in
reference to epitaphs listed by country in Appendix B.

APPENDIX A

POETRY IN DELISLE'S DEATH ROLLS

Brief notice (date, place of origin) is given of all rolls mentioned by Léopold Victor Delisle, <u>Rouleaux des morts du IXe au XVe siècle</u> (Paris, 1866). Poems are listed by titulus number; when several poems come from one institution, letters are added for identification. Page number in Delisle is given in parenthesis. Length, meter, rhyme, formal requests for prayer (MP), and place of composition (monastery, unless otherwise indicated, followed by diocese) are also indicated. The request for mutual prayer usually comes at the end of a poem, introducing a list of names; when names are lacking or the request appears earlier in the poem, the irregularities are noted.

I.   Encyclical formula. End VIII. Murbach, Basel.

II. Encyclical formula. Beginning IX?. Reichenau.

III. Encyclical for Count Rodolph (+ c. 858). St. Riquier, Amiens.

IV. Encyclical for two canons. IX. Reims.

V.   Encyclical formula. IX. St. Remi, Reims.

VI. Titulus formula. IX. From Einhard's work.

VII. Roll fragment. 968-977. St. Martial, Limoges.
     3 (p. 11). 5 Hex/Dst, 1.

VIII. Roll fragment. 965-985. St. Martial, Limoges (?).

IX. Roll fragment. 987-1004. St. Martial, Limoges.
     4 (p. 15-16). 36 Hex.

X.   Poems from various rolls, copied as formulary. X.

        1 (pp. 17-19). 51 Hex. St. Remi, Reims.

        2 (pp. 19-21). 67 Hex. Fleury-sur-Loire.

        3 (pp. 21-24). 57 Dst, 1. Fleury-sur-Loire.

        4 (pp. 24-27). 99 lines 8/7 syllable trochaic rhythm. St. Remi, Reims.

        5 (pp. 27-28). 38 lines varied rhythmic verse.

XI.   Roll fragment. X. St. Martial, Limoges.

XII. Roll fragment. 989-1000. St. Martial, Limoges.

        2 (p. 31). 11 Hex. Aurillac, Claremont.

XIII. Roll fragment. c. 1000. St. Martial, Limoges.

        2 (p. 34). 4 line fragment, rhythmic. St. Denis, Paris.

        3 (p. 34). 20 Hex, fragment. Orbais, Soissons.

XIV. Encyclical for abbot of Fleury. 1004.

XV.   Encyclical for Arbode, abbot of St. Remi, Reims. 1005. Contains eighteen philosophic epigrams on death: two monostiches, nine couplets, three three-line poems, three four-line poems; all Hex, "1".

XVI. Roll fragment for Gauzbert, abbot of Marmoutier, Tours. 1007.

        1 (pp. 42-43). 45 Hex/Dst, 1. St. Martin, Tours.

XVII. Encyclical for Count of Bésalu. 1020. Riupoll/Cuxa.

XVIII. Roll fragment. First half XI.

        1 (pp. 47-48). 14 Hex.

        2 (pp. 48-49). 25 Hex. Fleury-sur-Loire (?).

XIX. Roll for Guifred, Count of Cerdagne. 1050-1051.

Canigou, Elne. Encyclical (p. 51) contains epitaph, 4 Hex, 1.

3 (p. 54). Mono Hex. Canigou, Elne.

4 (p. 55). 5 Hex, 1. Canigou, Elne (?).

12 (p. 60). 2 Hex, "1". St. Peter, Rodensis.

15 (p. 61). 12 Hex. Noaille, Poitiers.

17 (p. 63). 14 rhythmic 7 and 8 syl. iambic, rhymed couplets and triplets. St. Amant of Boisse, Angoulême.

18a (pp. 63-64). 13 Hex. Nanteuil en Vallée, Poitiers.

  b (p. 64). Mono Hex, 1. MP.

19 (p. 65). 2 Hex. St. Salvator of Charroux, Poitiers.

25 (pp. 67-68). 14 Hex. MP. Vic, Metz.

27 (p. 69). 6 Hex, "1". MP. Metz (?).

31 (p. 72). 12 Hex. MP.

32 (p. 72). 3 Hex. Cathedral, Poitiers.

33a (pp. 72-73). 6 Hex, "1". MP. Church, St. Hilaire, Poitiers.

  b (p. 73). Mono Hex, 1.

34 (p. 73). 6 Hex, 1. MP. Cathedral, Metz.

35a (p. 73). 8 Hex, "1". MP.

35b (p. 73). 3 Hex, "1". MP, repeating request after names.

36 (p. 73). 5 Hex, "1".

37 (p. 74). 6 Hex, 1. MP. Cathedral, Sancta Crux, Orléans.

38a (p. 74). 6 Hex, "1". MP. Aniane, Maguelone.

XIX (Guifred's roll, cont.).

38b (p. 74). Mono Hex, 1.

39 (p. 74). 6 Hex, "1". MP. Church, Ste. Radegonde, Poitiers.

40 (pp. 74-75). 35 Hex, "1". Cathedral, Tours.

41 (p. 76). Mono Hex. Church, St. Martin, Tours.

42 (p. 76). <u>Turone titulus</u>. 7 Dst, "1". St. Martin, Tours.

43 (p. 77). 7 Hex, "1". St. Venant, Tours.

44 (p. 77). 7 Hex, "1". MP. Cathedral, Toul.

46 (p. 78). 16 Hex, 1. MP.

48 (p. 79). 5 Hex/Dst, "1". MP. St. Laumer, Blois.

49 (p. 79). 7 Hex. MP. St. Germain-des-Prés, Paris.

50 (p. 80). 5 Hex. MP. St. Mesmin, Orléans.

51.(p. 80). 2 Hex, 1. St. Mansuy, Toul.

52a (p. 81). 12 Hex, "1". MP. St. Magloire, Paris.

  b (p. 81). Mono Hex, 1.

53 (p. 81). 6 Dst, "1". MP. Ste. Geneviève, Paris.

54 (p. 82). 7 Dst, 2s 1. Cathedral, Paris.

55 (p. 82). 3 Dst, 1. MP. Cathedral, Meaux.

56 (pp. 82-83). 8 Hex, 1. MP.

58 (p. 83). 12 Hex, "1". MP. Cathedral, Soissons.

60 (pp. 84-85). 9 Hex, "1". MP. St. Crespin-le-Grand, Soissons.

61 (p. 85). 6 Hex, 1. MP. Cathedral, St. Maria, Reims.

62 (p. 85). 7 Hex, 1. MP. (Convent), Reims.

63 (pp. 85-86). 11 Hex, "1". MP. Cluny, Macon.

64 (p. 86). 10 Hex, "1". MP. St. Remi, Reims.

XIX (Guifred's roll, cont.).

66 (p. 87). 6 Hex/Dst, "1". Florenne, Liège.

67 (p. 87). 6 Hex, 1. Fosse, Liège.

68 (p. 87). 3 Hex, "1". MP. Church, Namur.

69 (pp. 87-88). 32 Hex, 1. MP. Cathedral, Le Puy.

70 (pp. 88-89). 17 Hex. MP. St. Chaffre, Le Puy.

(For titles No. 72-102, see XX)

103a (p. 91). Versus . .. 8 Hex, 1. St. Medard, Soissons.

b (p. 92). 2 Hex.

105 (p. 94). 6 Hex, 1. MP. Lagny, Paris.

106 (pp. 94-95). 8 Hex, u. MP. St. Urbain, Châlons.

107 (p. 95). 5 Dst, 1. St. Maximin, Trève.

108a (p. 95). 4 Hex, 1 (all assonance "1"). MP.

St. Arnoul, Metz.

b (p. 95). Mono Hex, 1.

109a (p. 95). Titulus . . . 14 Dst, 1, and one extra Pent .

Church St. Servais of Maestricht, Liège.

b (pp. 96-97). Item. 6 Dst, 1.

c (p. 97). Item. 5 Dst, 1.

d (p. 97). Item. 10 Dst, 1. MP (no names).

e (pp.98-99). Item. 33 Dst, 1. MP (no names).

f (pp. 99-100). Item. 6 Dst, "1".

g (p. 100). Item. 5 Dst, "1".

h (p. 100). Item. 5 Dst, 1.

i (p. 101). Item. 3 Dst, 1.

j (p. 101). Item. 8 Dst, 1.

k (pp. 101-102). Item. 4 Dst, "1".

XIX (Guifred's roll, cont.).

109j (p. 102). Mono Hex, 1 : <u>Versus in fidei dotem hi
sunt o te ducenti</u> /octo ducenti?/. As given,
there are 99 Dst and 2 isolated lines.

110 (p. 102). 4 Dst. MP (begin., no names). Church,
Aix-la-Chapelle.

111a (p. 102). 14 Hex, 1. MP (no names). St. Aubert (?).

b (pp. 102-103). <u>Item</u>. 7 Dst, 1. MP (no names).

113a (p. 103). 1 Dst, 1. St. Barthelemy, Liége.

b (pp. 103-104). <u>Legia</u>. 13 Dst, 1. MP (no names).

114 (p. 105). 5 Dst, 1 (all lines beginning and ending
with "o"). MP (no names). St. Stephanus (?).

115a (p. 105). 17 Hex, "1". MP. St. Fleury, Orléans.

b (p. 106). 1 Dst, 1.

116a (p. 106). 11 Hex, 1. MP. St. Denis, Paris.

b (p. 106). Mono Hex, 1.

118 (p. 107). 4 Dst, 1. St. Jean, Liège.

120a (pp. 107-108). <u>Legia</u>. 11 Dst, "1". MP. Cathed-
ral, St. Lambert, Liège.

b (p. 108). <u>Item</u>. 8 Dst, "1".

c (pp. 108-109). <u>Item</u>. 6 Dst, "1".

d (p. 109). <u>Item</u>. 3 Dst, "1".

e (p. 109). <u>Item</u>. 3 Dst, "1".

f (pp. 109-110). <u>Item</u>. 3 Dst, "1".

g (p. 110). <u>Item</u>. 10 Hex, "1", and one Pent.

h (pp. 110-111). <u>Item</u>. 21 Hex, "1".

i (p. 111). <u>Item</u>. 4 Dst, "1". MP.

j (p. 111). <u>Item</u>. 6 Hex, "1".

XIX (Guifred's roll, cont.).

    120k (p. 111). <u>Item</u>. 4 Dst, "1". MP.

      l (pp. 111-112). <u>Item</u>. 6 Dst, l.

      m (p. 112). <u>Item</u>. 8 Hex, "1".

      n (p. 112). <u>Item</u>. 6 Hex, l.

    121a (pp. 112-113). <u>Item de sancto Jacobo</u>. 16 Hex, "1".

      MP. St. Jacques, . Liège.

      b (p. 113). 2 Hex, l.

    122 (p. 113). 8 Hex, "1". MP. Cathedral (?), Lyons

    123 (p. 114). 2 Hex. St. Pons of Tomières, Narbonne.

    125 (pp. 115-116). 13 Hex and 5 Dst, l (beginning and
                          MP (in middle, no names)
    ending with "o"). Issoire, Clermont.

    126 (p. 116). <u>Item de sancto Petro ex titulo</u>. <u>In nomine</u>
                                             MP.
    <u>Π et Y et A et Π A Γ K</u>. <u>Amen</u>. 9 Dst, l. Saint Peter

    of Liège.

    127a (pp. 116-117). <u>Item</u>. <u>Signum sancte Crucis</u>. 11 Dst,"1".

      S. Crois, Liège.
                <u>Item</u>.
      b (p. 117). 7 Dst, "1". MP.

      c (pp. 117-118). <u>Item</u>. 10 Dst, "1".

      d (pp. 118-119). <u>Item</u>. 8 Dst, l.

    128a (p. 119). <u>Item de sancto Laurentio</u>. 12 Dst, "1".

      St. Laurence, Liège.

      b (pp. 119-120). <u>Item</u>. 8 Hex, l. MP (no names).

      c (p. 120). <u>Item</u>. 13 Hex, l.

      d (p. 120). <u>Item</u>. 2 Dst, "1".

      e (p. 120). <u>Item</u>. 2 Dst, s.

      f (p. 120). <u>Item</u>. 5 Hex, l.

XIX (Guifred's roll, cont.).

    128 g (p. 121). 3 Dst, "1".

      h (p. 121). 6 Hex, "1".

      i (p. 121). 6 Hex, "1".

    130 (p. 122). <u>Item</u> . . . 17 Hex. St. Denis of Broqueroy, Cambrai (?).

    131 (pp. 122-123). 4 Dst, "1". MP. Aniane, Maguelone.

    132a (p. 123). 8 Hex, 1. MP. St. Guillem-du-Désert, Lodève.

      b (p. 123). Mono Hex, 1.

    133 (p. 124). 9 Hex, 1. Villemagne, Béziers.

XX. Roll fragment for Girard, monk of St. Aubin, Angers. c. 1050. Contained in Guifred's roll. All entries begin with heading, <u>Titulus</u> . . . .

    72 (p. 125). Encyclical, in poetry. 13 Hex, 1.

    73 (p. 126). 12 Hex, "1". MP. (no names) St. Maur-sur-Loire, Angers.

    79 (pp. 126-127). 16 Dst, "1". MP. Cormery, Tours.

    85 (p. 128). 2 Hex, cv. MP. Mauzac, Clermont.

    88 (p. 129). 14 Hex, 1. MP (no names). Cathedral, Le Puy.

    90 (p. 129). 4 Hex, 1 (aa,bb,bb,cc). St. George (?).

    91 (p. 129). Mono "Hex," tripartite rhyme. MP. Cathedral, Arles.

    92 (pp. 129-130). 8 Hex, 1. MP (no names). Montmajour, Arles.

    94 (p. 130). 7 Hex/Dst, 1. MP. St. André-lez-Avignon.

    95 (pp. 130-131). 6 Hex/Dst, 1. MP (no names). Cathedral, Maguelone.

    97 (p. 131). 2 Hex, 1. MP. Cathedral, Béziers.

XX (Girard's roll, cont.).

    100 (p. 132). 5 Hex, 1. MP. Aleth.

XXI. Mention of roll for Garnier, abbot St. Stephen, Dijon. 1051.

XXII. Roll fragment for Hugh, monk of Corbie. c. 1070.

    2 (p. 135). Fragment, Hex. Paris.

    3 (pp. 135-136). 12 Hex,"1". MP (no names). Paris.

XXIII. Roll fragment for Foucard, abbot of St. Amand, Tournai.
    1076.

    la (p. 136). Fragment, Hex.

    b (p. 136). Mono Hex, 1.

    2 (pp. 136-137). 11 (?) Hex, "1". MP. Trésport, Rouen.

    3 (p. 137). 2 Dst, 1. MP. Cathedral, Metz.

XXIV. Mention of roll for Lanfranc, bishop of Canterbury. 1089.

XXV. Roll fragment for Foulques, abbot of Corbie. 1095.

    Titulus . . . heading for each entry.

    2a(pp. 138-139). 13 Hex, 2s 1. MP (no names). Priory,
    Bouteville, Enjoumois.

    b (p. 139). Item. 7 Hex, 2s 1.

    c (p. 139). Item. 2 Hex, 2s cv.

    d (p. 139). Rursus. 6 Hex, 2s 1/c.

    3a(p. 139). 2 Hex. Church, Notre Dame, Aix-la-Chapelle.

    b (p. 139). Mono Hex, 1.

    4 (p. 140). Mono Hex. Bassac, Saintes.

    6a(pp. 140-141). 28 Hex, ts. Berques, Térouanne.

    b (p. 141). 2 Hex, ts.

    8 (p. 142). Fragment, Dst, "1".

    9 (p. 142). 2 Hex. St. Quentin, Beauvais.

XXV (Roll for Foulques of Corbie, cont.).

> 10a(p. 142). 8 Dst, 2s l. St. Bavon, Gand.
>
> b (pp. 142-143). Item de eodem. 10 Dst, 2s l.
>
> c (p. 143). Mono Hex, 2s l.

XXVI. Mention of seven rolls by Baudry of Bourgeuil. c. 1096. (See below, Appendix C.)

XXVII. Roll fragment. XI. Châlons. Contains two poems, not recorded by Delisle.

XXVIII. Encyclical for André, prior of Fleuri. End XI.

XXIX. Tituli formulary. c. 1100. St. Pierre, Melun.

> a (p. 151). 4 Dst. MP. For bishops, abbots, rectors only.
>
> b (p. 151). Alii. MP. 4 Hex, l.
>
> c (pp. 151-152). 9 Hex/Dst, l. For bishops and below.

XXX. Encyclical for Bernard, abbot of Marmoutier. 1100.

XXXI. Roll of St. Bruno. Cormery. 1101-1102. Published, in edited form, Acta Sanctorum, 6 October. Delisle summarizes names of institution.

XXXII. Roll fragments for Hugh, abbot of Saint Amand, Tournai. 1107. Twenty-seven titles legible.

> 13 (p. 164). Versus cujusdam discipuli. 3 Hex, l.

XXXIII. Roll fragment for Guillaume, abbot of Fecamp. 1107.

XXXIV. Encyclical for André, abbot of Chezal-Benoit. 1112.

XXXV. Encyclical for Eudes, bishop of Cambrai. 1113.

XXXVI. Roll of Mathilda, daughter of William the Conqueror and abbess of Trinity, Caen. 1113. Two-hundred-fifty-three entries, of which twenty-eight have been lost. Titulus . . . heading for each entry.

> 1 (p. 182). 20 Hex, 2s c. MP. St. Étienne, Caen, Bayeux.

XXXVI (Mathilda's roll, cont.).

2 (pp. 183-184). 22 Hex, 2s 1/td. ^{MP.} Priory, St. Gabriel, Bayeux.

5 (p. 185). 6 Hex, "1". MP. Cathedral, Bayeux.

7 (pp. 185-186). 3 Dst, 1. MP. Fontenay, Bayeux.

11a (p. 187). 9 Hex and 1 Pent, 1/c. Convent, St. Mary of Winchester, Hampshire.

    b (p. 187). <u>Item</u>. 8 Hex, 2s 1/c.

    c (pp. 187-188). <u>Versus cujusdam neptis suae</u>. 12 Hex, 2s cv, all lines ending <u>Maria</u>.

    d (p. 188). Mono Hex. MP.

13 (p. 188). 2 Hex, "2s" u. Church, Amesbury, Wiltshire.

17 (p. 189). 6 Hex, 2s t. Winchester school.

18 (p. 190). 12 Hex, "1". Shaftesburgy, Dorset

20 (p. 191). 8 Hex, 1. Cathedral, Exeter, Devon.

23 (p. 191). 8 Hex, 1. Church, St. Nicolas, Exeter.

28 (p. 192). <u>Vox scolarium ejusdem urbis</u>. 20 Hex, 2s 1/c. Bath.

32 (p. 193). 8 Hex, 1. Evesham, Worchester.

33 (p. 194). 4 Hex, 1 (= end,XXXVI, 18). Church, Pershore, Worchester.

39 (p. 195). 7 Dst, 2s 1. Salisbury.

40 (pp. 195-196). <u>Versus Othonis juvenis</u>. 6 Dst, "1". Cathedral, Norwich.

41a (pp. 196-197). <u>Versus Benedicti</u>. 50 Hex, 2s c. St. Mary, York.

    b (pp. 197-198). <u>Versus Ricardi</u>. 14 Dst.

XXXVI (Mathilda's roll, cont.).

41c (p. 198). <u>Versus Petri</u>. 8 Hex, "4s" c. MP.

42 (p. 199). 11 Hex, "1". Cathedral, York.

43 (p. 200). 18 Hex, 2s c. Cathedral, Lincoln.

45 (p. 201). Mono Hex, 1. MP. Priory, Spalding, Lincoln.

46 (p. 201). 8 Hex, "3s" cv (word repetition). St.
  Benoit of Hulme, Norfolk.

47 (p. 201). 9 Hex. MP. Ramsey, Huntingdon.

49 (p. 202). 9 Hex and 1 Pent, "2s" cv. St. Alban,
  Hertford.

50 (pp. 202-203). 10 Hex, ts. MP. Westminster.

59 (p. 204). 2 Hex, 2s 1. Troarn, Bayeux.

61a (p. 205). 5 Dst. Cathedral, Lisieux.

  b (p. 205). <u>Item</u>. 3 Dst.

62 (pp. 205-206). 9 Hex, 1. MP (no names). St. Maria, convent,
  Lisieux.

66 (p. 207). 10 Hex, 1. MP. St. Léger de Préaux,
  Lisieux.

68a (p. 208). 14 Hex, 1. MP Bec, Rouen.

  b (p. 208). 2 Hex, 1.

71 (p. 209). 4 Hex, 1. MP. St. Wandrille, Rouen.

72 (p. 210). 8 Hex, 1. Montivilliers, Rouen.

75 (p. 211). 4 Hex, 2s c. MP. St. Victor-en-Caux, Rouen.

76a (pp. 211-212). 4 Dst. Cathedral, Rouen.

  b (p. 212). <u>Item</u>. 10 Hex, 2s 1/c.

78 (p. 212). 4 Hex, 2s 1. St. Ouen, Rouen.

79 (p. 213). 5 Hex, 2s 1. Ste. Trinité, Rouen.

XXXVI (Mathilda's roll, cont.).

80 (p. 213). 4 Hex, 2s c. Priory St. Paul, Rouen.

83 (p. 214). Mono Hex, 1. MP. St. Taurin, Evreux.

84 (p. 215). Item ejusdem coenobii. 2 Dst, 2s l/ts.
St. Pierre, Chatillons.

89 (p. 216). 5 Hex/Pent, 1. St. Sever, Coutances.

90 (p. 216). 7 Hex, "1". MP. Cerisy, Bayeux.

92 (p. 217). 13 Hex, 1. MP. Lessay, Coutances.

94 (p. 218). 18 Hex, 2s 1. Cathedral, Coutances.

95a(p. 219). 17 Hex, 2s 1. Cathedral, Avranches.

b (pp. 219-220). Item. 14 Hex, "1".

96 (p. 220). 4 Hex, 1. MP. Mont-St.- Michel, Avranches.

97 (p. 221). 3 Dst. St. Melaine, Rennes.

98 (pp. 221-222). 17 Hex, 2s c. St. Georges, Rennes.

99 (p. 222). 16 Hex/Pent, "2s" l/c. MP. St. Méen,
St. Malo.

101 (p. 223). 19 Hex, "1/u/c". Redon, Vannes.

103 (p. 224). 2 Hex, 1. MP (no names). St. Martin de
Vertau, Nantes.

104a (p. 224). 6 Dst, 2s 1. Cathedral, Nantes.

b (p. 224). . . . Archidiaconi. 3 Dst.

105 (pp. 224-225). 3 Hex/Pent, 1. Cormery, Tours.

106 (p. 225). Titulus scolarium sub Dulgerio . . .
14 Hex/Dst, "2s" c.

107 (p. 225). 3 Hex/Pent, 2s 1. MP. St. Florent-Le-Vieil,
Angers.

108 (pp. 225-226). 10 Hex, 2s c. Cathedral, Angers.

XXXVI (Mathilda's roll, cont.).

116 (p. 227). 2 Hex, 1. Priory, Cunaud, Angers.

118 (pp. 227-228). 17 Hex/Dst, "2s" "1/c". Bourgueil, Angers.

119 (p. 228). Versus Arduini. 10 Hex, 1. Church, St. Martin, Tours.

121 (p. 229). 4 Hex, 1. MP. Convent, Beaumont en Touraine.

122 (p. 229). 6 long lines 8/7 syl. trochaic, 2s rhyme (aab,ccb). Noyers, Tours.

123a (p. 229). 12 Hex, 2s 1. Cathedral, Poitiers.

b (p. 229). Item ejusdem. 2 Hex, 2s 1.

124 (p. 230). 2 Dst, 2s 1. Church, St. Hilaire, Poitiers.

125a (p. 230). 4 Hex, 2s 1. Church, St. Radegonde, Poitiers.

b (p. 230). Item ejusdem est. 10 Hex, 2s c.

c (pp. 230-231). Versus Tescelini. 27 Hex, td/1/c.

129 (p. 232). Mono Hex, 1. MP. Quinçay, Poitiers.

131 (p. 233). Mono Hex, 1. MP. St. Maixent, Poitiers.

132a (p. 233). 6 Hex, 1. St. Liguaire, Saintes.

b (p. 234). Mono Hex, 1.

133 (p. 234). 11 Hex,"2s" 1. Nieul, Poitiers.

137 (p. 235). 6 Hex/Dist, 2s 1. St. Geneviève, Paris.

138 (p. 235). 11 Hex/Dist, 2s c. Convent, Luçon.

139 (pp. 235-237). 88 lines Hex/Dst, 1/c. Cathedral, Saintes.

140 (p. 238). 12 Hex, 2s c. St. Michel en l'Erm, Poitiers.

XXXVI (Mathilda's roll, cont.).

141 (pp. 238-239). 14 Hex, 2s c. St. Julien-du-Prés,
Le Mans.

142a (p. 239). Mono Hex, 1. MP. Priory, St. Eutrope,
Saintes

b (p. 239). 12 Hex, 2s 1.

143 (pp. 239-241). 69 Hex, 1/2s c. St. Vivien, Saintes.

144a (p. 242). 20 Hex, 2s c. Notre Dame, Saintes.

b (pp. 243-44). Versus abbatissae. 20 Hex, 2s t, and
10 Dst, 2s 1.

145 (p. 244). 6 Hex, 2s c, anaphora. Cognac, Saintes (?).

146 (p. 245). 2 Hex, 2s c. Cathedral, Angoulême.

147 (p. 245). Versus. 4 Dst and 1 Hex. Convent,
St. Ausony,
Angoulême.

150 (p. 246). 8 Hex, 2s c. Maubec, Bourges.

151 (pp. 246-247). Versus doctoris Botevilae. 20 Hex,
2s t. Priory, Bouteville, Angoulême.

160a (p. 249). 15 Hex, ts. St. Medard, Soissons.

b (p. 250). Item. 2 Hex, ts.

c (p. 250). Item. 6 Hex, ts.

d (p. 250). Item. 2 Hex, ts.

161 (p. 250). Scolares. 8 Hex, 2s 1/c. St. Pierre,
Gand.

166 (p. 251). Mono Hex, 1. MP. St. Germain-des-Prés,
Paris.

169 (p. 252). 5 Hex, "2s" 1. MP. St. Magloire, Paris.

170 (p. 252). 4 Hex, 2s c. Cathedral, Paris.

XXXVI (Mathilda's roll, cont.).

171 (pp. 252-253). 14 Dst, 2s l. Rebais, Meaux.
　　　　　　　　　　　　Convent,
174 (p. 254). 5 Dst, 2s l. ₍ₐ₎Notre Dame, Soissons.

175a (p. 255). <u>Versus scolares</u>. 10 Hex, 2s l/c.

　Cathedral, Soissons.

　b (p. 255). <u>Item</u>. 8 Hex, 2s c.

178 (p. 256). 11 Hex, 2s c. MP (no names). Cathedral,

　Laon.

179 (p. 256). 10 Hex, ts. St. Vincent, Laon.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　Convent,
180 (p. 257). 9 Hex, td. MP (no names). Avenay,

　Reims.

181a (pp. 257-258). 35 Hex. Hautviller, Reims.

　b (p. 258). <u>Item versus</u>. 13 Hex, 1/2s c.

　c (pp. 258-259). <u>Itemque</u>. 8 Hex, td/l.

　d (p. 259). <u>Alioquin</u>. 11 Hex, 1.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　one
　e (p. 259). <u>Preterea</u>. 6 Dst and ₍ₐ₎ Pent, "l".

　f (p. 260). <u>Iterum</u>. 6 Hex/Dst, 1.

182 (pp. 260-261). . . . <u>ritmice compositus</u>. Iambic

　tetrameter, 31 lines with names inserted in center

　of poem , rhyme. St. Jean-des-Vigne, Soissons.

183 (p. 261). 6 Dst, "l". MP. St. Denis, Paris.

184a (p. 262). 4 Hex, "l". Argenteuil, Paris.

　b (p. 262). 5 Hex, "l". MP.

187 (pp. 262-263). 9 Hex, l. Convent, Chelle, Paris.

189 (p. 263). <u>Versus Gonberti</u>. 12 Hex and one Pent,

　2s l. Cathedral, Meaux.

193a (264). 12 Hex, 2s l. St. Remi, Reims.

XXXVI (Mathilda's roll, cont.).

193b (p. 265). <u>Item</u>. 12 Hex, 2s 1.

c (p. 265). <u>Item</u>. 5 Dst.

d (pp. 265-266). <u>Item</u>. 17 Hex, 2s 1/c (patterned).
MP.

194 (p. 266). 7 Hex, "1". MP. Cathedral, Reims.

195a (pp. 266-267). 10 Dst, 2s 1. St. Pierre-aux-Monts,
Challons.

b (p. 267). <u>Item</u>. 7 Dst, 2s 1.

198 (p. 268). 8 Hex, "1". ∧Convent, Jouarre, Meaux.

201a (pp. 268-269). 6 Hex. St. Symphorien, Reins.

b (p. 269). <u>Iterum</u>. 5 Dst, 2s 1.

202 (p. 269). 6 Hex, "1". St. Pierre-aux-Dames, Reims.

203 (p. 270). 6 Hex, 2s"c". St. Menge, Chalons.

205 (p. 270). 9 Hex, 2s 1/"u". Cathedral, Chalons.

207 (p. 271). 10 Hex, 1. MP. ∧Convent, Notre Dame, Troyes.

208 (p. 271). 20 Hex, 2s c/cv. St. Jean, Sens.

209 (p. 272). <u>Versus Germundi monachi</u>. 9 Hex,∧2s 1, and
10 Hex, cv. ∧Priory, Notre Dame de la Porte, Sens.

212 (p. 273). 8 Hex, 2s c. St. Loup, Troyes.

213 (pp. 273-274). Three sapphic stanzas and 17 Hex,
2s c/1. Cathedral, Troyes.

215a (pp. 274-275). <u>Item versus discipulorum</u>. 11 Hex,
2s 1/c. Priory St. Denis, Nogent-le-Rotrou.

b (p. 275). <u>Item alios</u>. 10 Hex, 2s c.

c (p. 275). <u>Item de eodem alius</u>. 4 Dst, "c".

d (pp. 275-276). <u>Item alius</u>. 10 Hex, 2s c.

XXXVI (Mathilda's roll, cont.).

216 (p. 276). <u>Versus scolares. Poncius magister.</u>

16 Hex, 2s c. Cathedral, Sens.

217 (pp. 276-277). 8 lines trochaic tetrameter, couplet

rhyme. Convent, St. Julien, Auxerre.

218 (p. 277). 4 Hex, 2s c. Cathedral, Auxerre.
<u>Item versus.</u>
220 (p. 277). ∧4 Hex, 2s l/c. St. Martin de Cure, Autun.

(text of titles 224-253 missing.)

XXXVII. Encyclical for B. Giraud de Salles. 1120.

XXXVIII. Roll of St. Vital, abbot of Savigny. 1122. Two-

hundred-eight titles extant.
Convent,
2 (p. 285). 6 Hex, 2s l. ∧St. Etienne de Caen, Bayeux.

3 (p. 285). 10 Dst, l. Convent, St. Trinité, Caen.

4a(p. 286). 11 Hex, 2s l. Cathedral, Bayeux.

b (pp. 286-287). 4 Dst and 9 Hex, 2s l.

7 (pp. 287-288). 9 Hex, 2s l/c. Cathedral, Lisieux.

12a (pp. 289-290). 15 Hex, ts/2s l/c. Grestain,

Lisieux.

b (p. 290). <u>Item.</u> 29 Hex, "l".

15a(p. 291). One Dst. Cathedral, Rouen.

b (p. 291). <u>Item.</u> 6 Hex, 2s c.

17 (p. 292). 10 Hex and one Pent, 2s l.   Rouen.
Convent,
18 (p. 293). Mono Hex, l. MP. ∧St. Amand, Rouen.

19 (p. 293). 2 Hex, 2s l. St. Trinité, Rouen.

20 (p. 293). 2 Dst. Convent, St. Paul, Rouen.

34 (p. 297). 8 Hex, c. St. Germer, Beauvais.

35 (p. 297). 9 Hex/Dst,"2s" l. St. Geneviève, Paris.

XXXVIII (Vital's roll, cont.).

41 (p. 299). 7 Dst. Convent, Argenteuil, Paris.

46 (p. 301). 8 Hex and one Pent, 2s l. St. Geneviève,
Paris.

47 (pp. 301-302). 25 Hex/Dst, 2s c. Cathedral, Paris.

49 (p. 302). 2 Hex, l. MP. Priory, Reuil, Meaux.

55 (p. 303). Versus pueriles. 2 Hex, l. St. Germain,
Auxerre.

56 (p. 304). 12 Hex, 2s c. Cathedral, Soissons.

57 (p. 304). 5 Dst, "l". St. Jean-des-Vignes, Soissons.

58 (pp. 304-305). 12 Hex, some l, t. Cathedral, Laon.

62 (p. 306). 12 Hex. Cathedral, Reims.

66a (p. 307). 3 Dst, 2s l. Hautviller, Reims.

 b (p. 307). Item. 6 Hex, 1/c.

67 (pp. 307-308). 25 Hex/Dst 2s 1/u. Cathedral, Challons.

69 (p. 308). 10 Hex, 1/c. St. Pierre-aux-Monts, Challons.

70 (p. 309). 7 Hex, 1/c. St. Menge, Challons.

71 (p. 309). 12 Hex, 1/c. St. Sauveur de Vertus,
Challons.

73 (p. 310). 5 Hex (end of verses missing). St. Martin
de Vertus, Challons (?).

76 (pp. 310-311). 12 Hex, 2s 1/u. Priory, Rameru,
Troyes.

77 (p. 311). 2 Hex, 2s l. Beaulieu, Verdun.

83 (p. 312). 10 Hex/Dst, 2s l. Gloucester.

85 (p. 313). 4 Hex, 2s 1/c. Evesham, Worcester.

86 (p. 313). 3 Hex, l. Pershore, Worcester.

XXXVIII (Vital's roll, cont.).

101a(p. 316). 6 Hex, ts. Abingdon, Berkshire.

b (p. 316). <u>Item alterius</u>. 4 Hex, 2s l.

102 (p. 316). 4 Hex, 2s l. Egnesham, Oxford.

103 (p. 317). 8 Hex, 2s 1/c (..a,a,a,b,b,b). St.
Frideswide, Oxford.

110 (p. 318). 4 Hex (frag.). Massay, Bourges.

112 (p. 319). 3 Hex/Dst, 2s l. Beaulieu, Tours.

117a (p. 320). 2 Dst, u/c. St. Aignan, Orleans.

b (p. 320). <u>Item</u>. 9 Hex and one Pent, 2s c.

124 (p. 322). Mono Hex, l. MP. Longpont, Soissons.

128 (pp. 322-323). 8 Hex, "l". Priory, St. Martin-en-
Vallée, Chartres.

134 (p. 324). 5 Dst. St. Martin, Angers.

143 (p. 326). 3 Hex, "l". Rebais, Meaux.

144 (p. 326). 3 Dst, "l". Fleury, Orléans.

146 (p. 327). 6 Hex, 1/c. Bataille, Sussex.

153 (p. 328). 14 Hex, 2s l. MP. Wilton, Wiltshire.

162 (p. 330). 2 Hex. Priory, Bridlington, Yorkshire.

166 (p. 331). 20 Hex and one Dst, 2s l. Bardney, Lincoln.

169 (p. 332). 3 Dst, "l". Cathedral, Angers.

173 (pp. 333-334). <u>Versus Hugonis Abrincarum</u>. 25 Dst.
Notre-Dame-la-Découvert, Angers.

175 (p. 335). 3 Hex, 2s l. St. Pierre-de-la-Cour, Le
Mans.

184 (p. 337). Mono Hex, l. St. Mary, Winchester.

186a (pp. 337-338). 7 Hex, -/c. Cathedral, Salisbury.

XXXVIII (Vital's roll, cont.).

    186b (p. 338). <u>Pueriles versus</u>. 10 (2x5) Hex, "1", and

        4 (2x2) Dst.

    202 (p. 341). 2 Hex, 2s 1. Priory, Christ Church,

    London.

    203 (p. 342). 4 Hex, 2s 1. Priory, Southwark, Surrey.

    204.(p. 342-343). <u>Versus Radulfi filii Fulcredi Cadomen-</u>

        <u>sis</u>. 25 Hex/Dst, 1/cv/td/cr/c/s/ts, etc. St. Paul,

    London.

XXXIX. Encyclical for Marbod and monk Gerard. 1123. St.

    Aubin, Angers.

XL. Roll for Guillaume Gifford, bishop of Winchester. 1129.

    Two poems, from Whitby and Reading, published <u>Anglia</u>

    <u>Sacra</u>, I, 279-281. 18 Hex, 1. 28 Hex, 2s c and 28 Dst.

XLI. Roll fragment for Hervé, abbot of Redon. c. 1133.

XLII. Roll fragment for Robert, abbot of Corbie. 1142.

    1 (pp. 348-349). 10 Hex, 2s c, and 4 Dst, 1.

    2 (p. 349). Fragment. Dst. Lo, Terouanne.

XLIII. Encyclical for Odouin, abbot of St. Guillain, Cambrai.

    1142. Contains one death verse, 2 Hex, 2s 1 (p. 351);

    editorial reference to others at end, omitted.

XLIV. Roll fragment for an abbot Girard. First half of XII.

    Ten entries.

    1 (p. 352-353). 14 Hex, 2s "1"/c. MP. Homblières,

    Noyon.

    4a (p. 353). Fragment, Hex, 2s 1. MP.

    b (p. 353). <u>Item scola</u>. 7 Hex, "1".

XLIV (Girard's roll, cont.).

    7 (p. 354). 8 Hex, 1. St. Amand-en-Puele, Tournai.

    10 (p. 355). Fragment, Hex/Dst, 1. MP. Priory,

        Mauriac, Clermont.

XLV. Encyclical for Hervé, monk of Bourgdieu, Bourges.

    c. 1150.

XLVI. Mention of roll from Préaux, Lisieux. Middle XII.

XLVII. Encyclical for Suger, abbot of St. Denis. 1152.

XLVIII. Roll fragment for Eble of Turenne, abbot of Tulle.

    1152. Six entries. Poems not published in full.

    1 (p. 361). Mono Hex, 1. St. Cyprien, Poitiers.

    4 (p. 362). <u>Versus Oliverii</u>. Hex, 1. Church, St. Rade-

        gonde, Poitiers.

    5 (p. 362). <u>Versus Hamerici, Carnotensis ecclesiae</u>

        <u>canonici</u>. Hex, 2s 1. Chartres.

    6a (p. 362). <u>Versus Bartholomei</u>. St. Maur-des-Fossés,

        Paris.

    b (p. 362). <u>Versus Aicelini, ejusdem loci monachi</u>.

    c (p. 362). <u>Alterius</u>.

XLIX. Encyclical for Gilbert de la Porrée, bishop of Poitiers.

    1154.

L. Roll fragment for Robert, abbot of St. Aubin, Angers.

    1154. Twenty-seven entries preserved; fifteen from near

    Paris, the others from province of Narbonne.

    15 (pp. 365-366). <u>Versus magistri Odonis</u>. 6 Dst.

        Bonneval, Chartres.

    16 (p. 366). 4 Hex, 1.

L (Robert's roll, cont.).

    20a (p. 367). <u>Versus magistri A. Silvinotensis</u>. 8 Hex,

        2s l. St. Guillem-du-Desert, Lodève.

      b (p. 367). . . . <u>Rotbertus versificando inquit</u> . . .

      Rhythmic fragment, in prosopopeial reply to above.

    21 (p. 367). 6 Hex, ts.

    22a (pp. 367-368). 4 Hex, l (?).

      b (p. 368). <u>Responsio</u>. 5 Hex, c (?)

      c (p. 368). <u>Versus Renaudi, cum vertuntur</u>. 4 Hex, 2s c.

    23 (p. 368). 2 Hex, u. Cathedral, Lodève.

    26 (p. 369). 7 Hex, 2s l.

    27 (p. 369). <u>Versus Ugonis Fontanensis monachi</u>. 4 Hex,

      2s c. Villemagne, Beziers.

LI. Mention of roll for Calon, bishop of Poitiers. 1157.

LII. Roll fragment for Hugh, abbot of St. Aubin, Angers.

    1157. Ten entries.

    1 (p. 371). Hex, 2s c. Notre Dame, Soissons.

    2 (p. 371). <u>Versus Martini</u> . . . <u>Versus Stephani</u> . . .

    <u>Versus</u> . . . <u>berti</u> . . .

LIII. Roll fragment for Herbert, abbot of St. Étienne, Dijon.

    c. 1157.

LIV. Encyclical, for Ives II, abbot of St. Denis. 1172.

LV. Roll fragment for an abbot Henry. c. 1180. Seven entries.

    2 (p. 376). 6 Hex, u/c. Flona, Liège.

LVI. Extracts from roll of Bertrand de Baux, husband of

    Tiburge, heiress of Orange. c. 1181. Silvacane, Aix.

    18 (p. 379). 5 Hex, 2s t/l. Silvacane, Aix.

LVI (Bertrand's roll, cont.).

    30 (p. 380). <u>Versus Gaudini, monachi Psalmodiensis</u>.

        30 Hex, 2s l (not published). Psalmody, Nîmes.

    67 (p. 384). <u>Versus Petri Garnaudi</u>. 6 Hex, 2s l.

    81a (p. 385). <u>Versus Mathie Pog. Septem psalmos</u>. 6 Hex,

        1/c. St. Martin, Tours.

      b (pp. 385-386). <u>Livonis. Septem psalmos</u>. 16 Hex, 1/c.

      c (p. 386). <u>Hisaac. Viginti Pater noster</u>. 4 Hex, -/c.

      d (p. 386). <u>Harvei. Centum Pater noster</u>. 6 Hex/Dst, u.

    86 (p. 387). <u>Ego Martinus</u>. 8 Hex/Dst, -/2s c.

      St. Laumer, Blois.

    132 (p. 390). 3 Hex, t. Nieul, Poitiers.

LVII. Roll fragment for Guillaume and Jaguelin, abbots of

    St. Aubin, Angers. 1190.

LVIII. Roll fragment for an abbot Gautier. c. 1200.

LIX. Roll fragment from St. Martial of Limoges. c. 1200.

APPENDIX B

EPITAPHS

The eleventh and twelfth century epitaphs discussed in Chapter Two are divided by probable country of origin. They are here listed by country, in alphabetic order, under the identifying number assigned by Hans Walther in his *Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina* (Göttingen, 1959). Information is given in the following order:

1) *Initia* index number. When a poem is unlisted in Walther's index, it is assigned the starred number of the preceding alphabetical listing. If unlisted poems were added to the index, they would appear with that number followed by the appropriate lower-case letter: i.e., *19506 would be entered as 19506a, *124a as 124b, etc. The first line of each unlisted poem is also given.

2) Date of composition. When death date of deceased is known, this date is shown, followed by a dash, except in those instances when the author is known to have lived at a later time. Otherwise, a half century is suggested; 1/XI indicates the first half of the eleventh century, etc.

3) Deceased's name, occupation or station, and death date, as suggested by poem, editorial surmise, and information taken from Chevalier and the New Catholic Encyclopedia. The following abbreviations are used: A = abbot; AB = archbishop; AD = archdeacon; B = bishop; C = count.

4) Name, position, and death date of author, if known.

5) Verse form: lines, metric scheme, rhyme.

6) Brief notice of generic topics and unusual topics, figures, and rhetorical devices. Abbreviations:

Comm : commemorative epitaph (No Tomb, DD topics).

DD : death day.

Tomb : grave marker mentioned in text, pp. 72-75.

Author to dead - see text, p. 70.

Dead to reader - see text, pp. 68-70.

Prayer : pious wishes, prayers, etc., noted text, pp. 79-80.

Request prayer - see text, pp. 77-79.

7) Published source used for this study. When a better edition is known, it is given in parentheses.

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Following each listing of epitaphs used for this study appear bibliographic notes on fugitive epitaphs and collections rich in epitaphs which were ignored.

Frençh Epitaphs.

147. 1/XI. Ratold, A Corbie (+986). Anon. 4 Dst, 1, some

2s. Tomb, DD, Prayer. Dummler, NA, V (1880),

622.
Attrib.
299. 2/XI. Robert, a deacon. ∧ Marbod (+1123). 4 Dst.

Prayer. PL, 171 (Marbod CV II), 1721.

842. 1082-. Countess Mabilia of Bellême, wife Roger of Mont-

gomery (+1082). Durand, A Troarn (+1088). 7 Dst,

"1". Tomb, murder, Prayer. PL, 149, 1423-1424.

958. 1/XII. Clarus, a monk (?). Anon. 6 Dst. DD. PL 171

(Hildebert Misc. 37), 1395.

1272. 1/XI. Ansegisus, AB Sens (+883). Attrib. Odorannus of

Sens (1/XI). 4 Dst, some 1. Tomb. PL, 142,

829.

1428. 1089-. Lanfranc, AB Canterbury (+1089). Not Marbod

(see Wilmart, RB, 48, 240, 251); longer version

attrib. Anselm, AB Canterbury. 29 Hex, c. PL,

171 (Marbod CV II, 36), 1726.

1557a. 1/XI. Egilo, AB Sens (+870). Attrib. Odorannus of
(= "u").
Sens (1/XI). One Dst, "1"/c. ∧ Tomb. Body/soul.

PL, 142, 829.

2216. 1/XII. Bona, girl 10 years old. Hildebert, B le Mans

(+1133). 4 Dst. Dead to reader. Scott #27

(p. 217).
Attrib.
2250. 1081-. Eusebius Bruno, B Angers (+1081). ∧ Marbod, B

Rennes (+1123). 3 Dst. Author to dead, Prayer.

PL, 171 (Marbod CV II, 19), 1721.

<u>French Epitaphs</u> (cont.).

2394. 2/XI. Gaufridus, a cantor. Marbod, B Rennes (+1123).
Attrib.

2 Dst, 2s 1/c. Tomb. PL, 171 (Marbod CV II, 21),

1721.

2831. 1153-. St. Bernard, A Clairvaux (+1153). Anon. 3 Dst.

Body/soul, word play "clarus." PL, 171 (Hilde-

bert Suppl. 7), 1456.

2916. 2/XII. An English cleric. Anon. 3 Dst. Body/soul.

Wattenbach, NA, VI (1881), 537-538.

*3189. 2/XI. Consilium populi, vox plebis lingua senatus

Anon., not

Hervaeus. Marbod, B Rennes (+1123). One Dst.

Tomb. PL, 171 (Marbod CV I, 52), 1684.

3518c. 986-. Lothaire, King of France (+986). Gerbert,

Pope Silvester II (+1003). 4 Hex. PL, 139 (#2),

287.

3622. 2/XII. Anon. Anon. One Dst, 2s 1. Tomb. Watten-

bach, NA, VI (1881), 538.

4470. 1118-. Milo II of Brai, Sieur de Montlhéry (+1118).

Anon. 4 Dst. Author to dead, murdered, DD,

word play. PL, 171 (Hildebert Misc. 33), 1394.

4635. 1119-. Baudouin VII of Flanders (+1119). Anon. 5 Dst.

Prayer. PL, 171 (Hildebert Misc. 31), 1393.

4739. 1117-. Anselm of Laon (+1117). Anon. (One of his

students?). 10 Hex. Tomb, DD. PL (Hildebert

Misc. 30), 1393.

5037. 2/XI. Rollo, Duke of Normandy (+932). Maurillius, AB

Rouen (+1067). 10 Dst, 1. Tomb, wolf/lamb,

French Epitaphs (cont.).

      Prayer. PL, 143, 1389.

5294. 1/XII. Bernard, prior Cluny. Peter Venerable (+1156).
      5 Dst. Tomb, Author to dead, Request prayer.
      PL, 189, 1022. Cf. RB, 51 (1939), 58.

6708. 2/XI. Galfridus (Geoffrey Martel II, C Anjou, +1160?).
      Anon. 12 Dst. DD. PL, 171 (Misc. 41), 1397.

6765. 1085-. Berthe (+1085), wife Hugues II, C le Maine (2nd
      marriage). Hildebert (+1133). 6 Dst. Tomb, DD.
      Scott 53 (p. 237) : Hauréau, MH, p. 190.

6777a. 1/XI. Heldemannus, B Sens (+958). Attrib. Odorannus
      of Sens (1/XI). 4 Dst. Tomb, DD, Request
      prayer. PL, 142, 829.

6836. 1117-. Anselm of Laon (+1117). Anon., not Marbod, B Rennes (+1123).
      2 Hex, 2s c. "Circa majestatem quae praeminet
      sepulcro." PL, 171 (Marbod CV II, 25), 1722-23.

7016. 1142-. Peter Abelard (+1142). Anon. (Not Peter
      Venerable; cf. Wilmart, RB, 51 (1939). 11 Hex,
      some l. "France's Socrates," DD. PL, 189,
      1022-1024 (MGH:SS 26, 235).

7132a. 1015-. Rainard, abbot. Attrib. Odorannus of Sens
      (1/XI). 4 Dst, each pent. l. Tomb, Prayer.
      PL, 142, 830.

7240b. 1129-. Rainaldus of Semur, AB Lyons (+1129). Peter
      Venerable, A Cluny (+1156). 6 Dst, some l.
      Tomb, Request prayer. PL, 189, 1022. Cf.
      Wilmart, RB, 51 (1939), 58.

French Epitaphs (cont.).

7441. 1088-. Durand, A Troarn (+1088). Anon. 3 Dst, 1.

Tomb, DD. PL, 149, 1375-1376.

7697. 1135-. Henry I of England (+1135). Arnulf of Lisieux.

7 Dst. Tomb, body/soul, DD. PL, 201, 198-199.

7787. 1049-. Odilo of Mercoeur, A Cluny (+1049). Anon.

6 Dst, 1. Tomb, DD. Sackur, NA, 15 (1890), 123.

7850a. c.1137-. Anselm, A Gembloux. "Latiniacenses et Alto-

villarenses conferentes." 6 Dst. Author to

dead, Tomb, DD. MGH:SS, 8, 554.

7927a. 1/XI. Sevinus, B Sens (+995). Attrib. Odorannus of

Sens (1/XI). 4 Dst, 1. Tomb, soul/body, Prayer.

PL, 142, 830.

7938. 1078-. Ainard, A St. Pierre-sur-Dives (+1078). Durand,

A Troarn (+1088). 7 Dst, 1, part 2s. Tomb, DD,

Request prayer. PL, 149, 1423-1424 (MGH:SS 26,

18).

*7941. 1036-. Hic jacet Albertus, quondam regalia spernens

Rex, 2s cv. Tomb.
Albert, A St. Mesmin, near Orléan (+1036). Du
∧

Méril, Poésies Populaires Anterieures, p. 80.

7944. 2/XI. Gaufridus, B Angers (G. I, +1093, G. II, +1099,

Attrib.
G. III, +1103). Marbod, B Rennes (+1123).
∧

4 Dst. Tomb, body/soul. PL, 171 (Marbod CV II,

20), 1721.

8111. 1/XII. A simoniac. Anon. 11 Dst. Tomb, invective

satire. PL, 171 (Hildebert Misc. 47), 1399.

8265a. 1095-. Gillebert (Gislebert), monk of Eln (+1095).

<u>French Epitaphs</u> (cont.).

Anon. 4 Hex, 2s 1. Tomb, body/soul. PL, 150,
1433-1444 (MGH:SS, 11, 413).

8359. 1002-. Emperor Otto III (+1002). Odilo of Cluny (+1049).
37 Hex, 1. Tomb, DD. MGH:SS, 4, 636-637.

8365. 1163-. Heloise (+1163). Anon. 4 Hex, 1/ts. Tomb.
PL, 178, 104.

8367. 1/XII. Richard. Anon. 3 Dst. Tomb, Author to dead.
Hauréau, MH, p. 200.

8533. 2/XII. A rich countess. Peter Riga (cf. Hauréau, MH,
p. 22). 7 Dst. Tomb, DD. PL, 171 (Hildebert
Misc. 34), 1394.

*8549. 1067-. Humani cives, lacrymam nolite negare
Maurillius, AB Rouen (+1067). Richard Herluinus
of Bec (+1078). 4 Dst, "1". Author to reader,
DD. PL, 143, 1386.

9479. 1164-. Hugo of Boves (of Amiens), AB Rouen (+1164).
Arnulf, B Lisieux (+1184). 6 Dst. Tomb, DD.
PL, 201, 200.

9964. 1110-. Helias of St. Säen, C Le Mans (+1110). Hilde-
bert, B Le Mans (+1133). 6 Hex. Comm. Scott,
p. 218 (#29). (Incomplete PL, 171, 1399:Misc. 46).

10812a. 1063?-. Albert, A (St. Thierri, +1063?). Godfrey of
Rheims (+1095). 8 Hex. Author to dead. Watten-
bach, <u>Sitz.   Berlin</u> (1891), p. 111.

10971. 2/XII. Peter. Anon. 2 Hex. Call for tombstone.
Hauréau, N&E, I, 234, and elsewhere.

French Epitaphs (cont.).

11024. 2/XII. Reginald, knight. Anon. 4 Dst, some l. DD.
Wattenbach, NA, 6 (1881), 538.

12182. 2/XII. A girl. Anon. 2 Hex, 2s c. Dialogue.
Wattenbach, NA, 6 (1881), 538.

13106. 1152-. Suger, A St. Denis (+1152). Simon Chèvre
d'Or. 9 Dst. DD. PL, 171 (Hildebert Misc. 42).

13112. 1142-. Abelard (+1142). Anon. 32 Hex, 1/c, and 4
Dst. Comm. PL, 178, 103-104.

13141. 1049-. Odilo, A Cluny (+1049). Jotsald, monk of
Cluny. 8 Hex, "l". Author to dead. PL, 142,
914.

13785a. 1/XI. Anastasius, B Sens (+977). Attrib. Odorannus
of Sens. 4 Dst. Tomb, soul/body, DD, prayer.
PL, 142, 829-830.

13869. 1107-. William of Ros, A Fécamp (+1107). Hildebert
(+1133). 4 Dst. DD, body/soul. Scott, p. 244
(#56) : PL, 171 (Misc. 43), 1398.

14045. 1142-. Abelard (+1142). Anon. 13 Hex, 2s 1/ts.
"Stellafied," DD, Prayer. PL, 178, 104-105.

14057. 1142-. Abelard (+1142). Peter of Poitier? 5 Dst.
Tomb, DD, "stellafied." PL, 178, 103.

14119. 2/XII. Theobald, black monk Moutier-en-Der, Châlons-
sur-Marne. Peter Riga. 10 Dst. "Bees," DD.
PL, 171 (Hildebert Misc. 36), 1395.

14482. 2/XII. Algarus, B Constance (   ). Arnulf of
Lisieux (+1184). 4 Dst. Tomb, DD, soul/body.

French Epitaphs (cont.).

PL. 201, 200.

14496a. 2/XI. Walter, a boy. Godfrey of Rheims (+1095).
4 Dst., 2s l. Comm. Wattenbach, Sitz. Berlin
(1891), p. 112.

14713a. 1/XII. Count Eustachius. Peter Venerable, A Cluny
(+1156). 10 Dst. Tomb, Request prayer. PL,
189, 1022.

15171. 1/XII. A married woman. Hildebert, B Le Mans (+1133).
5 Dst, some c. Tomb, DD. Scott, p. 218 (#30) :
Hauréau, MH, pp. 191-192.

15358. 1088-. Berenger of Tours (+1088). Hildebert, B Le
Mans (+1133). 26 Dst. DD, body/soul. Scott,
pp. 209-210 (#18) : PL, 171 (Misc. 40), 1396.

15374. 2/XII. Thomas Lenoir, son Anselm AD Bayeux (cf.
Hauréaux, MH, pp. 22-23). Peter Riga (+c. 1209).
6 Dst.
DD, metaphoric. PL, 171, 1394 (Hauréau, MH, p.
23).

15378. 1045-. Angelramnus, A St. Riquier, Centulen (+1054?
Chevalier: +1045). Guido, B Amiens (+1076).
2 Dst, "l". Tomb. PL, 146, 1509-1510.

15379a. c.1029-. Fulbert, B Chartres (+c. 1029). Anon.
6 Dst, "l". Tomb, years, DD. PL, 141, 166.

15561. 1180-. Louis VII of France (+1180). A magister
Berter. 7 Dst, 2s l. Dead to reader. Gillert,
NA, 5 (1880), 610. (MGH:SS, 26, 243).

French Epitaphs (cont.).

15811. 1173-. Ulrich, Italian noble (+1173). From St.
Victor, Paris. 7 Hex/Dst. Body/soul, Death
year. Löwenfeld, NA, 11 (1886), 607-608.

15821. 2/XII. Goslenus, knight. Anon. 2 Dst. Tomb,
Prayer. Wattenbach, NA, 6 (1881), 537.

15910a. 2/XI. Guido, AD Rheims. Godfrey of Rheims (+1095).
6 Dst, some 2s l. Author to dead, Tomb.
Wattenbach, <u>Sitz. Berlin</u> (1891), p. 112.

15968. 2/XI. Robert, a boy._∧^{Attrib.} Marbod (+1123). 6 Dst, -/1.
Author to dead, prayer. PL, 171, (Marbod CV II,
23), 1721-1722.

16238. 1/XI. Adelheide (+999), wife Lothaire II of Italy
(+947) and Otto II of Germany (+951). Garinus,
a cleric. 7 Hex, l. Comm. PL, 142, 966
(NA, 2, 247).

16366. 2/XI. Guillelmus Longa Spatha (: William I, duke of
Normandie, assassinated 943?). Maurillius, AB
Rouen (+1067). 7 Dst, l. Comm, Prayer. PL,
143, 1390.

16484a. 1015-. Ludovicus, German count, monk Sens (+1015).
Attrib. Odorannus of Sens. 3 Hex, "l". Tomb.
PL, 142, 830.

16504. 1167-. Queen Mathilda of England (+1167). Arnulf of
Lisieux (+1184). 3 Dst. Tomb, DD. PL, 201,
199 (#11).

16528. 1167-. Queen Mathilda of England (+1167). Arnulf of

French Epitaphs (cont.).

Lisieux (+1184). 3 Dst. DD. PL, 201, 199 (#12).

16667. 2/XII. Anon. Anon. 2 Dst, "2s"l/u. Dead to reader. Wattenbach, NA, 6 (1881), 537.

16668. c.1138-. Obizo, doctor. Anon. 4 Dst. Dead to reader, Prayer. Löwenfeld, NA, 11 (1886), 606.

17978. 2/XII. Rubertus Filioth (: Robert Foliot, B Hereford, +1195?). Anon. 3 Dst. DD. Wattenbach, NA, 6 (1881), 537.

*18469a. 999-. Adelheide, wife Lothaire II of Italy and Emperor Otto II (+999). In prose Ep. Adel. by Odilo, A Cluny (+1049). 4 Hex, "l" (irreg.). Comm. PL, 142, 972.

Spe fideque certa, atque gemina pleniter caritate . .

18794a. 1142-. Abelard (+1142). "Ex chronico Richardi Pictaviensis." 8 Hex. Comm. PL, 178, 106.

19062. 1/XII. B Paris. Gualo (cf. Hauréau, MH, pp. 30-32). 9 Dst. Gualo speaks to dead man's successor. Hauréau, MH, p. 31 : PL, 171 (Hildebert Misc. 44), 1398. Verse letter.

*19506. 1184-. Tu qui dives eras, et magnus episcopus, ob quid Arnulf, B Lisieux (+1184). Anon. 2 Dst. Dialogue dead/writer. PL, 201, 14.

19582. 2/XI? Charlemagne (+814). Anon. (Cf. Wilmart, RB, 48, 240). 6 Hex/Dst, 1/ts. Tomb. PL, 171, (Marbod CV II, 35), 1726. (From 3 epitaphs).

French Epitaphs (cont.).

19716. 1/XII. Adefons, B Salamanca (Aldefons?) (+   ).
    Peter of Poitiers, prior of Limoges (+1160).
    (Cf. Wilmart, RB, 51, 56). 5 Hex. Tomb. PL,
    189, 60.

20406. 1119-. Pope Gelasius II (+1119). Peter of Poitiers,
    prior of Limoges (+1160). 29 Hex. Tomb, Author
    to dead, Request prayers. PL, 189, 58-60.

20430. 1/XII. "Cujusdam probi viri." Anon. 6 Dst. Comm,
    antithesis. PL, 171 (Hildebert Misc. 32), 1393.

20609. 2/XII. Peter, a poet. Peter Riga? (+c. 1209).
    7 Dst, ornamental inner rhyme, alliteration.
    Comm. PL, 171 (Hildebert Misc. 29), 1392.

20760. 1110-. Helias of St. Säens, C Le Mans (+1110). Anon.
    16 Dst, "1". Author to dead, "comet." Hauréau,
    MH, p. 35.

French Epitaphs (cont.).

Isolated epitaphs not used for this study:

For Ivo of Chartres (+1115), for a knight/poet, and for a bishop, in André Boutemy, Revue Belge, XXII (1943), 14-15.

For Marbod, Gerardus, Rualennus, and others, some from Marbod's death roll, in Walther Bulst, "Studien zu Marbods C.V.," Göttingen Nachrichten, Phil.-Hist. Kl., F. IV, NF, Vol. II (1939), pp. 189, 192.

For Haimo, B Chalons-sur-Marne (+1153), for himself, for C Balduin II of Hainau, by or quoted by Guido of Bazoches, in NA, XVI (1891), 87, 93-94, 98. For a priest Gotbrannus, from Lyons, in NA, XLVIII (1929), 161. For an unnamed person, NA, VI (1881), 538.

Seven for Fulcoius of Beauvais, in Sister M. Isaac Jaques Rousseau, Fulcoii Belvacensis Utriusque (Washington, 1959), pp. 122-126.

For a monk Girard, in André Wilmart, "Florilège de Saint-Gatien," RB, XLVIII (1936), 40.

Other sources of eleventh and twelfth century French epitaph:

Acta sanctorum. Oct. III, 737: for St. Bruno.

Anzieger für Kunde der teutschen Vorzeit, ed. Mone. Vol. 14, 111: for Peter Comestor (+1179), theologian Jean Beleth (+c. 1182), Anselm of Laon (+1117).

Bertalot, Ludwig. Die alteste gedruckte lateinische Epitaphiensammlung (Munich, 1921). On pp. 9, 10, 13, 16:

French Epitaphs (cont.).

for Godefry of Bouillon, for Bauduin, for Peter Comestor, for Adam of St. Victor.

Gallia Christiana, 16 vols. (Paris, 1856-1899), and Gallia Christiana novissima, 6 vols. (Valence, 1899-1916). In GC, 8, 1132: for Ivo of Chartres; in GCN, 6, 44: for Berenger, B Orange (+1127), by Guillaume, B. Orange.

Histoire littéraire de la France (Paris, 1733-63). Vol. 7, 77-78: for Hugues (+1024), son Robert of France, by Gérard.

MGH:SS. Vol. 26, 242: for Peter Comestor (+1179), by himself; for Louis VII of France, by A St. Geneviève, Paris.

Ordericus Vital. Historiae ecclesiasticae libri XIII, PL, 188, 1-984. Many epitaphs.

PL. Vol. 142, 967-968: for Emperor Henry II, by Odilo of Cluny. Vol. 147, 1018: for Geraldus, A Silvae Maioris (+1095). Vol. 150, 734: for Boso, A Bec (+1136). Vol. 171, 1392, for Peter, by Hildebert (Misc. 28 : Scott #49); 1395, for a teacher (Misc. 38), an abbess (Misc. 39); 1398: for Bruno, by Hildebert (Misc. 45 : Scott #28); 1463, for Marbod (+1123); 1722, for Anselm of Laon (Marbod CV II, 24). Vol. 185, 1251: for Bernard of Clairvaux, Louis VII of France (+1180). Vol. 196, 1422: by and for Adam of St. Victor (+1173).

Recueil des historiens de Gaules, ed. M. Bouquet. Vol. 14, 817: three for Philip I of France.

Vetera analecta, ed. J. Mabillon (n.e., Paris, 1732).
(+1107)
PP. 377, 379: for Girbert, A Fontanelle; Richier, B Verdun.

German Epitaphs.

*124a. 1026-. Abba Wirunt tumbam sacris decat ossibus istam
Wirunt, A Einsiedeln (+c. 1026). A Embricus,
his successor? 4 Dst, l. Tomb, years, DD.
Grabschr. #100.

136b. c.1113-. Liethard, A Gembloux. Quoted by Godeschalc
of Gembloux. 5 Dst, "l". Prayer. MGH:SS, 8,
550-551.

1014. 1135-. Henry I of England (+1135). Not Hildebert nor
Philip of Harvengt; possibly French. 9 Dst.
PL, 203, 1394 (Berlin Sitz., 1895,
151).

1019a. 1119-. Baldwin VII, C Flanders (+1119). Anon. 5 Dst,
some varied rhyme. Comm. Pirenne, Histoire,p.
189 (MGH:SS, 14, 360).

*1585. 1011-. Aspice, mortalis sumptus de pulvere pulvis
Liudger, C Saxony (+1011). Anon. 11 Hex, l.
Author to reader, Tomb, DD, Prayer. Grabschr.
#21.

*2515. 1127-. Carolus excessit comes ense doloque suorum
Charles the Good, C Flanders (+1127). Anon.
2 Hex, cv. Comm, murdered. PL, 166, 1048
(Pirenne, Histoire, 190).

2856. 1121-. Friedrich, B Liège (+1121). Anon. 14 Hex,
2s l/ts. Author-dead, "martyr," DD. Dümmler,
NA, 2 (1877), 603 (MGH:SS, 25, 97).

German Epitaphs (cont.).

3084. 1056-. Emperor Henry III (+1056). Anon. 8 Dst, 1. "Died in hunting accident" (false), Prayer. Dümmler, NA, 1 (1876), 176.

3253. 1095-. Robert, B Auxerre, noble (+1095). Anon. 6 Hex, 2s 1. Tomb, DD. Dümmler, NA, 1 (1876), 180.

3374. 1/XII. A deacon of Orleans. Anon. Not Philip of Harvengt nor Hildebert. 10 Dst. Comm, murdered. PL, 203, 1394 (Berlin Sitz. 1895, 151).

5020. 1025-. Durand, B Liège (+1025). Stephan, A S. Lwientius, Liège ? 4 Dst. Tomb, years, DD. Grabschr. #24.

5189a. c.1090-. Tietmar, A Gembloux (+. 1090). Quoted by Godeschalc of Gembloux. 3 Dst, 1. Tomb, DD, Prayer. MGH:SS, 8, 545.

5523b. 1085-. Hildebrand, Pope (+1085). Reiner of Liège. 6 Hex, 2s 1. Author to dead, Tomb. PL, 204, 97-98.

5686. XII? Gerard of Flanders, "vox regis." Anon. 3 Dst, 1. Dead to reader, Request prayer. Strecker, NA, 50 (1933), 155.

*6414. 1/XI. Femina virtutis iacet isto Gisla sepulchro Gisla, sister of Odgiva (+1030), the wife of Baldwin IV Flanders. Anon. 2 Dst. Tomb, DD. Grabschr. #36.

German Epitaphs (cont.).

6547. 1026-. Ekkehard, B Schleswig (+1026). Anon. 6 Hex. Tomb, "exiled." Dümmler, NA, 2 (1877), 602.

6682a. 1036-. Reginard, B Liège (+1036). Everelinus, A Liège. 3 Dst, 1. Author to dead, Tomb, DD, Prayer. PL, 204, 137 (MGH:SS, 20, 578).

*6756. 1/XII. Forma, decus morum, dux, norma, pater monachorum Egino, A (Augsbourg? +1120). Anon. 7 Dst, 2s 1. Tomb, DD, Prayer. Wattenbach, Sitz. Munich, 6 (1873), 746.

6958. 1085-. Willeram, A Ebersberg (+1085). Anon. 7 Dst, 1. Dead to reader. Tomb, DD, Request prayer. MGH:SS, 20, 16.

*6975a. c.1089-. Funere cum tristi sacram defertur ad aedem William, A St. Arnulfus, Metz (+c.1089). Anon. 11 Hex, "1". Tomb, DD. PL, 150, 873.

7010. 1/XII. William, a French teacher. Not Philip of Harvengt(probably French). 4 Dst. Body/soul. PL, 203, 1393.

7781a. 1112-. Sigebert, teacher and writer, Metz. Godescalc of Gembloux. 41 Hex, 1, with anagram. Author to dead, comm. MGH:SS, 8, 555-556.
(+c.1112)

*7786. 1/XI. Heu que natura, quam mendax ista figura! Sigibraht of Fulda (: ? +993 or 1006). Anon. 6 Dst, 1. Body/soul, Request prayer, years, DD, Prayer. Grabschr. #57.

German Epitaphs (cont.).

7814. 1095-. Wido, teacher Auxerre (+1095). 19 Hex, 2s 1.

Comm. Dümmler, NA, 1 (1876), 181.

7898. 1056- Ellinger, A Tegernsee (+1056). Anon. 16 Dst, 2s 1.

Prayer, Author to reader, Comm. Strecker,

Froumund, 122.

7996. 982-. Hartwig, A Tegernsee (+982). Froumund of Tegern-

see (+1041). 9 Dst, 1. Tomb, years, "we", DD,

Prayer. Strecker, Froumund, 20-21.

8072a. 1127-. Charles the Good, C Flanders (+1127). Anon.

(Flemish monk at Laach?). 4 Dst and one Hex,

some 1/c. "Murdered," Tomb, Prayer. Pirenne,

Histoire, 190.

*8128. 1/XI? Hic tenet hospitium memorande corpus alumne

Hathewith. Anon. 7 Dst, "1". Tomb, "no tears,"

Body/soul. Grabschr. #56.

*8137. 1005-. Hic tua Mathildis Christi genitricis in alis

Gotfrid, Duke Enham, second husband Mathilda of

Saxony (+1005). Anon. 4 Dst, "1". Tomb, DD,

Prayer. Grabschr. #16.

8152? 1099?-. Pope Urban (II? +1099). Anon. Not Philip of

Hervengt. 7 Dst, some ts. Tomb. PL, 203,

1392-1393. Walther's index for this poem reads

"Hic vivens sol (lux) orbis erat defunctus

eclipsis -- Migne, 151, 583; 203, 1392 (Phil.

de Herveng); Hist. Vjs. 30, 57 . . ." Poem reads

"Hic vivens lux Urbis erat, nox morte peremptus"

German Epitaphs (cont.).

*8244. 1003-. Hoc conditoris regina Susanna quiescit

Susanna (+1003), wife Arnulf II, C Flanders.

Anon. 2 Dst, "c". Tomb, DD, Body/soul.

Grabschr. #35.

8247. 1077-. Embrico, B Augsburg (+1077). Anon. 6 Hex, "2s"

1. Tomb, "cross." Dümmler, NA, 6 (1881), 446.

8267. 2/XI. No name. Anon. 2 Dst, "2s" 1. Author to

reader. Dümmler, NA, 6 (1881), 445.

8335. c.1000-. Rihkerus. Froumund of Tegernsee (+1041).

8 Dst, 1. Tomb, "carmina," "we," "rejoice,"

DD. Strecker, Froumund, 63: "Aus Zeit Abt

Gotahard, 1001-1002."

8351a. c.1000-. Ilis (Elisa), mother Froumund. Froumund of

Tegernsee (+1041). 10 Dst, "1". Tomb, Greek,

Author to reader, Request prayer, DD. Strecker,

Froumund, 41: "Aus Zeit Abt Gozperts, 982-1001."

8540. 1059-? Dietpaldus (C Bavaria +1059? Margrave Vohburg

+1146?). Anon. 3 Dst, 1. Dead to reader,

Request prayer. Dümmler, NA, 6 (1881), 445.

9341a. 1021-. Wolbodo, B Liège (+1021). Anon. Quoted by

Reiner of Liège. 3 Dst, 1. Tomb. Grabschr. #23.

10059. 2/XI. Gerunc. Anon. 3 Dst, 2s 1. Tomb (hec : titulus).

Dümmler, NA, 6 (1881), 445.

10219a. 1005-. Adalbero, B Metz. Konrad of St. Nabor.

16 Dst, 1. Author to reader, Tomb, years, DD,

Request prayer. MGH:SS, 4, 672-673.

German Epitaphs (cont.).

10425. 1142-. Abelard (+1142). Philip of Harvengt, A Bonae-
Spei (+1183)? 4 Hex, 2s c, and one Dst.
"Lucifer," "boat," versus rapportati. PL, 178,
105-106 (cf. Sitz. Berlin, 1895, 149).

*10795. 1/XI. Mausoleo Hermannus tegitur conclusus in isto
Hermann, C Saxony (son of Duke Gotfrid, +1005).
10 Hex, "1". Tomb, DD. Grabschr, #19.

11409. 1065-. Hermann, A Einsiedeln (+1065). Anon. 3 Dst,
1. Tomb, DD. Dümmler, NA, 2 (1877), 602-603.

11915. 1034-. Ezzo (Erenfrid), Count Palatine (+1034). Anon.
4 Dst, "2s" 1. Tomb, DD, Prayer. Grabschr. #12.

12087? 1127-. Charles the Good, C Flanders (+1127) (cf. line
14: consule pro Karolo quem gens haec martyri-
zavit). Anon. 15 Hex, 2s 1. Comm, invective,
articuli. Pirenne, Histoire, 188-189. Opening,
Non lingua fari, listed by Walther: "(De S.
Thomas Cantuar): Paris, BN. 2414 (s. XII/XIII.)
f. 163^V," without reference to published source.

*12237. c.1090-. Norma, decus, speculum Guerinus, honor
Guerinus, prior Gembloux (+c. 1090). Quoted by
Godeschalc of Gembloux. Dst, frag. Tomb.
MGH:SS, 8, 545.

*13205. 1011-. Omne quod hac supera vivum dinoscitur aura
Bernhard I, Duke Saxony (+1011). Anon. 11 Hex,
"1". Tomb, Prayer, DD. Grabschr. #20.

German Epitaphs (cont.).

13501. 1190-. Frederic I, Barbarossa (+1190). Anon. 21 Hex,
2s 1. Death year, Prayer. Weiland, NA, 15
(1890), 394.

13541a. 1024-. Mathilda (+1024), daughter Otto II, wife Count
Palatine Erenfrid. Anon. 4 Dst, "2s" 1. Tomb,
DD, Prayer. Grabschr. #11.

13967. 1127-. Charles the Good, C Flanders (+1127). Anon.
8 Dst. Author to dead, "murdered," versus rapor-
tati. Pirenne, Histoire, pp. 190-191

*14496. 1030-. Preteriens miserere mei, qui vis misereri
Odgiva (+1030), wife Baulduin IV of Flanders.
Anon. 2 Dst. Dead to reader, Request prayer,
DD. Grabschr. #37.

*15546. 1019-. Qui meres celeri sub carnis iure resolvi
Friedrich, C Luxemburg (+1019), brother Emp.
Kunigunde. Anon. 12 Hex, 1. Author to reader,
Request prayer, Tomb, DD. Grabschr. #14.

15880. 1047-. Eberhard, B Augsburg (+1047). Anon. 3 Dst,
"1". Tomb ("pater hic"). Dümmler, NA, 6
(1881), 445.

15992. 1054-. Pope Leo IX (+1054). Anon. 25 Hex, 1. "Vision,"
DD. Dümmler, NA, 1 (1876), 175-176.
12 Hex, 1.
16180. 1021-. Wolpert, A Deutz (+1021). Anon. Author to
reader, Tomb, DD, Body/soul. Grabschr. #55.

16466. 1116-. Ivo, B Chartres (+1116). Anon. Not Hildebert
nor Philip of Harvengt. 4 Dst. Comm.

German Epitaphs (cont.).

PL, 203, 1393 (Sitz. Berlin, 1895, 147).

*16661. 1/XI? Respicis hospitium quam vili scemate cultum?

H . . . a preacher? Anon. (Maria Laach, XI

cent.). 9 Hex, "1". Author to reader, Tomb,

DD. Grabschr. #54.

*17337. 1/XI. Scire volens, lector, tumulo quis conditur isto

Friedrich, C Saxony and monk St. Vanne, provost

St. Vaast (son Duke Gotfrid +1005). Anon. 10

Hex, 1. Author to reader, Tomb, Request prayer,

DD. Grabschr. #18.

17636. 1095-. Wido, teacher Auxerre (+1095). Anon. 5 Hex,

2s 1. Comm. Dümmler, NA, 1 (1876), 181.

*17945. 1009-. Si quis scire cupit, hoc cuius membra sepulcro

Mathilde of Saxony (+1009), wife Balduin III, C

Flanders. Anon. 5 Dst. Tomb. Grabschr. #34.

*18677a. 1018-. Subiecto tumulo templi huius structor Uroldus

Urold, A Prüm (+1018). Anon. 2 Dst. Tomb,

years. Grabschr. #65.

18854. c.1100. Fulco, A. Anon. (early XII ms.). 18 Hex,

td, in sections of 4, 10 and 4 lines. Comm,

Author to dead, Prayer. Wattenbach, Sitz.

Munich, 6 (1873), 745.

20710. 1/XII. Peter, B Poitiers. Not Philip of Harvengt

nor Hildebert. 5 Dst. Tomb ("iste"), versus

raportati. PL, 171, 1455.

German Epitaphs (cont.).

20769. 1089-. Lanfranc, AB Canterbury (+1089). Anon. Not
      Hildebert nor Philip of Harvengt. 6 Dst.
      Author-dead, Body/soul, DD. PL, 203, 1393-94
      (Sitz. Berlin, 1895, 150).

Anonymous epitaphs from the first 400 entries in Franz Xaver
Kraus' Die Christlichen Inschriften der Rheinlande: Von der
Mitte des achten bis zur Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts
(Freiburg, 1894).

    #54: Herman, A Einsiedeln (+1056), 3 Dst, 1.

    #65: S. Gebhard II, founder Peterhausen (+995, can. 1134),
        7 Hex, 1.

    #86: Uto, A S. Blasien (+1108), 1 Dst, "1". No generic
        topics.

    #122: Wilhelm I, B Strassburg (+1047), 2 Dst.

    #123: Hezil, B Strassburg (+1065), 2 Dst.

    #134: Gundelach (Gunderich), A Weissenburg (+1182),
        4 Dst, "1".

    #139: Emich II of Leiningen (+1142) and wife Albraht, at
        Höningen monastery, 2 Hex, "1".

    #159: Rudiger, B Speyer (+1090), 6 Hex, 1.

    #160: Arnulf (Arnold) I, B Speyer and A Weissenburg (+1055),
        4 Dst, "1".

    #176a: Wolfram (+1031?), son Conrad II, 3 Hex/Dst, 1.

German Epitaphs (cont.).

#186: Adelbert, B Worms (+1107), 4 Hex.

#190: "Brother Joseph" (Ste. Hildegund, +1188), at Schönau,
6 Hex, "1".

#200: Heinrich, A Lorsch (+1167), 3 Hex, 2s c, and prose.

#250: Aribo, AB Mainz (+1031), 3 Dst, 2s 1, by Ekkehard
IV of St. Gall.

#250^2: Aribo, AB Mainz (+1031), 12 Hex, 1.

#262: Wignand, Provost Mainz (+1048), 10 Hex, "2s" 1.

#321: Adalbero II, B Metz (+1004), 18 Dst, 1. Cf. 10219a
above.

#335: Ravengerus, A Echternach (+1007), 6 Dst, 2s 1.

#336: Urold, A Echternach (+1034), 6 Dst, 2s 1.

#338: Gotfried I, A Echternach (+1155), 6 Dst, 2s 1.

#346^1: Albero, AB Trier (+1152), 5 Dst, 2s 1.

#346^2: Albero, AB Trier (+1152), 16 Dst.

#346^3: Albero, AB Trier, for heart and entrails, 2 Dst.

#347: Ivo, papal legat, at Trier (+1142), 8 Hex, "2s" c.

#348: Hillin, AB Trier (+1169), 5 Dst, 2s 1.

#363: Reginerius, A St. Martin, Trier (translated 1163),
2 Dst, 1.

#366: Engelbert, A St. Matthias, Trier (+1002), 2 Dst.

#367: Theodorus, monk St. Mathias, Trier (+1011), 5 Dst, 1.

#393: John II, A St. Maximin, Trier (+104?), 4 Dst, "1",
with Greek words in Greek characters.

#394: Heinrich II, A St. Maximin, Trier (+1100), 2 Dst, 1.

German Epitaphs (cont.).

Isolated German epitaphs not used in this study:

By Hermann Contractus for his mother, Hiltrud (+1052), in A. Bergmann, "Die Dichtung der Reichenau in Mittelalter," Kultur der Abtei Reichenau, I, 751.

For A Ganzlinus (+1029), in NA, 3, 383.

For Heinrich II (+1056); for Count Palatine Heinrich II, founder Maria Laach (+1095); for Gilbert, A Maria Laach, mentioned by Gröber, Grundriss, I, 1, 339ff. Hengstl, p. 137, mentions an epitaph for Otto of Freising (+1158) by Rahewin, but gives no reference.

Other sources for eleventh and twelfth century German epitaph:

Die Deutchen Inschriften (Stuttgart, 1942--).

MGH:SS. Vol 4, 737; Vol 7, 263, for Leodegar (XI); Vol. 8, 541, for Olbertus (+1048); Vol. 8, 550, for A Anselm (+1136); Vol. 24, 727, for Hugo, B Lausanne (+1028); Vol. 24, 799, for Heinrich, B Lausanne (+1019); Vol. 30, II, 866, for Alvisus, a bishop (+1147).

PL. Vol. 150, 921-924, for Wilhelm, A Hirsau (+1091); Vol. 174, 1306, for Ingelard (XII).

Pez, Thesaurus. Vol. 6:2, 50, for Sigibald of Wessobrunn (+1199).

English Epitaphs.

207. XII.   An English prior (of Melrose?). Anon. 4 Dst.
                   Soul/body, adnominatio. Wattenbach, NA, 2
                   (1877), 440.

2864. 2/XII. A student (himself). Gerald of Wales (+1223).
                   3 Dst, part 1. Tomb. Brewer, I, 381.

7439a. 1078-. St. Herluinus, A and founder Bec (+1078). Anon.
                   5 Dst, "1". Tomb, years, DD, Prayer. PL, 150,
                   711-712. Probably French.

*8559. 1078-. Humanum lapsum, quem vincere non potuisti,
                   Herluinus, A Bec (+1078). Anon. 14 Hex, 2s t/c.
                   Author to dead, Tomb, Prayer. PL, 158, 1150.
                   Possibly French.

8600b. 1078-. Herluinus, A Bec (+1078). Anon. 8 Dst, "1".
                   Author to reader, Author to dead. PL, 150,
                   712-714. Possibly French.

*9686. 1086-.   Iam celo tutus summo cum rege Kanutus
                   Knut IV of Denmark (+1086, canon. 1101). Anon.
                   8 Hex, 1. Comm, murdered. Schmeidler, NA, 37
                   (1911), 96. Probably Danish.

10036. 2/XII. Gerald of Wales. Gerald of Wales (+1223).
                   4 Dst, some 1. Tomb, "cross." Brewer, 1, 381.

11846. 1109-. St. Anselm, AB Canterbury, A Bec (+1109). Anon.
                   20 Hex, 1. DD. PL, 158, 141. Possibly French.

14261. 1123-. Robert, B Lincoln (+1123). Henry of Hunting-
                   don (+1155). 4 Dst. DD. Wright, SP, 2, 168
                   (MGH:SS, 6, 487: 2 Dst).

English Epitaphs (cont.).

15639. 1087-. William the Conqueror (+1087). Thomas, AB
York (+1100). 4 Dst, "1". Tomb, DD. PL, 149,
1271-1272.

15899. 1109-. Anselm, A Bec, AB Canterbury (+1109). Anon.
4 Dst, 2s 1. Dead to reader, Tomb. PL, 158,
141-142. Possibly French.

16063. 2/XII. Anon. Gerald of Wales (+1223). 5 Dst, some
1/c. Tomb, Author to reader, Request prayer.
Brewer,1, 368.

16160. 1109-. Anselm A Bec, AB Canterbury (+1109) (or Eadmund
of Canterbury?). 11 Dst, some 1. Author to
reader, Body/soul. PL, 158, 142. Possibly
French.

16279a. 1135-. Henry I of England (+1135). Anon. 14 Hex,
2s c. DD, Author to dead. PL, 149, 902
(MGH:SS, 6, 491). Possibly French.

17515a. 1135-. Henry I of England (+1135). Anon. 4 Hex,
Tomb. PL, 149, 902. Possibly French.

19527. 2/XII. For prepared grave. Gerald of Wales (+1223).
3 Dst, some 1/c. Inscription for stone. Brewer,
1, 382.

20300a. 1135-. Henry I of England (+1135). Anon. 4 Hex,
2s 1. Tomb, versus rapportati. PL, 149, 902.
Possibly French.

*20885. 1129-. Wilhelmus Gyffard Praesul jacet hic tumulatus
William Gifford, B Winchester (+1129). Anon.

English Epitaphs (cont.).

2 Hex, 2s c. Tomb. Anglia Sacra, 1, 279.

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Isolated English epitaphs not used in this study:

For Thomas à Beckett, AB Canterbury (+1170), in Polycarp Leyser, Historia Poetarum (Halle, 1721), p. 437.

For Henry I, for Wiford, later bishop of Chartres, and for Queen Mathilda (+1167), in Hagen, Carmina, #81, 118, 120, 121.

For Louis VII (c. 1118), in Gerald of Wales, De instructione principis. Probably French.

For Richard I of England (+1199), by Robert of Hoveden (+1201), in Chronica (Rolls Series), IV, 84.

Other sources for eleventh and twelfth century English epitaph:

Henry of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum (Rolls Series). On p. 158: for Elfleda (+918), widow Ethelred of Mercia; p. 237: for Henry of Huntingdon's father; p. 244: for Robert Bloet, B Lincoln (+1123); p. 254: for Henry I (+1135).

Ordericus Vitalis. Historiae ecclesiastica libri XIII, PL, 188, 1-984. Many epitaphs.

William of Newburgh. Historia Regum Anglicarum.

Hessler, PMLA, 38 (1923), p. 713, suggests further epitaphs might be found in collections of T. J. Pettigrew (1857) and Ernest R. Suffling (London, 1909).

Italian Epitaphs.

1371a. 2/XI. Apollinar, A Monte Casino (+828). Desiderius,
Pope Victor III (+1087; written while he was
A, 1057-1082). 18 Hex, "l". Tomb, Author to
dead, author's name, request for deceased's
prayer. PL, 149, 1017-1018.

1476a. 1/XI. Benno, Italian knight. Peter Damian (+1072).
7 Dst, l. Request Prayer. Lokrantz, p. 73
(#99).

*2690a. 1004-. Christe deus, rerum pulcherrime factor et
auctor. Johannes Canaparius, A St. Bonifatius,
Rome (+1004). Anon. 4 Dst, "l", and prose.
Prayer, death year and day in prose. Grabschr.
#118.

7385a. 2/XI? Guido. Anon. 3 Dst. Author to dead, Tomb, DD.
Dümmler, NA, 1 (1876), 177-178. Possibly German.

8076. 999-. Pope Gregory V (+999). Anon. 8 Dst, some l.
Tomb, prose DD. Grabschr. #110.

*8281. 2/XI. Hoc jacet in tumulo Leo vir per cuncta fidelis
Leo, Roman noble. Alphanus I, AB Salerno
(+1085). 4 Dst. Tomb, DD. PL, 147, 1263.

9621a. 1003-. Pope Silvester II (+1003), Gerbert. Anon.
12 Dst and prose year and day of death. Tomb,
who erected tomb, Request prayer. Grabschr.
#111.

14487. 1071-. Atton, B Marsi and Chieti (+1071). Alphanus I,
AB Salerno (+1085). 6 Dst. Tomb, DD. PL, 147,

Italian Epitaphs (cont.).

1263.

15141. 2/XI . Jean III (?), prince Salerno (+1018; Jean I
+982). Alphanus I, AB Salerno (+1085). 6 Dst,
"1". Tomb, DD, Prayer. PL, 147, 1264.

16061a. 1087-. Pope Victor III (+1087). Anon. 8 Dst, some
1. Dead to Reader, years, Tomb, DD. PL, 149,
917-918.

*16139. 1012-. Quisquis ad hec tendis sublimia limina lector
Pope Sergius IV (+1012). Anon. 9 Dst and prose
death year. Author to reader, Tomb, Request
prayer. Grabschr. #112.

16285. 1/XI. Anon. (for himself). Peter Damian (+1072). 7
Dst, 1. Dead to reader, Request prayer.
Lokrantz, p. 72 (#96).

*18286. 1007-. Siste gradus, itor, paucis te fabor; abito
                                        2 Dst, "1".
Landulf IV of Capua (+1007). Anon. ∧ Dead·to
reader, Tomb. Grabschr. #123.

18613. 2/XI. Stephan, a cardinal. Alphanus I, AB Salerno
              5 Dst, some 1.
(+1085). ∧ Author to dead, DD, Tomb, Prayer.
PL, 147, 1263.

20396a. 1/XI. Lodoicus, priest. Peter Damian (+1072).
5 Dst, "1". Tomb, Author to dead, request that
deceased give prayer. Lokrantz, p. 72 (#95).

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Italian Epitaphs (cont.).

Isolated Italian epitaphs not used for this study:

For five churchmen, in E. Winkelmann, Archivio della società romana di storia patria, II, 361 ff.

An eleventh century epitaph, saturnian, C. Q. XXXIV.144, (cf. William Beare, Latin Verse and European Song, p. 179).

For Ioannis episcopi Nepesini (+1063), in Tituli saecli octavi, MGH:PL.

For B Hubert (+c. 950), Hugo, Sigefrid, and Cadulus (+1045), in Mon. Hist. ad Parm. pert, 4, 445.

Other sources for eleventh and twelfth century Italian epitaph:

De Rossi, II. XVII, 13 (p. 181): for Arialdus, a deacon (+1066), Milan. XIX, 9 (pp. 203-204): for Joannis, cardinal, St. Anastasia, probably XII century. XIX, 43 (p. 211): for Boniface IV. XXXI, 2 (p. 306): rhythmic, 2s rhyme; full poem not given. LXVI, 69 (p. 430): for a cardinal Peter (+1097).

Schneider, Fedor, and Walther Holtzmann, ed. Die Epitaphien der Päpste (Rome, 1933).

Spanish Epitaphs.

2867. 1132-. Stephen, A Santiago de Peñalva (+1132). Anon.
14 Hex, 1, mainly 2s. Tomb, DD, D year.
Amador de los Rios, II, 346.

4738. 1086-. Constanza (AdlR: +1086; Encicl. Univ. Ilust.:
+1093), wife Alfonso VI of Castille. Alfon
Gramático. 10 Hex, "1". Tomb. AdlR, II, 342.

6358. 1057-. Teresia, Countess Carrion de los Condes (+1057).
Anon. 8 Hex, some 1. Tomb, DD, Prayer.
AdlR, II, 337.

6834. 1086-. Constanza (+1086; +1093?), wife Alfonso VI.
Alfon Gramático. 10 Hex, "1". Dead to reader,
Tomb, Request prayer. AdlR, II, 342.

7426. 1164-. Alvito, B Leon (+1164). Anon. 5 Hex, 1. Tomb,
death year, Author to dead, prayer for contri-
butor of tomb. AdlR, II, 351.

7443. 1073-. St. Domingo de Silos (AdlR: +1085; Encicl. Univ.
Ilust.: +1073). Grimaldus, author vita. 4 Dst,
1. Tomb, DD. AdlR, II, 340.

8154. 1057-. William Berenguer (+1057). Anon. 6 Hex. Tomb,
Author to dead. AdlR, II, 338.

*8349. 1153-. Hoc sepulchrum est Pelagii ovetensis Episcopi
Pelagius, B Oviedo (+1153). Anon. 8 Hex (irreg.
metrics). Tomb, Dead to reader, Request prayer.
AdlR, II, 347.

10675. 1018-. Ramon Borrel III (+1018). Anon. 4 Hex, 2s 1.
Tomb, Request prayer. AdlR, II, 334-335.

Spanish Epitaphs (cont.).

*11856. 1101-. Nobilis Urraca iacet hoc tumulo tumulata

Infanta Urraco (+1101). Anon. 2 Dst, 1.

Tomb. AdlR, II, 343.

*14106. 1156-. Picole cultum spectans memoransque sepultum

Zabalab, convert and priest (+1156). Anon.

12 Dst, "2s" "1." Author to reader, Tomb, Body/

soul, death year. Amador de los Rios, II, 349.

*14477. 1150-. Presul Xemenus Probitatis luce serenus

Xemenus, B Astorga. Anon. 3 Dst, 2s 1 (written

by half-lines). Tomb, Prayer, DD. AdlR, II,

348.

15377. XII? Vivianus, an architect. Anon. 4 Hex, 2s cv.

Tomb, Prayer, Request prayer. AdlR, II, 352.

17241. 1072-. Don Sancho el Fuerte (+1072). Anon. 4 Hex,

"1". Tomb. AdlR, II, 339.

17745. 1086-. Constanza (+1086;+1093?), wife Alfonso VI.

Alfon Gramático. 10 Hex. Dead to reader,

"epitaphia nostra," Request prayer, Prayer.

AdlR, II, 341.

17863. 1086-. Constanza (+1086;+1093?), wife Alfonso VI.

Alfon Gramático. 12 Hex, 2s c. Dead to reader,

Request prayer. AdlR, II, 341-342.

19310. 1065-. Ordono, B Astorga (+1065). Anon. 8 Dst, part

1. Author to reader, Tomb, AdlR, II, 338.

Spanish Epitaphs (cont.).

Other sources for eleventh and twelfth century Spanish epitaph:

Gómez-Moreno, Manuel. Catalogo monumental de España: Provincia de León. 2 vols. (Madrid, 1925). In Vol. I; 286, a XII century epitaph.

Hübner, Aemilius, Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae (Berlin, 1871). #213 (p. 69): for Daniel Orrida (+1000), Baetica, Badajoz. #216 (p. 71): frag. (1002), near Malaga. #258 (p. 83): for Tarsia (+1039), Oviedo. #*98 (p. 105): for Teresia, countess (+1057).

Nicolau d'Olwer, Lluís, "L'escola poètica de Ripoll," Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Secció històrico-arqueológica, Anuari MCMXV-XX, Vol. VI. On p. 35: for Bernat Talleferro (+1020) and his son William (+1055);pp. 34-35: for Bernard, A Ripoll (+1102); p. 36: for Ramon Berenguer IV (+1162); p. 31: eulogy for Oliva by Joan de Fleury (Oliva +1022).

APPENDIX C

BAUDRY OF BOURGUEIL'S EPITAPHS

Abraham No.

> Section One. Thirty-three poems, in groups of one,
> twelve, and twenty poems.

58. Invectio in Rolligerum. For Audebert, AB Bourges and

A Déols (+c. 1096). 20 Hex.

Groups of six poems. Six roll inscriptions and six histori-

cal epitaphs.

49. In Rotulo Natalis Abbatis. A St. Nicolas, Angers (+1096).
18 Hex, 2s c.
52. In Rotulo Rainaldi Remensis. AB Reims (+1096).
15 Hex, 2s c.
53. In Rotulo Cenomannensi. Johel, A De la Couture and

Hoel, B Le Mans (+c. 1096). 10 Dst. MP.

57. In Rotulo pro Archiepiscopo Biturigensi. Audebert

(+c. 1096). 34 Hex.

134. In Rotulo de Guillelmo Abbati. 10 Hex. MP.

135. In Rotulo de Adam abbati. 12 Hex, 2s c.

217. De Cicerone.

218. De eodem.

219. De eodem.

220. De eodem

221. /De eodem/.

222. Iterum de eodem.

Groups of five poems for each individual. Twenty epitaphs for

archbishop, teacher, knight, and abbot.

59. Epitaphium. Audebert, AB Bourges (+c. 1096).

60. De eodem.

61. De eodem.

62. De eodem.

63. Item de eodem.

97. De Godefrido Remensi. Teacher at Reims (+1095).

98. Item super eundem.

99. Item de eodem.

100. Item de eodem.

101. Item de eodem.

121. Super Raherium audacissimum. Unidentified knight.

122. Super eundem.

123. Sicut supra.

124. Iter super eundem.

125. Ad scutum ejusdem. Addressed to Raherius' shield.

141. Super abbatum Silvae majoris. Geraldus, founder and
        A, Sauve-Majeure, Bordeaux (+1095).

142. Item de eodem.

143. Item de eodem.

144. De eodem abbate.

145. De eodem abbate.

Section Two. Thirty-six poems, in three groups of twelve
                poems each.

Groups of four poems for each individual. Twelve epitaphs

            for people who died premature deaths.

78. /Super supradicti filium/. William II of England (+1100),

        killed in hunting accident.

79. De eodem.

80. Item de eodem.

81. Item de eodem.

102. Super Alexandrum Turonensem. Canon of Tours who died

    young.

103. Super eundem.

104. Item de eodem.

105. Item de eodem.

118. Super Burchardum bonum militem. Knight of Tourraine.

119. Iterum super eundem.

120. Item de eodem.

131. Super Burchardum iterum.

Groups of three poems for each individual. Twelve epitaphs

    for four people who made secular contribution to

    church.

64. Super Reginaldum clericum. Teacher at Angers.

65. De eodem.

66. De eodem.

68. Super Radulfum. A rich layman and benefactor.

69. Super Radulfum.

70. Item de eodem.

90. De Frodone Andegavensi. Angevin teacher who died in

    England.

91. Item de eodem.

92. Item de eodem.

93. Super Petrum Dolensem Priorem. Prior of Déols.

94. Item de eodem.

95. Item de eodem.

Groups of two poems for each individual. Twelve epitaphs
             for six people in representative church offices.

50. De Natali abbate. Abbot S. Nicolas, Angers (+1096).

51. Item unde supra.

54. Epitaphium super Hoelum Cenomannesem. B Le Mans (+c.
             1096).

55. Aliud.

71. In titulo domus. For house of rich man, John.

72. De eadem domo.

82. Super Ramnulfum. Blind old priest.

83. De eodem.

84. - . Geoffrey Martel II, C Anjou, killed by treason
             at siege of Candie (+1106).

84 bis. -.

112. Super Praesulem Durandum. Bishop of Clermont, died
             from strain of Council (+1095).

113. Super eundem Durandum.

    Section Three. Thirty poems, in two groups of fifteen
             poems each, for secular and religious persons.

Epitaphs for laymen: seven nobles, eight commoners.

77.   /Super regem Anglorum.7 William the Conqueror (+1087).

114.   Super Comitem Pictaviensem. William VIII, C Poitou
          (+1086)

126.   Super quem evenerit. Unidentified C William.

117.   Super Elpem Comitissam. Unidentified Countess Elpes.

127.   Super Osannam. Wife of count, dead in childbirth.

67.   Super Widonem. Knight of Anjou, dead first crusade.

88.   Super Guillelmum de Montesorelli. Benefactor Bourgueil.

130.   Super Odonem puerum. One-day infant.

129.   Super Joannem. Six-month infant.

128.   Super Guidonem. A student.

109.   Super Geraldum Aurelianensem. Unidentified scholar.

115.   Super militem iuvenem. Young soldier Goffredus.

75.   Super Clarenbaldum. Unidentified soldier of Anjou.

132.   Super Troilum. Unidentified young man.

107.   Super Erilandum. Unidentified old man.

Epitaphs for churchmen; a pope, six religious, seven secular.

76.   /Super Urbanum Papam7. Urban II (+1099).

110.   Super Odonem abbatem Engeriacensem. A Angély (+1091)

73.   Super Rainaldum abbatem. A St. Cyprien, Poitiers.

96. De canonico sine proprio. A canon of Poitiers.
108. Ut supra super Petrum Priorem. Canon and monk of
Déols (: Peter of Nos. 93-95).

74. Super Benedictam reclusam. Recluse Benedicta.
85. --. A noble virgin Constance.

87. Inscriptiones subnotatis defunctis competentes.
Joannes, AB Dol (+c. 1090).
133. Super Rainaldum Remensem archiepiscopum. AB Reims
(+1096).

55. Aliud. Simon, B Agen. (+1101).
106. Super Guillelmum Engolismensem episcopum. B Angoulème
and son Geoffroi VIII, Aquitaine (+1076).

89. Super domnum Berengarium. AD Angers (+1098).
111. Super Radulfum Pictaviensem Archidiaconum. AD Poitiers.

86. --. Hugo, B Lyon and Die, papal legate (+c. 1101).

116. /Super quem jacet . . ./ Mutilated ms.

Lament.

136. De magistro suo planctus. Rhythmic sequence of seven
stanzas, with refrain. For unidentified teacher
at Meung.

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Total number of death poems by Baudry: 100.

APPENDIX D

KNOWN WRITERS OF SECULAR EPIGRAM

Froumund of Tegernsee (c. 960-1008), Alsatian Benedictine teacher and scribe. Epigrams ed. Karl Strecker, Die Tegernseer Briefsammlung (MGH:Epist. sel. III; Berlin, 1925). Twenty-five epigrams: epitaphs (III, XIII, XXIV, XXVIII); book and psalter titles (I, XXV), cross titles (VI, XXIII), spoon title (XXXIV); Biblical anecdotes (XXX, XXXI), moral epigram (XXXV), epigrammatic prayers (II, XVI, XXIX, XXXVI); philosophic epigram (XXXIII); satiric verse letters (VIII, XXVI), love and friendship letters (IV, VII, IX, XXVII), formal greeting and eulogy (XVII, XVIII). Primarily leonine hexameter, one-syllable rhyme.

Fulbert of Chartres (c. 960-1028), French bishop and teacher. Epigrams published PL, 141, 345-354. Nine epigrams: picture title (Mary), cross title; lore epigram (calendar computation); four religious epigrams; two epigrammatic metric lyrics.

Ekkehard IV of St. Gall (c. 980-c.1060), Alsatian teacher at Mainz and St. Gall. Epigrams ed. Johannes Egli, Der Liber benedictionum Ekkeharts IV nebst den kleinern Dichtungen aus dem Codex Sangallensis 393 (Mitteilungen . . . vom historischen Verein in St. Gallen, XXXI; St. Gall, 1909). Benedictiones super lectores per circulum anni, about 270 pages, arranged by order of church year. Benedictiones ad mensas, 34 pages, arranged by food to be blessed. Versus

ad picturas domus domini Mogotine, about 30 pages; Ad pic-
turae claustri Sancti Galli, 12 pages. Carmina varia includes
eleven epitaphs, epigrammatic prayer, two verse letters.
Leonine hexameter, one-syllable rhyme.

Peter Damian (1007-1072), Italian Benedictine monk,
cardinal, and saint. Epigrams ed. Margareta Lokrantz,
L'Opera poetica di S. Pier Damiani (Studia Latina Stockhol-
iensia, XII; Stockholm, 1964), pp. 53-75. One-hundred-three
epigrams: epitaphs (XCV, XCVI, XCIX), picture title series
(I-XIV), other titles (XX, XXI, L, LIX, LX), benedictions
(LXVI, LXVII, LXXI); proverbs (XVI, XIX, XXII, XXIII, XXVI,
XXIX, XXXI, XL-XLV, XLVI-XLIX, LXIV, LXX, LXXII, LXXV,
LXXXIII, LXXXIV, LXXXVII, LXXXIX, CI); religious epigrams
(XXX, XXXIII, LVII, LXXIV, CIII; XV, XXXII, XXXV, LII, LIII,
LV, LVI, LXI, XCII; XLVI, LXVIII); personal satire (XVII,
XVIII, XXXVII, XXXVIII, LXIII, LXXIX, XCI, XCVII, CII),
objective satire (XXXIV, XXXVI, XXXIX, LI, LVIII, LXIX,
LXXIII, LXXVI-LXXVIII, LXXX-LXXXII, LXXXV, LXXXVI, LXXXVIII,
XC, C); philosophic epigram (XXIV, XXVII, XXVIII, LIV, LXV,
XCVIII); personal anecdote (XXV), verse letter (LXII),
metric hymns (XCIII, XCIV). Primarily leonine hexameter,
one-syllable rhyme; some elegiacs.

Benzo of Alba (early XI-c. 1089), north Italian bishop.
Epigrams ed. Karl Pertz, Epygrama libri primi, Ad Heinricum
IV Imperatorem Libri VII, MGH:SS, XI, 599-612. Thirty-eight
two-syllable leonine hexameter chapter titles, proverbial and
satiric. Eight short poems, rhythmic and metric, of eulogy,

prophecy, description, and moral advice in text.

Guibert of Ravenna (c. 1025-1100), antipope Clement II.
Epigrams published Ronca, Cultura medievale e poesia latina
in Italia nei secoli XI e XII (Rome, 1891), p. 247, according
to Raby, SLP, II, p. 153, who cites one personal satiric
epigram.

Fulcoius of Beauvais (writing c. 1083), archdeacon of
Meaux. Epigrams ed. H. Omont, "Epitaphes métriques en
l'honneur de différents personnages du XIe siècle," Mélanges
Julien Havet (Paris, 1895), pp. 211-235. Fifty epigrams:
forty-two epitaphs, one book title, seven fragmentary poems
which appear to be object titles. They are joined with
selection of twenty-six verse letters, ed. Marvin L. Colker,
"Fulcoii Belvacensis epistulae," Traditio, X (1954), 191-273,
to form Uter.

Marbod of Rennes (c. 1035-1123), teacher and bishop.
Epigrams ed. V. P. Naughtin, "A Critical Edition of the
Carmina Varia of Marbod " (Ph.D. diss., King's, Cambridge,
1960); poorly ed. Bourassé, PL 171, 1647-1686 and 1717-1736;
epigrammatic love letters ed. Walther Bulst, "Liebesbrief-
gedichte Marbods," Liber Floridus: . . . Paul Lehmann . . .
gewidmet (St. Ottilien, 1950), pp. 287-301; De ornamentis
verborum, Liber lapidum in PL 171. See also André Wilmart,
"Le Florilège de Saint-Gatien," RB, XLVIII (1936), 235-258,
and Walther Bulst, "Studien zu Marbods Carmina varia,"
Göttingen Nachrichten, Phil.-Hist. Kl., F. IV, Neue Folge,
II (1939), pp. 173-241 for commentary on canon. I have not

been able to examine Mr. Naughtin's edition of the poems.
Canon includes at least sixteen scattered epigrams: secular
inscription (CV II: VIII), rhetorical exempla (CV I: XII, XIII;
CV II: II, XVII, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX), religious
epigrams (CV I: XXVI, XLV), objective satire (CV I: XXXII),
epigrammatic letters (CV II: L, XXX), vituperation (CV II:
XXXVII), epigrammatic metric lyric (CV I: LIX), all in Bour-
assé. Seventeen love letters, many epigrammatic. Didactic
epigram in De ornamentis verborum and Liber lapidum. Usually
leonine hexameter, but considerable variety in rhyme and meter.

Reginald of Canterbury (c. 1040-1109), Benedictine monk
at Bec, Canterbury. Epigrams ed. F. Liebermann, NA, XIII
(1888), 519-556. Twenty epigrams: eulogies for shrines
(XX-XXVIII), church titles (XXIX-XXXI), book titles (III, IV,
XII, XIII), philosophic epigram (VI), epigrammatic eulogy
(IX, X, XI). Primarily leonine hexameter.

Baudry of Bourgueil (1046-1130), Benedictine abbot of
Bourgueil, archbishop of Dol. Epigrams ed. Phyllis Abrahams,
Les Oeuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil (Paris, 1926).
Ninety-nine epitaphs and roll inscriptions; twenty-nine
religious and secular titles. Epigrammatic letters (see
especially XLIV, CLIVIII, CLXII, CLXVI, CLXVIII, CLXXVII,
CXXXVIII, CLXXXV, CCXLI). Thirteen literary epigrams:
mild satire (CLXXXIII, CXL), rhetorical descriptions (CCXXXVI-
CCXXXVII, CCLI-CCLIV), riddles and word games (CCXXIV-CCXXVIII).
Primarily elegiac distichs, unrhymed or leonine.

Godfrey of Winchester (c. 1050-1107), born Cambrai,
prior St. Swithians, Winchester. Epigrams ed. Thomas Wright,
ALSP, II, 103-155. Collection of 239 satiric Epigrammata,
with moral and philosophic content, one to nine distichs in
length. Nineteen commemorative Epigrammata Historica. Unrhymed.

Ulger of Angers (bishop about 1125). Epigrams published
J. G. Eccard, Corpus hist. med. aevi, ii. 1849 sq., according
to Raby, SLP, II, 42, who cites one poem and comments, he
"practiced the epigram, and favoured unpleasant subjects."

Hildebert of Lavardin (1056-1133), bishop of Le Mans,
archbishop of Tours. Epigrams ed. A. Bryan Scott, "A Critical
Edition of the Poems of Hildebert of Le Mans," (Ph.D. diss.,
Oxford, Merton, 1960); J. J. Bourassé, Carmina Miscellanea
. . . Indifferentia . . . Supplementum, PL 171, 1381-1458,
including many works not by Hildebert. See also Barthélemy
Hauréau, MH, and Scott on canon. Seventy-nine Biblical
epigrams. **Forty-five miscellaneous** epigrams: epitaphs and
roll verse (Scott, 6, 13, 27-31, 49, 53, 56), titles (12, 13),
didactic epigram (2, 14, 34, 42, 44, Sup. 4), religious
epigrams (20, 21, 45, 51, 57, Sup. 1), personal satire (1,
8, 9, 43, 47), anecdotes (7, 19, 23, 24, 32, 48), philosophic
epigram (3, 4, 5, 11, 25, 52), verse letters (10, 15, 16, 17,
26, 33, 35, 41, 46, 54), metric lyric (36, 37, 38, 40).
Primarily unrhymed distichs.

Henry of Huntingdon (c. 1084-1155), English archdeacon
and historian. Epigrams appear in Book XI of his Historia
Anglorum, ed. Thomas Wright, ALSP, II, 163-174. These

include an epitaph, fourteen personal satire, book title,
three philosophic epigrams. Primarily distichs, some with
caudati or leonine rhyme. In addition to these published
epigrams, Henry wrote an early book, now lost (Manitius, III,
482), and a second book to follow as Book XII of the history,
unpublished, Lambeth 118 (L. B. Hessler, "The Latin Epigram
of the Middle English Period," PMLA, XXXVIII (1923), 715).

Peter of Poitiers (+1150), Benedictine prior of Cluny,
abbot of St. Martial, Limoges. A single leonine hexameter
satiric epigram, Adversus barbarum, PL, CLXXXIX, 58.

William of Malmesbury (c. 1090-1143), Benedictine monk
and scholar of Norman parentage. One satiric epigram in De
gesta pontificum Anglorum, ed. **N. E. S. A. Hamilton** (Rolls
series; London, 1870), 433. Consistent quoter of eulogies,
titles, epitaphs.

Hugh Primas (Hugo) of Orleans (1095-after 1160), teacher.
Epigrams ed. Wilhelm Meyer, "Die Oxforder Gedichte des
Primas," Nachrichten . . . Göttingen, Phil.-Hist Kl., 1907,
pp. 75-175. Thirteen epigrams: satiric gift acknowledgments
(II, XII, XIII, XIX, XX A, B, XXI), philosophic epigram (V),
objective satire (XXII), satiric lyric (IV), epigrammatic
letter (XVII), invitations to drink (XI, XIV). Rhymed hexameter.

Arnulf of Lisieux (1109-1184), Norman bishop. Fifteen
epigrams, published PL, CCI, 195-200: epitaphs (IX, XI, XII,
XV, XVI), cross title (XIII); descriptions of seasons (III,
IV), satiric epigrams (V, VI, VII, VIII), philosophic epigram
(X); epigrammatic letter (XIV), eulogy (II). Unrhymed distichs.

Serlo of Wilton (c. 1110-1181), Englishman who lived primarily in France, teacher and Cluniac, Cistercian monk. Epigrams ed. Jan Öberg, Serlon de Wilton (Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, XIV; Stockholm, 1965). Seventy-three epigrams: epitaphs (10, 34, 35, 38), didactic epigrams on grammar (1-3), proverbs (44-73), religious epigram (22, 76-79, 81-83), philosophic epigram (4-6), long satire (11, 39), short satire (12-14, 17, 30, 43, 74, 75, 84), satire on love (27, 28, 31-33, 37, 42), display verse (19, 26, 36), epigrammatic eulogy (9), verse letter (25, 40, 41). Distichs and hexameters, often leonine, caudati, or complex rhyme.

Philip of Harvengt (early XII-1183), abbot of Bonne Espérance, in Belgium. Many false ascriptions. See André Bouteny, "Quelques observations sur le recueil des poésies attribuées autrefois à Philippe de Harvengt, Abbé de Bonne-Espérance," Revue Bénédictine, LIII (1941), 112-118.

Joseph of Exeter (fl. 1180-1190), English author of De bello Troiano. Manitius, III, 549, says he wrote epigrams which are lost.

Matthew of Vendôme (c. 1130-end XII), teacher at Orleans and Paris. Epigrams appear, primarily as examples, in his Ars versificatoria, ed. Edmond Faral, Les arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle (Paris, 1958; 1st ed. 1923). Monostich to quatrain illustrations of figures; satire, vituperation, commendation, description.

Nigel Longchamp (Wireker) (c. 1130-c. 1200), monk of Christ Church, Canterbury. Notice of unpublished epigrams

in André Boutemy, ed., _Tractatus contra curiales_ (Paris,
1959), pp. 73-74. Thirteen epigrams, including epitaph,
book title, rhetorical exempla, religious, satiric, philo-
sophic epigram, eulogy.

Peter Riga (c. 1140-1209), canon at Reims and Paris.
For epigrams in _Floridus aspectus_, see André Boutemy, "Re-
cherches sur le _Floridus aspectus_ de Pierre la Rigge,"
Le Moyen Âge, LIV (1948), 89-112; "Recherches . . . II:
Analyse du Manuscrit 1136 de la Bibl. de l'Arsenal" and
"Recherches . . . III: Pieces inédites ou peu connues . . . ,"
Latomus, VIII (1949), 159-163, 283-301. Sixty-six epigrams:
epitaphs (31-56), ten titles (3), religious epigrams (7, 8,
17), twenty-three Biblical epigrams (24), proverbs (25),
anecdotes (14, 15), epigrammatic eulogy (22). Unrhymed
elegiac distichs.

Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis) (c. 1147-1223),
Welsh-Norman prelate and traveler. Epigrams of _Symbolum
electorum_ and _Juvenilia_ ed. J. S. Brewer, _Opera_, I (London,
1861), 338-337. Seventeen epigrams in _Symbolum electorum_,
another nineteen among juvenile work: rhetorical exercises
in description, eulogy, consolation, invective; epitaphs and
titles. Varied forms, including hendecasyllabics.

Alexander Neckham (1157-1217), English Augustinian
theologian, teacher and poet. Lesser poems have not been
collected. See in particular A. Esposito, "On Some Unpub-
lished Poems attributed to Alexander Neckam," _English
Historical Review_, XXX (1915), 450-471, and Hans Walther,

"Zu den kleineren Gedichten des Alexander Neckam," Mittel-
lateinisches Jahrbuch, II (1965), 111-129. From Walther's
article, thirty-six epigrams in cod. Paris. lat. 11867
(s. XIII): two lore poems on hours (12), rhetorical descrip-
tion (8), religious epigram (4b, 9), satiric epigram (2a,
10), philosophic epigram (2d, 6, 7), rhythmic love lament
(2c), miscellanies of twenty-five display verses, riddles,
love greetings, etc. (5, 11, 13). Primarily unrhymed elegiac
distichs, some hexameter, rhythms. De laudibus divinae
sapientiae: distinctiones decem, ed. Thomas Wright (Rolls
series, Vol. 34; London, 1863), pp. 357-503, contains
about 1000 elegiac lore epigrams, arranged in coherent sequences
on astronomy, animals, plants, stones, etc.

[1]Hauréau, N&E, III, 266. The poem as cited appears in Paris Fonds de Saint-Victor 14836, ascribed to Peter of Poitiers.

[2]Manitius, III, 973, for example, mentions Hugh Primas' epigrams only as a kind of occasional verse, thereby omitting them from his listing of epigram in the index. Raby ignores them entirely except for passing mention of one in a footnote, SLP, II, 176, note 1. Of anonymous epigrams he notes, SLP, I, 355, "The number . . . belonging to the age of Hildebert and Marbod is immense. They are for the most part still embedded in their manuscripts, and they are perhaps hardly worth a thorough investigation."

[3]A. Salač, "Versus quasi-Albigenses," _Eunomia_, III (1959), 41-43, on an anonymous twelfth century satiric epigram against Marbod, and André Wilmart, "Les épigrammes liées d'Hugues Primat et d'Hildebert," RB, XLVII (1935), 175-180, on _De Goliardo et Episcopo_, are the only studies of single epigrams from the eleventh and twelfth centuries I have noted. Both articles are short and limited to historical considerations and questions of authorship. Luitpold Wallach, _Alcuin and Charlemagne_ (Ithaca, 1959), gives two excellent studies of Alcuin's epitaphs and their place in inscriptional tradition, but I can cite no similar examination of later epitaph or epigram.

[4]Raby, SLP, I, 19.

[5]See W. R. Paton, ed. and trans., _The Greek Anthology_,

Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1916), I, vii-viii, and James V. Cunningham, "Anthology," Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago, 1968), II, 27-29.

[6]Rolf Raiser, Über das Epigramm (Stuttgart, 1950), p. 14; James Hutton, The Greek Anthology in France (Ithaca, 1946), p. 40, includes amatory epigrams among the earliest; see also Reitzenstein, "Epigramm," Paulys Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. Georg Wissowa, VI:1 (Stuttgart, 1907), cols. 71-111.

[7]Paul Nixon, Martial and the Modern Epigram (New York, 1927), p. 14. For a comprehensive study of the relationships between elegy and epigraph, see Hildebrecht Hommel, "Der Ursprung des Epigramms," Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, LXXXVIII (1939), 193-206. Clarence W. Mendell, "Martial and the Satiric Epigram," Classical Philology, XVII (1922), 7, reviews development of terminology, noting that ἐπίγραμμα as a generic term does not appear until the first century B.C.

[8]Hutton, pp. 1-2.

[9]XIII, 12, Die Gedichte des Paulus Diaconus, ed. Karl Neff (Munich, 1908), pp. 67-68. (:φλάχχου, Anth. Pal., VII, 542). Paul comments, Sed omnino ne linguarum dicar esse nescius,/ pauca mihi quae fuerunt tradita querulo,/ dicam . . . . Neff notes that the translation, which appears with variants in several MSS, is not Paul's but of earlier date.

[10]For Greek influence on Romanesque epigram, see Franco Munari, "Die spätlateinische Epigrammatik," Philologus, CII (1958), 127-139.

[11]*Ennianae poesis reliquiae*, ed. Johannes Vahlen, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 215-216.

[12]*Catullus, Tibullus, and Pervigilium Veneris*, ed. and trans. F. W. Cornish, J. P. Postgate, and J. W. Mackail, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1962). For development from Catullus to Martial, see Mendell, pp. 1-20, and Reitzenstein, *Pauly-Wissowa Real-encyc.*, VI:1, cols. 108-111.

[13]Moses Hadas, *A History of Latin Literature* (New York, 1952), pp. 159, 161, 192, 217, 224.

[14]Raby, SLP, I, 41.

[15]F. A. Wright, "Introduction," *Martial*, trans J. A. Pott and Wright (London, /1924/), p. xii.

[16]Mendell, *Classical Philology*, XVII (1922), 3, 14. Martial models his satiric epigrams more on the _skoptikón_ of Lukillios and Nikarchos, according to Munari, *Philologus*, CII (1958), p. 127.

[17]/*Liber de Spectaculis*/, VI:lx**v**, *Epigrammaton Libri XIV*, ed. Caesar Girratano, 3rd ed. (Torino, 1951).

[18]*The Romanesque Lyric* (Chapel Hill, 1928), pp. 77-78; 302.

[19]Raby, SLP, I, 31.

[20]Texts in *Gli Epigrammi attribuiti a L. A. Seneca*, ed. Carlo Prato, Biblioteca di Letterature Classiche /3/ (/Bari, 1955/), which contains false attributions prized during the Middle Ages, and *Douze poémes d'exil de Sénèque et vingt-quatre poèmes de Pétrone*, ed. and trans. Léon Herrmann (Berchem-Bruxelles, 1955), which eliminates false attributions

and arranges the epigrams in series.

^{21}For a general discussion of Romanesque epigram and writers, see R. Keydell, "Epigramm," Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, V (Stuttgart, 1962), cols. 539-577.

^{22}Ausonius, ed. and trans. Hugh G. Evelyn White, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1919), I, 140-161.

^{23}Ausonius, II, 155-217.

^{24}See Munari, Philologus, CII, 129-131.

^{25}Poems of the Parentalia (Ausonius, I, 56-95) are grammatically linked, but otherwise resemble epitaphs, as do the poems of Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium (I, 96-139). Ausonius attached his Epitaphia to the latter, commenting in the preface that the works are kindred in substance (I, 140).

^{26}Ed. Franco Munari, Storia e letteratura, No. 59 (Rome, 1955).

^{27}Munari, Philologus, CII, 132.

^{28}John Edwin Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1921), I, 223.

^{29}Raby, SLP, I, 95. Carmina minorum corpusculum in Claudian, ed. and trans. Maurice Platnauer, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1922), II, 174-291.

^{30}AL, ed. Francis Buecheler, Alexander Riese, and Ernest Lommatzsch. Some scholars use the short title to refer to the "African Anthology" of Codex Salmasiana, Paris 10318.

^{31}See Munari, Philologus, CII, 134, and Raby, SLP, I, 112-116, for discussion of authors and contents.

[32]Munari, *Philologus*, CII, 134. Text and translation in Morris Rosenblum, *Luxorius: A Latin Poet Among the Vandals* (New York, 1961).

[33]*The Enigmas of Symphosius*, ed. and trans. Raymond Theodore Ohl (Philadelphia, 1928); see p. 13 ff.

[34]XXX, Ohl, p. 62. Ohl notes "we find it first ascribed to Homer's time in the Herodotean *Life of Homer* and the anonymous *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* 326."

[35]Keydell, *Reallex. f. A. u. C.*, V, cols. 569-572; see also Richmond Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana, 1962), pp. 301-340.

[36]*Epigrammata Damasiana*, ed. A. Ferrua (Rome, 1942).

[37]HCLP, p. 13.

[38]Keydell, cols. 563-564.

[39]Keydell, cols. 573-574.

[40]AGH:PLAC, I, 106. See Ernst Steinmann, *Die Tituli und die kirchliche Wandmalerei im Abendlande vom V. biz zum XI. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 41, 69; the inscription is found in Rome, Ravenna, and Milan.

[41]*Prudentius*, ed. and trans. H. J. Thomson, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), II, 346-371.

[42]Raby, HCLP, p. 67.

[43]Carmen XXVII, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Carmina*, ed. Wilhelm von Hartel, CSEL, XXX (Vienna, 1894), 262-291; see ll. 384-541.

[44]*Epistula* XXXII, *Epistulae*, ed. von Hartel, CSEL, XXVIIII, 275-301.

[45]See Steinmann, pp. 1-18, 75, 80.

[46]Steinmann, pp. 29, 65, 92-97.

[47]PL, LI, 149-154.

[48]PL, LI, 497-532.

[49]Raby, HCLP, p. 84.

[50]See Keydell, cols. 565-566, and Raby, SLP, I, 83-86, 118-120. Texts in Gai Sollii Apollinaris Sidonii epistulae et carmina, ed. Christian Luetjohann, MGH:AA, VIII; Magni Felicis Ennodi opera, ed. Frideric Vogel, MGH:AA, VII.

[51]Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati opera poetica, ed. F. Leo, MGH:AA, IV, 193.

[52]Raby, SLP, I, 142.

[53]Imitated by Alcuin, Theodulf, Raban, Strabo, according to Sandys, I, 449.

[54]Walahfridi Strabi carmina, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH:PLAC, II, 403. On rhyme, see Friedrich Neumann, "Lateinische Reimverse Hrabans," Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch, II (Cologne, 1965), 60-61.

[55]Raby, SLP, I, 181-185.

[56]Raby, SLP, I, 165-166, 171, 176, 199. See also Munari, Philologus, CII, 138-139, and Ohl, pp. 20-23.

[57]Alcuini (Albini) carmina, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH:PLAC, I, 160-351. On epitaphs, see Wallach, Alcuin and Charlemagne, pp. 178-197, 255-265.

[58]Hrabani Mauri carmina, ed. Dümmler, MGH:PLAC, II, 154-258.

[59]See Steinmann, pp. 118-129.

[60]In <u>Hibernicus exul</u>, ed. Dümmler, MGH:PLAC, I, 408-410.
Cf. series on liberal arts and <u>Sapientia</u>, pp. 629-630, pre-
fixed to Theodulf's <u>De septem liberalibus artibus in quadam</u>
<u>pictura depictis</u>, but probably older.

[61]Ed. Dümmler, MGH:PLAC, II, 5-79; see Book IV, ll. 131-
282 (pp. 63-66).

[62]Ed. Marcus Boas (Amsterdam, 1952).

[63]See Richard Hazelton, "The Christianization of 'Cato',"
<u>Mediaeval Studies</u>, XIX (1957), 157-173.

[64]Ed. Dümmler, MGH:PLAC, I, 275-281. Dümmler attributes
it to Alcuin; cf. Manitius, I, 184-185.

[65]Ed. Ludwig Traube, pp. 279-294, in <u>Carmina Centulensia</u>,
MGH:PLAC, III, 265-368, a collection which also contains
Mico's epigrams. See Manitius, I, 469-470, 472-473 on
history and variants of <u>Exempla diversorum auctorum</u>.

[66]<u>Casus S. Galli</u>, I, 26, as cited by Raby, SLP, I, 253-
254.

[67]In <u>Ausonius</u>, II, 272-276; cf. <u>De sententiis septem</u>
<u>philosophorum distichi</u>, AL, I:1, 276-277.

[68]AL, I:1, 309-311, from Codex Vossiani Q 86; it appears
also in a least four other MSS of the ninth and tenth cen-
turies. Cf. monostichs on months, AL, I:2, 91-92, 122-123,
228, from 9th and 11th century MSS.

[69]Used by Cassiodorus, Aldhelm, Isidore and Bede; see
Joseph de Ghellinck, <u>L'Essor de la littérature latine au</u>
<u>XIIe siècle</u> (Brussels, 1946), II, 237.

[70]MGH:AA, VII, 310-315; personified speakers are

Verecundia, Castitas, Fides, Grammatica, Rhetorica; the

work also contains a short Laus versuum and concluding

personal verse.

[71]Ed. Francis J. H. Jenkinson (Cambridge, 1908); sec-
tions de caelo, de mari, de igne, de campo, de vento, de

plurimis, de taberna, de tabula, de oratorio, de oratione,

de gestare, 10-44 lines in length, pp. 12-21.

[72]MGH:PLAC, II, 219. These may be inscriptions.

[73]MGH:PLAC, II, 335-349.

[74]In Sylloga codicis Sangallensis CCCLXXXI Appendix, ed.

Paul von Winterfeld, MGH:PLAC, IV:1, 343-344.

[75]For inscriptions and miscellaneous verse of the 9th-
10th centuries, see MGH:PL , V:2, ed. Karl Strecker.

[1]Epistula VIII, xi, ed. Luetjohann, MGH:AA, VIII, 141.

Specification of length does not appear in Martial's verse;

for culinary characterization, see Martial VII, 25; references

to salt (wit) are common (III,20,9; 99,3; VII,25,3; VIII,3,

19; X,9,2; XII,95,3).

[2]MGH:PLAC, II, 530-539.

[3]Cf. Epigramma operis subsequentis, MGH:PLAC, I, 96-97,

by an unknown Wigbodus presbyter for excerpts from patristic

literature made at the request of Charlemagne. In justifying

his work, Wigbod rhetorically asks, At si de plebe quiquam

livore perustus/ Dixerit: 'Iste quis est veterum qui carmina

mutat,/ Inscribitque levis epigrammata vana libellis?'

(11. 47-49).

[4] Ed. Karl Strecker, MGH:PL , V:1, 147-152.

[5] II, 421; Strecker, p. 146, agrees, though a number of scholars suggest the tenth century.

[6] Ed. Karl Pertz, MGH:SS, XI, 591-681.

[7] Page 599.

[8] The book incipit setting introduction off from the book proper is missing after the Epygrama, but this is apparently a scribal omission.

[9] Ibid., p. 600: Dicit tibi Cato: Multas legas facito, perlectis perlege multa, from Dist. Cat. 3, 18, 1.

[10] CV II: V, PL 171, 1718.

[11] Lokrantz, pp. 61, 57, 59.

[12] Godefridi Prioris epigrammata, in Wright, ALSP, II, 103-147.

[13] Wright, ALSP, II, 103; Manitius, III, 769-770.

[14] De Gestis regum Anglorum (V, 444), ed. William Stubbs, Rolls series (London, 1889), II, 516.

[15] Heinrici Archidiaconi historiae liber undecimus, in Wright, ALSP, II, 163-174.

[16] Wright, ALSP, II, 163.

[17] Juvenilia, in Opera, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1861), I, 377.

[18] Note Epistula XXXII, ed. von Hartel; Paulinus' usual term is titulus (p. 281:1,9,17; 283:25; 285:20; 286:23; 289:2); epigramma appears twice (p. 289:7; 290:6), referring to cross and entrance inscriptions; versus and versiculi are also used.

[19] Brewer, I, 199, 391.

[20] *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Niort, 1883), VIII, 115. Conversely, (2) *Epitaphium: Quaevis inscriptio, apud Sugerium lib. de Reb. in Administr. sua gestis cap. 28. et lib. de Consecrat. Eccles. S. Dionys. pag. 354*, ibid., II, 281. Suger was writing about 1140.

[21] Eg., CIII, Abrahams, p. 90, and elsewhere.

[22] H. Omont, "Epitaphes métriques en l'honneur de différents personnages du XIe siècle composées par Foulcoie de Beauvais, archidiacre de Meaux," *Mélanges Julien Havet* (Paris, 1895), pp. 211-235.

[23] Omont, p. 223.

[24] Omont, p. 230.

[25] *Epistula XXVI, 4-5: . . . quod epistula garrit/ quodque strepunt elegi, princeps, nugaeque canore*, p. 267 in *Fulcoii Belvacensis epistulae*, ed. Marvin L. Colker, *Traditio*, X (1954), 191-273.

[26] *Epitaphium Lodoici Sancti Presbyteri* and *Aliud epitaphium*, Lohrantz, p. 72.

[27] Martial, IX, pref., 5; IV, 10, 3-4: *i puer et caro perfer leve munus amico,/ qui noruit nugas primus habere meas*; about a dozen other uses. Cf. Sidonius, *Ad Priscum, 3: Ad tua cum nostrae currant examina nugae . . .* , MGH:AA, VIII, 218; Wigbodus, *Epigramma*, 59: *Wigbodus humilis nugarum mole piavi*, MGH:PLAC, I, 97. Paulinus of Nola, in the letter to Severus (XXXII) mentioned above, carries such modesty to an extreme: *Credo enim vel tunc de meis ineptiis et*

poenitebit te desiderii et exactionis tuae, cum aedificia

. . . obscurata naeniis insipientiae meae et, ut digno meis

versibus verbo utar, caccabata ridentibus multis vel nausean-

tibus confusus adspicies, CSEL, XXVIIII, 284. *Nenia* appears

in an incipit to Mico of St. Riquier's epitaphs, MGH:PLAC,

III, 275, 309, and also in reference to death roll verse

(see below, p. 53).

[28]Colker, *Traditio*, X, 198.

[29]Ed. Clemens C. I. Webb (Oxford, 1929), p. 3.

[30]Brewer, I, 199.

[31]Cf. below, p. 241.

[32]Brewer, I, 364.

[33]Brewer, I, 363.

[34]See Öberg apparatus.

[35]Öberg, pp. 113-120; see pp. 12, 113 on MSS.

[36]Alphabetically compiled in PS. Ghellinck, *L'Essor*, II,
237, and Manitius, III, 714-717, review major collections.

[37]See ll. 142-150, in Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques
du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1958), p. 201.

[38]Brewer, I, 199.

Chapter II

[1]From the roll of Guifred, Count of Cerdagne (+c.1050),
tituli 15, 42, 61, 69, 70 (gerulus), 18 (scedaforum), 60, 106
(pellifer), 35, 125 (portitor), in Delisle, pp. 61 ff. Jaime
Villanueva, Viage literario a las iglesias de España, VI
(Valencia, 1821), p. 187, cites cedifer, pellifer, gradiens
callem itineris, gerulus, gramatoforus, y otros tales
dictados, in the Spanish roll for bishop Oliva (+1046).
Scedaforus to the contrary, the rolls appear to have been
vellum. Auguste Molinier, Les obituaires français au moyen
âge (Paris, 1890), p. 43, says that rotuliger or brevetarius
is the usual designation.

[2]Molinier, p. 25, says St. Boniface refers to death
rolls; further references do not appear until the eighth
century.

[3]Molinier, p. 42.

[4]Molinier, p. 45.

[5]Hengstl, p. 42, says that bells called the congregation
together immediately upon the bearer's arrival so that they
might say prayers.

[6]Molinier, p. 43, says day of arrival is customarily
given as part of inscription, but the extant rolls in Delisle
do not support this, either for prose or verse entries.

[7]Invectio in rolligerum, ll. 1-10, Abrahams, p. 64.

[8]Molinier, p. 44.

[9]Villanueva, Viage literario, VI, pp. 186-189, describes
roll for Oliva, bishop of Auson (+1046), pp. 302-306 quotes

the encyclical, sent out byS. Maria of Ripoll and S. Michael
of Coxa, and two entries, one prose, one verse; he mentions
there are over 80 entries on roll.   On p. 189 he mentions
two other rolls at Ripoll, for abbot Seniofredo (+1008) and
abbot Bernardo (+1102).   Possible extracts from another
Spanish roll appear in Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, "L'escola
poètica de Ripoll en els segles X-XIII," Institut d'Estudis
Catalans, Secció històrico-arqueologica, Anuari MCMXV-XX,
vol. VI (Barcelona), 1-84, along with epitaphs and epigrams.
Rudolf Beer, "Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de
Ripoll," Vienna, Akademie der Wissenschaften Sitzungsberichte,
Phil.-hist. Kl., Vol. 155, Abhandlung III(1908), pp. 72-74,
and Vol. 158, Abh. II (1908), pp. 7, 28-30, gives eulogy for
a monk (possibly from a roll), and reference to prose entries.
Earliest English roll preserved, ed. W. H. St. John Hope,
Vetusta Monumenta, Vol. VII, part IV (Westminster, 1906), is
dated 1216.   German rolls, mentioned Hengstl, pp. 46 ff., are
from sixteenth century.

[10]For Girard, monk of St. Aubin of Angers (+c. 1050),
Delisle, pp. 125-133.   Hereafter rolls published by Delisle
will be identified by roman numerals, individual entries
within each roll by arabic titulus numbers.   For a brief
description of the individual roll poems see Appendix A.

[11]Epanaleptic (serpentine) verse was used by Martial
and other classic writers, as well as by a number of Carol-
ingians, e.g., Hibernicus Exul, in epitaph for Pippin,
MGH:PLAC I, 405.

[12]Trinini salientes rhymes aab/ccb with rhyme on the stressed syllable, as in Hildebert's "Life of St. Mary the Egyptian," ll. 615-617, Scott, p. 432:

> Aruerant et duruerant, propriumque colorem
> Perdiderant, et desierant conferre vigorem.

Abrahans, p. xxxviii, calls this dactylici catenati, the name "employé par Evrard l'Allemand, _Laborintus_, 705 sq. (Faral, Arts Poétiques, pp. 352 sq.)." For terminology, I follow Wilhelm Meyer, "Die Arten der gereimten Hexameter," _Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik_, I (Berlin, 1905), 79-98. Tripertiti dactylici also rhymes aab/ccb, with rhyme on the short syllables of the second and fourth feet. It also appears in Hildebert's "Life of St. Mary," ll. 610-613, Scott, p. 431:

> Trina triennia, bina tetrennia sic abiere.
> Lenibus aspera, mitibus effera mixta fuere.
> Sed nova vulnera virgo puerpera cum bene flevi,
> Tersit et abluit: inde salus fuit; inde quievi.

Bernard of Cluny uses it for _De contemptu mundi_; he comments in his prologue that a Wichardus also employed it, and that it is difficult and unusual. Scott, pp. 41-42, remarks, "It is . . . true to say that there is very little written in this metre which survives. But Bernard may be exaggerating the scarcity of poems written in this metre to give added lustre to his own efforts in this direction," and he wonders if "Hildebert is striking out into a new metrical form here."

[13]For somewhat similar study of Carolingian poetic practice, also based on epitaph, consult Karl Strecker,

"Studien zu karolingischen Dichtern," NA, XLIII (1921), 479 ff.,
XLIV (1922), 209 ff., XLV (1923), 14 ff.

[14]XIX, 46 (p. 78).

[15]XIX, 53 (p. 81).

[16]XIX, 12 (p. 60).

[17]XIX, 15 (p. 62).

[18]XIX, 63 (p. 85).

[19]XIX, 108 (p. 95).

[20]XIX, 121 (p. 113).

[21]XIX, 103 and 116 (pp. 91, 106).

[22]XIX, 18 (p. 64).

[23]XIX, 36 (p. 73); also 38 and 39 (p. 74).

[24]XIX, 42 (p. 76).

[25]XIX, 66 (p. 87).

[26]XIX, 69 (p. 87).

[27]XIX, 26 (p. 68).

[28]XIX, 109 (p. 95).

[29]XIX, Item 109e (p. 99).

[30]XIX, Item 109g (p. 100).

[31]XIX, Item 109k (p. 101).

[32]XIX, 15 and 70 (pp. 61, 88).

[33]XXXVI, 92 (p. 217). Villanueva's commentary on names
for the roll bearer (see note 1, above) indicates that the
theme of the roll bearer's arrival is also common in Oliva's
roll.

[34]Partially quoted above, p. 25.

[35]Delisle, p. 489.

[36]XIX, 50 (p. 80).

[37]First line XIX, 53 (p. 83); second line, XIX, 49 (p. 79), with _tristis_ for _presens_ to allow rhyme.

[38]XIX, 60, 69 (pp. 85, 88).

[39]XIX, 44, 108 (pp. 77, 95).

[40]XIX, 35, 63 (pp. 73, 86).

[41]XIX, 70, 122 (pp. 89, 113).

[42]XIX, 116 (p. 106).

[43]XIX, 121 (p. 113).

[44]XIX, 109 (p. 100).

[45]XIX, 121 (p.113).

[46]XIX, 53 (p. 81).

[47]XIX, 108 (p. 95).

[48]XIX, 70 (p. 89).

[49]XIX, 51 (p. 72).

[50]XIX, 33 (p. 73).

[51]Epigram IV, 1, _Damasi Epigrammata_, ed. Maximilianus Ihm, _Anthologiae Latinae Supplementa_, I (Leipzig, 1895), 8: _praebet qui dona salutis_. Ihm cites for _dona salutis_ Iuuenci II, 66, and Ven. Fortunatus II, 7, 37. See also A. Ferrua, _Epigrammata Damasiana_ (Rome, 1942). A second tag common in death roll verse, _praemia vitae_, was also popularized by Damasus in II, 15; XIII, 8, and LVIII, 3, Ihm, pp. 4, 20, 59. It is related to the classic _gaudia vita_; cf. below, p. 80.

[52]XIX, 56 (p. 83).

[53]XXXVI, 45 (monostich), 131 (pp. 201, 233).

[54]XXXVI, 107, 129 (pp. 225, 232).

[55]XXXVI, 96 (p. 220).

[56]XXXVI, 2 (p. 184).

[57]XXXVI, 130 (p. 257).

[58]Lattimore, p. 219, citing CE 81, 3-4:

> noli dolere, amica, eventum meum:
> properavit aetas, hoc dedit Fatus mihi.

Lattimore also gives early Christian examples, p. 328:
parcite vos lacrimis (CE 1358, 3: Rome, 472 A.D.), ni doleas
talem (CE 775, 4: Theveste); "Cf. also CE 1389 (Vienne, 579
A.D.), 1407 (Vienne), 2013 (Rome)."

[59]IV, vi, 17-18, MGH:AA, IV, p. 83:

> non decet nunc igitur vacuis deflere querellis
> post tenebras mundi quem tenet aula poli.

[60]Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (Oxford,
1951), II, 109:

> Angelus:
>
> > Noli Rachel, deflere pignora.
> > Cur tristaris, et tundis pectora?
> > Noli flere, sed gaude potius,
> > Qui nati vivunt felicius.
> > > Ergo gaude!

[61]XIX, 35 (p. 73).

[62]XIX, 35 (p. 73).

[63]XIX, 42 (p. 76).

[64]XIX, Item 109j (p. 101).

[65]XIX, 127 (p. 118).

[66]XIX, Item 120n (p. 112).

[67]CIL, VI, 12652 (:CE 995): Nil prosunt lacrimae, nec
possunt fata moveri, for Claudia Homonoea, found near Vatican

c. 50 A.D., according to Frédéric Plessis, Poésie latine:

epitaphes (Paris, 1905), p. 186, who comments "Cf. Prop. IV,

11, 2-8, and Virgil, Aen. VI, 376."

[68]IV, xxv, 3-4, AGH:AA IV, p. 94.

[69]IV, viii, 1-4, AGH:AA IV, 84:

> Si terrena, sacer, quondam tibi cura fuisset,
>   carmine plus lacrimas, quam modo verba darem.
> sed quia tu mundus nec sunt tibi crimina mundi,
>   nos gaudere mones qui sine morte manes.

[70]XXXVI, Item 76b (p. 212)

[71]XXXVI, 46 (p. 201).

[72]XXXVI, 122 (p. 229).

[73]XXXVI, 150 (p. 246).

[74]XXXVI, 215 (pp. 274-275).

[75]XXXVIII, 2 (p. 285).

[76]LII, 1 (p. 371).

[77]XXXVI, 118 (pp. 227-228).

[78]XXXVI, 119 (p. 228).

[79]XXXVI, 123 (p. 229).

[80]XXXVI, Item 125b (p. 230).

[81]XXXVI, 137 (p. 235).

[82]XXXVI, 138 (p. 235).

[83]Delisle, p. 357 and elsewhere, suggests that deletions

in other rolls indicate the bearer is not happy with content.

[84]XXXVI, 139 (p. 236).

[85]XXXVI, 143 (pp. 239-241).

[86]XXXVI, 145 (p. 244).

[87]XXXVI, 147 (p. 245).

[88]XXXVI, 170 (p. 252).

[89]XXXVI, 217 (p. 276-77).

[90]XXXVI, 218 (p. 277).

[91]X, 3 (pp. 23-24).

[92]Delisle, pp. 154-155.

[93]Delisle, p. 346.

[94]Hengstl, p. 135, notes that name puns in death notices, laments, and inscriptions are quite old, citing CE 1035, 1; suppl. 2103, 7; 1175.

[95]XXXVIII, Item 117b (p. 320).

[96]LVI, 132 (p. 390).

[1]"Essay on Epitaphs," The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., ed. Arthur Murphy, II (London, 1810), p. 332.

[2]Eg., in Godescalc's continuation of the Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium, MGH:SS, VIII, 542-557.

[3]Particularly true of the epitaphs in books, such as the collection of Fulcoius of Beauvais; see below, pp. 129-149.

[4]For epitaphs in a collection of rhetorical texts, see in particular Edmond Faral, "Le manuscrit 511 du 'Hunterian Museum' de Glasgow," Studi medievali, IX (1936), 18-121, especially pp. 24, 45, 57.

[5]Eg., epitaphs for Mathilda of Flanders, discussed below, pp. 119-120.

[6]As quoted Hengstl, p. 17, from MA, III, 382.

[7]France 1272, 1557a, 6777a, 7927a, 13785a.

[8] France 19532. On authorship, see André Wilmart, "Le florilège de Saint-Gatien: contribution à l'étude des poèmes d'Hildebert et de Marbode," RB, XLVIII (1936), 251.

[9] France 3111.

[10] France 20430.

[11] France 15171. For a similar lack of name, cf. France 8533. In a few other poems, the name is given only in lemma.

[12] France 3622, 12182, 16667.

[13] The poem is perhaps to be associated with a popular epitaph, originally from late tenth century Spain, possibly for Peter de Allyaco:

Petra Petri cineres habet haec, animam petra Petrus.
Sic sibi divisit utraque petra Petram.

Cf. Initia 14026 and Aemilius Hübner, Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae, No. 241 (Berlin, 1871), p. 77.

[14] For rolls, see above. Lengths in Fortunatus, Book IV, AGHica, IV: 4-6 Dst: 7, 7-10 Dst: 11, 11-19 Dst: 9, 80 Dst: 1.

[15] France 20406.

[16] France 20760.

[17] France 3111.

[18] France 1557a

[19] France #3189, De quodam hervaeo.

[20] France 6836, Circa majestatem quae praeminet sepulcro, for image of Anselm seated in majesty.

[21] France 12182.

[22] France 3622.

[23] Initia 6523; Wilmart, RB, XLVIII (1936), 30; also

quoted by William of Malmesbury, <u>De gestis regum Anglorum</u>, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls series (London, 1887), I, 258, and printed, No. 8, Ludwig Bertalot, <u>Die älteste gedruckte lateinische Epitaphiensammlung</u>, in <u>Collectanea . . . Olschki oblata</u> (Munich, 1921), p. 10. For others of this type, see AL, I:1, 102-110.

[24] France 20760.

[25] France 7132a.

[26] France 1272. For similar rhyme and assonance, cf. France #18469a, 15379a, 15373, 13141, #8549, 842, 1557a.

[27] France #7941, with 2 and 3-syllable rhyme at end.

[28] France 1557a, quoted above p. 58.

[29] France 147.

[30] France 14496a.

[31] France 2394.

[32] France 19582.

[33] France 6836.

[34] France 13112.

[35] France 14045.

[36] France 15561, 3622.

[37] France 8365, 20609, 16667.

[38] France 12182.

[39] France 16504.

[40] France 8365.

[41] Thirty-four are mentioned by Gröber, II:1, 339-346, which I have drawn on heavily for the devising of epitaph selections throughout this section; twenty (one mentioned by

Gröber) come from Karl Strecker's "Grabschriften," MGH:PL ,
V:2 (Berlin, 1939), 281-353; the ten others are from varied
sources. Epitaphs of Ekkehard IV of St. Gall are omitted.

[42]All may well be French. See André Boutemy, "Quelques
observations sur le recueil des poésies attribuées autrefois
à Philippe de Harvengt, Abbé de Bonne-Espérance," RB, LIII
(1941), 112-118, on the collection published PL, CCIII,
1391-1398. I have listed as German 1014 (**Henrici regis**),
16466 (Ivonis carnotensis episcopi), 20710 (Senonensis
episcopi, for Peter II of Poitier, according to Boutemy, p.
117), 7010 (magistri Guillelmi), 20769 (magistri Lanfranci),
8152 (**Urbani papae.**), and 3374 (decani Aurelianensis). Omitted
from my discussion and lists are Anselmi Cantuariensis epis-
copi (for Anselm of Laon), magistri Petri, regum Jerusalem,
and abbatis Clarae-Vallis. **10425 (Abelardi) may be by Philip.**

[43]Germany #2515.

[44]Germany 7791a. The anagram, running down the front
of the poem and through the center at the caesura reads: Hoc
fecit versus, Petre sancte, tuus Godescalcus; Claviger alme
poli, tu precor huic aperi. Amen.

[45]Germany 13541a, 11915.

[46]Germany 8267; 7898, 10059.

[47]Germany 8247.

[48]Germany 17636, 5523b, 7814, 3253.

[49]Germany *6756, 12087.

[50]Germany 2856.

[51]Germany 18854.

[52] Germany *2515.

[53] Germany 8072a, partially leonine and caudati; 10425, perfect two-syllable caudati.

[54] Selection devised from Gröber and random reading. Epitaphs quoted by Ordericus Vital, some English, are not included.

[55] England 15639, 7439a, 8600b.

[56] England *8559.

[57] England 16150, 10036, 2864 with leonine; 16063, 19527 with leonine and caudati.

[58] England 20300a, leonine;   16279a, caudati.

[59] England 15899.

[60] Italy 1371a.

[61] Italy *2690a, *18236, 26396a, 15141, 1371a.

[62] Italy 3075, 16061a, 18613.

[63] Spain 10675.

[64] Spain 17241, 6834, 4739.

[65] Spain *14106.

[66] Note in particular Spain *8349.

[67] Spain *14477.

[68] Spain 6358, 19310.

[69] Spain 17863.

[70] Spain 2367.

[71] Spain 14477, *14106.

[72] Spain 15377.

[1] Lattimore, pp. 230-234, 329. Typical example:

>   Siste gradum quaeso, sine te levet umbra tenacem,
>   hospes, iter durum est, quid teris usque viam?

CE 1212, 1-2, as quoted Lattimore, p. 233. Cf. opening of

CIL, VI, 12652, as quoted Plessis, p. 185, from first century

A.D.:

>   Tu qui secura precedis mente, parumper
>   Siste gradum quaeso verbaque pauca lege.

[2]Italy #13285.

[3]Germany #14496.

[4]Cf. Lattimore, pp. 256-258, 332; and Hengstl, p. 23.

Lattimore, p. 257, gives as a classic example CIL, II, 6243:

>   Quod tu es ego fui, quod nunc sum et tu eris.

[5]France 16668.

[6]France 16667.

[7]Initia 16669, not included in sample, for Peter Comestor.

Walther's single bibliographic reference for poem is in error.

[8]Italy 16285:

>   Quod nunc es, fuimus; es, quod sumus, ipse futurus.

[9]Spain *6349:

>   Es quod qui ipse fuit, quod sum cito, credo, futurus

[10]England 15899:

>   Quid sis et quid eris, lector, si noscere quaeris,
>   Per me scire potes, si mea fata noris . . .

The mea fata suggests a conscious imitation of classic work,

as fates in any sense do not normally appear in eleventh and

twelfth century epitaph.

[11]Epit. Alchwini, MGH:PLAC, I, 350:

>   Vertitur o species ut mea, sicque tua.
>   Quod nunc es fueram, famosus in orbe viator,
>   Et quod nun ego sum, tuque futuris eris . . .

Cf. Italy 16285 (above, note 8).

[12]Strabo, lxx, MGH:PLAC, II, 410. For other Carolingian examples of the "What I am" theme cf. *Epit. Walafredi abbati*, MGH:PLAC, II, p. 424: <u>Quod es, fueram iam,/ et tu, quod sum nunc, incipis esse cito . . .</u>; *Carmina Salisburgensia iv, epit. Adalramni*, MGH:PLAC, II, 640: <u>Tu quod es ipse fui, tu nunc perpende, viator . . .</u>

[13]France 2216, 19062, 15551; Germany 8540, 6958, 5636; Spain 17363, 6354; Italy 16061a. In lists, epitaphs for each country appear in probable order of composition.

[14]France *19506, 12132.

[15]Fortunatus, IV, iii, vii, viii, xxvii, xxviii, MGH:AA, IV.

[16]E.g., Alcuin, cxiii, MGH:PLAC, I.

[17]France 13141, 10312a, 2250, 15910a, 15963, 20760, 4470, 20406 (in part), 7350a, 8367, *19506 (with dead's reply); Germany 6582a, 5523b, 20769, 7781a, 13967, 18854, 2856; Italy 1571a, 13615, 7535a, 20596a; England *8559, 8600b, 16279a; Spain 8154, 7426.

[18]Germany 10219a, *1585, *15546, 16180, *17357, *16661, 3551a, 10219a, 8367, 7698; France 6777a, 8549, 7958, 5294; England 8600b, 16160, 16063, 19527; Spain, 19310, *14106; Italy *16159.

[19]Germany 10219a.

[20]Germany 16180.

[21]Germany *17357.

[22]Italy *16159.

[23]Cf. epitaph for ... Pacuvius (220-130 B.C.), Plessis, p. 42:

> Adulescens, tam etsi properas, te hoc saxum rogat
> Ut sese aspicias, deinde quod scriptum est legas.
> Hic sunt poetae Pacuvi Marci sita
> Ossa. Hoc volebam nescius ne esses. Vale.

Closer to the Ottonian examples is one from the time of Augustus, CIL, VI, 18385 (:CE 1184), as quoted Plessis, p. 176:

> Tu quicumque morae patiens vis scire viator
> Parvolus hic atris titulis quid noster aratus
> Reddat ager lacrimas, paulum consiste: docebo . . .

[24]_Damasi Epigrammata_, xxxiv, ed. Ihm, p. 39:

> Quisque vides tumulum, vitam si quaeris operti . . .

[25]IV, xi, 1-2, MGH:AA, IV, 87:

> Quisquis ab occasu properas huc, quisquis ab ortu,
>   munus in hoc tumulo quod venereris habes.
> Respice . . .

Cf. xx, 1 (p. 92):

> Quisquis in hoc tumulo cineres vis nosse sepulti:
>   Brunachius . . .

[26]For altar, Alcuin, CX, xviii, 1-2, MGH:PLAC, I, 343:

> Hic fessus veniens primo subsiste, viator,
> Et regem caeli mox corpore pronus adora . . .

for epitaph, CXIII, 1-3 (p. 344):

> Tu quicqumque cupis requies cognoscere fratrum,
>   Et loca quo quisque spectat ab arce deum:
> Nomina curre legens . . .

[27]Germany 8351a. It appears as the basic theme of Gerald of Wales' inscription for prepared tomb, England 19527.

[28]England 16160. See France 16238, Germany 7996 for

other exhortations to virtue. Lattimore, p. 263, says such

exhortations are sometimes found in classic epitaph.

[29]France 13785a.

[30]Germany *1585. Cf. France 4635; Germany *13205,

13541a, 136b, *6757; Italy *2690a.

[31]France 15379a.

[32]France 7240b, 14713a, 5294.

[33]Germany *7786.

[34]Germany *12237.

[35]Germany 8152.

[36]Italy 1476a.

[37]Italy 14487.

[38]Germany 18354. Cf. France *3549 (St. Laurence);

Germany *7786 (St. Winfride).

[39]France 8111.

[40]France 20760.

[41]France 14119.

[42]Germany 7781a.

[43]Germany 16225.

[44]Germany 10425.

[45]Italy *2690a.

[46]France 15379a, *7941, 147, 7787, 7938, *3189, 7944,

7240b, 14057, 14713a; Germany 5020, 6682a, 8351a, 11409,

5189a; England *20835, 17515a; Spain 3154. France 7697:

Hoc pro parte jacent membra sepulto laco . . .

[47]Italy 1371a.

[48]Spain 19310. Cf. France 1272: hic clausus habetur;

7850a, 8111: <u>hic</u> . . . <u>situs</u>; 9479: <u>hic nostrae carnis</u> . . .

<u>resignat onus</u>; Germany 6958: <u>hic</u> . . . <u>eram positus</u>; Italy

16061a: <u>hic tumulor</u>; 15141: <u>hic forte sepultus</u>.

[49]Spain 6358.

[50]France 6765: <u>Hac scrobe Bertha jacet</u>; 19528: <u>subjacet</u>

<u>huic lapidi</u>; variants also in France 6777a, 8367, 8365; Italy

*8281, *18286, *16139, 20396a; Germany 6547, *6414, 8351a;

Spain *11856, *14477.

[51]France 8359.

[52]Joining <u>tumulus</u> and <u>tegitur</u> are France 7132a, 15378,

15171; Germany 12237; Spain 7443. A form of <u>tego</u> (usually

<u>tegitur</u>) with other indication of the tomb appears in Spain

10675 (<u>quem lapis iste tegit</u>), *14106, 15377; France 842;

England 7439a, 16063 (<u>cui lapis iste tegit</u>); Germany *1585,

*10795, 8351a, 7996; Italy 18613. Other words for "buried,"

"lies," etc. are the folowing: <u>claudo</u> (14 times): France 7787,

5037, 9479, 16504; Germany *17945, *1585, *13205, 2356;

England 2864; Spain 17241, 2867; Italy 20396a, 18613, 8076.

<u>Tumulo</u> (7 times): France 16434a, Spain 6358, *11856; Italy

*16139, 14437, 1371a, 16061a. <u>Condo</u> (7 times): France 1557a;

Germany *15546, *17537, *8137, 3535; and Spain 7426. <u>Sepelio</u>

(5 times): France 19715; Germany 16180; Spain 8154; Italy

9621a, 15141. Used twice each are <u>dormio</u>: France 4739, Spain

4738; <u>contineo</u>: Germany 3253, England 20300a; <u>pauso</u>: France

8265a, 5294. Used once each, all but one example in German

epitaphs, are <u>concludo</u>, *10795; <u>gessit</u>, Spain 10219a; <u>cubo</u>

(<u>cubatus</u>), 6547; <u>pono</u>, *18677a; <u>quiesco</u>, 8244; <u>requiesco</u>,

8335; _subicio_, *18677a; _teneo_, *8128; and (_lapis_) _urget_, 5523b.

[53]_Tumulus_ (27 times): France 7787, 7927a, 5037, 4739, 19716, 8367, 8305; Germany 10219a, *13205, *18677a, *15546, 16180, 9841a, *17337, 8351a; England 2864; Spain 8154, 6834, *11356, *14477, *14106; Italy *8281; also in entries listed note 54, joined with _tegitur_. _Lapis_ (7 times): France 19582; Germany 7996, 5523b; England 10036; Spain 10675, *14106; Italy *13286. _Tumba_ (6 times): France 342; Germany 124a, 6547; England *8559; Spain 17241, 7443. _Sepulcrum_ (5 times): Germany *17945, *6414; Spain 4739, *8349, 6358. _Locus_ (4 times): France 16504; Germany *1585, 8351a; Italy 9621a. _Petra_ (4 times): France 14057, 14028; England 7439a, 16063. _Domus_ (3 times): Germany 11915; Italy *16139; England 15399. _Loculus_ (3 times): France 8359; England 20300a; Spain *11856. _Urna_ (3 times): Germany 10219a; England 15639; Italy 18613. _Humus_ (3 times): France 14713a, 5294; Italy 8076. Used twice each are _fossa_, Germany 5255, Italy 7585a; _hospitium_: Germany *16661, *8128; _marmor_: Spain 2867, France 8265a; _titulus_ (for inscription on tomb): France 5037, Italy *16139. Used once each are _antrum_, Italy 20396a; _ala_, Germany *8137; _cespes_, Germany *1585; _conditorium_, Germany 8244; _limia_, Italy *16139; _mausoleum_, Germany *10795; _paries_, Spain 15377; _tellus_, Germany 16180; _scrobis_, France 6765; and _theca_, Spain 7426.

[54]Spain, *14106.

[55]France 14482.

[56]England 20300a.   For other references to ashes, cf.
France 15379a, 15910a, 3533, 15821; England 10036; Germany
*8137 (cineri . . . exuvias), *13205 (funus), 6682a, *16661
(occiduas . . . favillas), 8540.

[57]Spain *14106.

[58]France 15910a.

[59]Germany 13541a.   For other uses of hic/haec/hoc alone
cf. Germany 15880, 7893, 8247, *6975a, 8072a, 20710 (iste).

[60]France 16504; cf. France 9479; Germany 10219a, *1585;
England 15639.

[61]E.g., CE 565, 5 (Arles), 2199, 1 (Aquileia, 4th or
5th cent. A.D.), 1115 (Rome), as cited Lattimore, pp. 197,
202, 283; early medieval examples in Hengstl, p. 22. Tibullus,
I, iii, 55-56,(ed. Postgate, p. 208), parodies the formula in
a love poem:

> Hic iacet immiti consumptus morte Tibullus,
>   Messallam terra dum sequiturque mari.

[62]CE 1483, 1-2 (Rome), as cited Lattimore, p. 168:

> Aedis aedificat dives, sapiens monumentum.
>   Hospitium est illud corporis, hic domus est.

CE 1249, 6 (Rome), Lattimore, p. 168:

> hospitium nobis sufficit ista domus

[63]Lattimore, pp. 318-319.

[64]Lattimore, pp. 228-229.

[65]Ihm, p. 15, x, 1-2:

> Hoc tumulo sacrata deo nunc membra quiescunt:
> Hic soror est Damasi, nomen si quaeris, Irene.

[66]Bk. IV, i.5, vii. 9-10, xii. 7-8, xvi.5, MGH:AA, IV.

[67] Ihm, p. 16

[68] Raban Maur, lxxxv, Epit. Einhardi, MGH:PLAC, II, 237.

[69] Carmina Varia, xi, Epit. Radelchis principis, MGH:PLAC II, 657.

[70] Fortunatus, IV, xvi, 5, MGH:AA, IV, 90:

Celsus in hoc humili tumulo iacet Atticus ille.

[71] Hengstl, pp. 116-117, cites Alcuin, MGH:PLAC I, 350; epitaph of Bishop Riculf of Mainz (+813, Kraus II, 95); epitaph of Herzog Liudolf of Schwabia (Kraus II, 99); epitaph of Archbishop Wilhelm of Mainz (+968, Kraus II, 101).

[72] In epitaph for Bishop David of Lausan, Carmina Varia x, MGH:PLAC II.

[73] Kraus shows numerous examples of death years in prose. In epitaph for Wignand, provost of Mainz (+1043; Kraus II, 122, No. 262), the prose date is written out in a border around the epigram. In the sample of epigrammatic epitaphs, the year is given in France 15811; Germany 13501; and Spain 2867, 7426; these are all from the twelfth century. It appears in prose after the epigram in the eleventh century Italian 9621a, 2690a, *16139. I note one early Christian death day in CE 1617, from Africa.

[74] Germany *1585. Cf. epitaph for Abbot Gerfrid of Werden (+839; Kraus, II, 291). Hengstl, pp. 91-92, gives examples and comments that dating by classical method continues through the twelfth century. Other poems in sample dated by ides and kalends: France, XI century: 8359, 147, 13785a, 7938, XII century: 4739, 7016, 14057, 11024;

Germany, XI: *1585, *13205, 16180, 124a, *14496, 11915,
*17557, *10795, *6414, *16661 (modeled on 16180), *7786,
8351a, 7996, 8335, 15992, 11409, *6975a, 5253, XII: 2856;
England, XII: 11846; Spain, XI: 6358, XII: 2367; Italy, XI:
8076 (prose at end), 7385a.

[75] Hengstl, p. 92.

[76] France 16528, in 1167. Other examples from sample
dated by day of month: France, XI century: 6777a, 6765, 15358,
7441, 7608, XII century: 13869, 4470, 7697, 15171, 953,
16504, 1652?, 17973, 15574; Germany, XI: *8244, *8137, 10219a,
*15546, 6682a, 6958, 5189a, XII: *6756; England, XII: 14261,
16279a; Italy, XI: 9621a (in prose, with year at end), 2690a
(prose, with year), *16139. Not used in Spain.

[77] Hengstl, pp. 92-93.

[78] Italy 14487, in 1071. Other examples from sample
dated by position of constellations: France, XI century:
15379a, XII: 7350a, 8533; Germany, XI: 13541a, 5020, XII:
20769; England, XI: 7439a, 15639; Spain, XI: 7443; Italy,
XI: 14487, 16061a, 15141, 18613, *8281.

[79] France *8549, in 1067. Other poems in sample dated
by church calendar: France, XI century: *8549, XII: 13106,
14432, 9479, 14119; Spain, XII: *14477. Not used in Germany,
England, Italy. Cf. Hengstl, p. 94.

[80] France 14045, for Abelard (+1142). Other poems with
month only from sample: France, XI century: 7787, XII: 14045.

[81] The death day is not at all common in Carolingian
poetry; an example from Epitaphium Walfredi Abbati, MGH:PLAC,

II, 423:

> Quindenis raperis Septembris, care, Kalendis,
>   Destituens proprium, pastor, ovile, tuum.

[82]France 15374.

[83]France 14119.

[84]France 7441.

[85]Cf. Lattimore, pp. 162-163, 317-318.

[86]Cf. Hengstl, 74-75, 140.

[87]On prayers in general in death verse and epitaph, see Hengstl, pp. 172-182.

[88]Cf. Hengstl, pp. 8, 24; Lattimore, pp. 65-74.

[89]France 842. Cf. France 677a, 7927a, 7958, 20406, 7240b, 14715a, 5294.

[90]England 16063.

[91]Cf. Raban Maur, xcvi, Epit. for Tutini, MGH:PLAC II, 243:

> Dic, precor: ambobus propitiare, deus.

Note also Carmina varia i and v, MGH:PLAC, II, 649, 653; early examples from Lusitania coupled with classic prayer, CE 1452, 1453, the latter reading

> d/ic/ r/ogo/ p/raeteriens/: s/it/ t/erra/ l/euis/

[92]Germany 10219a, from 1005.

[93]Italy 9621a, from 1003. Other dico requests: Germany, XI century: *17337; Italy, XI: *18296, *16139, 16285; Spain, mid XII: *8349.

[94]Germany *14496.

[95]Germany 8351a.

[96]Germany 7898. Other posco examples in Germany 6958,

8267, 10059. Cf. Spain 15377, preces poscit earem, referring

to the dead asking prayers of the living, not the living

asking favor of God for the dead. Although posco is used in

the French death rolls (see above, p. 43), it does not occur

in the French epitaphs of the sample.

[97]Cf. Carmina varia vii and ix, MGH:PLAC II, 654, 656;

Raban Maur, lxxxviii and lvii, MGH:PLAC II, 239, 220; Alcuin,

cxiii and cxxiii, MGH:PLAC, I.

[98]Germany 5686: fundite queso precem; England 16063:

Fundens dona precum; Italy 1476a: fundite vota. Summary of

requests for prayers: France, XI century: 6777a, 7927a, 7938,

842, XII: 20406, 7240b, 14713a, 5294; Germany, XI: 10219a,

*14496, *17337, 8351a, 7898, 8540, 6958, 8267, 10059; XII:

5686; England, XII: 16063; Spain, XI: 10675, 17745, 17863,

6834, XII: *8349, 15377; Italy, XI: 9621a, *18236, *16159,

16285.

[99]Germany *7786.

[100]France 8549.

[101]Spain 7426.

[102]Italy 20396a.

[103]Italy 1371a.

[104]E.g., Bk IV, vii, xxvii, MGH:AA, IV.

[105]France 13785a.

[106]Germany 5189a.

[107]Prayers: France, XI century: 13785a, XII: 4635; Ger-

many, XI: *1585, *13205, 13541a; XII: 136b, *6756; Italy, XI:

*2690a.   Pious wishes: France, XI: 16238, 7132a, *7941, 147,
16356, 5037, 2250, 299, 15968, XII: 16668, 14045, 15561,
15821; Germany, XI: *8137, 11915, 5652a, *7786, 7996,
5189a, 5084, XII: 8072a, 18854, 13501; England, XI; *8559,
7459a; Spain, XI: 6558, 17745, XII: *14477, 15377; Italy,
XI: 15141, 18615.

[108]Cf. Lattimore, pp. 307-311.

[109]France 16663.

[110]Cf. Raban Maur, xc, Ep. Ralaici presbyteri, MGH:PLAC,
II, 241: atque ibi cum Christo gaudia vera tenet; lxxxix, Ep.
Irmingaris, MGH:PLAC, II, 239: caperet ut gaudia vitae; also
epitaph for Otto the Great, MGH:PL , V:2, 283: Ut capiat
verae cum sanctis praemia vitae. On praemia vitae in Damasus,
see above, p. 44, note 55. Gaudia vitae in CE 1296; also
pseudo-Tibullus, III, iii, 7-10 (ed. Postgate, p. 290):

> Sed tecum ut longae sociarem gaudia vitae
>   inque tuo caderet nostra senecta sinu,
> tum cum permenso defunctus tempore lucis
>   nudus Lethaea cogerer ire rate?

The poem, one of the Lygdamus and Neaera ones, continues with
a "What use are . . . ?" topic, discussed below, pp. 94-96.

[111]France 15311.

[112]Germany *8128.

[113]France 7441.

[114]Spain 7443 (coupled with death date), *14106; Italy
16285. Coupled with death day: France *8549, 6765, 7441,
13369, 15311 (year), 14432; Germany *8244, *13205, 16180,
124a, *6414, *8128, 7996, 20769; England 8600b, 11346.

Other occurances: France 1557a, 13785a, 7927a, 15358, 8265a,
7944, 4470, 7697, 14057, 2331, 8365, 15561, 9479 (<u>acta viri
claudit uterque polus</u>), 14026, 2916, 12132; Germany 7786,
20710, 7010, 5686, 18354; England *9686, 16160, 207.

[115]On body and soul in Greek and Latin epitaph, see
Lattimore, pp. 21-40, 304-306. An example of classic dualism,
CE 591 (near Soracte), as cited Lattimore, p. 31:

> Terrenum corpus, caelestis spiritus in me
> quo repetente suam sedem nunc vivimus illic
> et fruitur superis aeterna in luce Fabatus

Cf. CIL, VIII, suppl. III, 20288 (Mauretania, date uncertain),
as cited Plessis, p. 216: <u>Nam meus ad caeli transivit spiritus
astra</u>; CIL, VIII, 8567 (:CE 569), cited Plessis, p. 217:
<u>Non tamen ad Manes, sed caeli ad sidera pergis.</u>

[116]France 7927a.

[117]France 8265a.

[118]Germany 20769. Other epitaphs using <u>astra</u>: France
7944, 15311; England *9686, 207; Germany *13205.

[119]IV, v, 6, and viii, 6, MGH:LL, IV, 82, 84.

[120]E.g., <u>Carmina varia</u>, ii, <u>Epit. Siconis Principis</u>,
MGH:PLAC, II, 694: <u>spiritus astra petit</u>; also Raban Maur,
xciii, <u>Epit. Reginbaldi Chorepiscopi</u>, MGH:PLAC, II, 242;
Alcuin, lxxxviii, 2, MGH:PLAC, I, 305.

[121]Spain *14106.

[122]France 1557a.

[123]France 13785a.

[124]France 2961.

[125]Germany *8128. Other examples of soul seeking sky,

etc.: France *8549, 6765, 15358, 8565, 14482; Germany *8123 (quam gerit aula poli), 7786, 7996, 7010; England 8600b; Italy 16285 (spiritus alta petat).

[126]See Karl Strecker, "Ein Epitaphium aus Lyon," NA, XLVIII (1930), 162. He gives no specific citations, notes that petit for petiit is standard.

[127]xxx, 3, ed. Ihm, p. 36.

[128]xc, Epit. Ratlaici presbyteri, MGH:PLAC, II, 240:

> En servus Christi Ratlaicus nomine dictus
>   Corpore hic pausat, spiritus alta petit.

Also lxxxvi, i, Epit. Gundramni, MGH:PLAC, II, 238:

> Nam Gundramnus adest illic et corpore subtus
>   Sarcophago latitat, spiritus alta petit.

[129]France 7927a.

[130]France 7441.

[131]France 15869.

[132]Germany 124a.

[133]France *8549.

[134]Germany 16180.

[135]Germany 5636.

[136]France 7697.

[137]France 9479.

[138]France 2916.

[139]Epistle LX, 14, ed. Jérôme Labourt, Vol. III (Paris, 1953), 103.

[140]Version A, Liber Cathemerinon, X, Prudentius, ed. and trans. H. J. Thomson, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), I, 84. Other version reads:

                    rescissa sed ista seorsum
                    solvunt hominem perimuntque;
                    humus excipit arida corpus,
                    animae rapit aura liquorum.

Topic also appears in the popular Epitaphium Senecae: Namque
animam caelo reddimus, ossa tibi, ed. Carlo Prato, Gli
epigrammi . . . Seneca (/Bari, 1955/), p. 62.

[1]F. Novati, ed., Archivio storico Lombardo, VII (1880),
245-276, 567-589; VIII (1881), 246-266, 484-506.

[2]Molinier, p. 28.   First recorded anniversary celebra-
tion in 758.

[3]Ibid., pp. 34-36.

[4]Ibid., p. 42.

[5]Ibid., pp. 63, 65.

[6]Ibid., p. 66.

[7]Loc. cit.

[8]ASL, VII, 536.

[9]ASL, VII, 570.

[10]ASL, VII, 581.   Presbyter Johannes wrote De schismate
inter Sum. Pont. Alexandrum II et Victorem IV. Historia
suorum temporum lib. 1, c. 1159.

[11]ASL, VII, 571.   Belencasa may have been living in 1170,
if identification is correct.

[12]ASL, VIII, 487.   A copy of Oddo's will is dated 1180.

[13]ASL, VIII, 260.   Offredo degli Offredi was archdeacon
of cathedral in 1159, died c. 1185.   His epitaph, according
to Novati, is in Inscript. Crem. un. n. 256: Angusta cineres
sunt qui conduntur in ede/ Nobilis Ofredi . . .

[14]ASL, VII, 538. Azone was living in 1186.

[15]ASL, VII, 586. Ambrosius may have been living in 1195.

[16]ASL, VIII, 497.

[17]For Evandus, ASL, VIII, 486.

[18]GH:PL V:2, 291.

[19]Brower-Masen, Antiq. Trev. 1, 509, as cited Strecker,
GH:PL, V:2, 291.

Chapter III

1hengstl, p. 3.

2Germany 15330.

3Delisle,XXXV, 208 (p. 272). Cf. XIX, 128 (p. 119).

4Epist. XXIII.3, Sancti Hieronymi epistulae, ed. Jérôme
Labourt (Paris, 1951), II, 9: Excipitur angelorum choris,
Abrahae sinibus confovetur.

5Germany 5523b.

6France 13141.

7XXXVI, 181 (pp. 257-258). For passing reference, note
XIX, 18, 25, 37, 120 Item (pp. 63, 67, 74, 111).

8France 8111: Vestras in vestro consumite, Tartara,
poenas,/ Ni vestris vultis parcere: vester erat.

9XXXVI, 46 (p. 201): Nec subeat curam Satanae peritura
Mathildis . . . ; XXXVI, 201 Item (p. 269): Haut Stigis illa
ream poena trucidet eam . . .

10France 299.

11Spain 17363.

12France 13369.

13France 20406.

14Germany *6756.

15Italy 9621a.

16Germany *8244, *8157, 10219a, 5523b, *6756.

17France 15879a, 1272, 20406, 14713a.

18Italy 9621a.

19I have noted no reference to resurrection of body.
The Last Judgment is mentioned in XIX, 46 and 120 Item

(pp. 78, 109-11), and XXXVI, 142 (p. 239). See Hengstl,

pp. 119, 159, on its general appearance in medieval literature.

[20]IV, 2, ed. Ihm, p. 8.

[21]Genesis III, 19: Memento homo quia pulvis es, et in pulverem

reverteris, as cited Hengstl, p. 159.

[22]Spain *14106.

[23]France 15379a. Cf. France 2394: hac in humo fit

humus; Germany 13205: Nunc cinis et pulvis.

[24]Alchwini epitaphio, cxxiii, 7-8, MGH:PLAC, I, 350:

> Delicias mundi casso sectabar amore,
> Nunc cinis et pulvis, vermibus atque cibus

This is quoted almost verbatum Carmina varia, CI, ix, Epit.

Pacificum, MGH:PLAC, II, 656. Cf. Tituli saeculi octavi,

VII, 7, MGH:PLAC, I, 111, for Giselbert, Abbot of Eln (+782):

En vermes rodunt, nec virga, nec infula prodest.

[25]Germany 13354, ll. 1-2, 5-12.

[26]Germany 5686. Cf. France 20760, Germany 3535.

[27]IV, viii, 50; xxv, 20, vi, 8 (sine fine diem), MGH:AA,

IV, 85, 95, 83. Cf. epitaph for Everandus (+978), MGH:SS,

VII, 430: Est sine nocte dies et sine fine quies.

[28]Germany *6756.

[29]Germany 8267.

[30]France 7132a: vivere . . . sine fine; 16504: creditur

aeternum continuasse diem.

[31]Spain 17863: Atque frui vita secum per saecula saecli.

[32]E.g., XXXVI, 5 and 7 (p. 185), and elsewhere.

[34]France 147; Italy 15141 (<u>mors fera cum rapuit</u>). In death rolls, XIX, 107, 120 Item (pp. 95, 108); XIX, Item 127b (p. 117) have <u>fera mors</u>; <u>mors fera</u> appears in XXXVI, 181 Item (p. 258). Cf. Raban Maur, xciv, <u>Epit. Adelhardi</u>, MGH:PLAC, II, 242: <u>mors fera quem rapuit</u>; and lxxxvii, <u>Epit. Walachfredi Abbatis</u>, MGH:PLAC, II, 239: <u>mors fera sed iuvenem hinc rapuit</u>.

[35]France 7938: <u>Abstulit ultima sors et rapuit cita mors</u>. Spain 6834: <u>cita mors</u>.

[36]France 20406: <u>Nam rapuit mors atra virum</u>. Cf. Fortunatus, IV, xv, 4, MGH:AA, IV, 89: <u>mors rapit atra virum</u>; Tibullus I, 3, 5: <u>abstineas, Mors atra, precor</u>.

[37]Germany 8152. Germany *2515: <u>Ultio successit, mors dura gravisque reorum</u>. Cf. early Christian <u>mors dira</u>, CE 1412, 9 (from Milan), as quoted Lattimore, p. 303.

[38]France 15374: <u>Incausto tinguit mors inimica suo</u>. In death rolls, XIX, 127a; LVI, 67 (pp. 117, 384). CE 1536 (: De Rossi, II, 118, 102) gives <u>mors inimica tulit</u> (Rome, possibly pagan), cited Plessis, p. 218; phrase repeated in <u>Carmina Cenomanensia</u>, xiv, <u>Epit. Franconis Iunioris episcopi</u>, MGH:PLAC, II, 636. Lattimore, p. 323, quotes the early Christian <u>inimica mors fecit te non videre quod voluisti</u> (CE 708, 8). Cf. Fortunatus, IV, ii, 2, and App. VIII, 4, MGH:AA, IV, 80, 281 (<u>mors inimica</u>); also IV, xx, 4 and xv, 2, MGH:AA, IV, 92, 89 (<u>sors inimica</u>).

[39]England 16279a. In death rolls, XXXVI, 42 (p. 199).

[40]Germany 8351a; <u>invida mors rapuit</u>. This characterization

was quite popular throughout the middle ages; cf. Karl Strecker, *Die Tegernseer Briefsammlung* (Berlin, 1925), p. 41, and Hengstl, p. 110, who cites AL I:1, 274 (No. 345); CE 429; Ven. Fortunatus IV, v, 1. Fortunatus also refers to *mors invida* and *mors mala*, IV, xxvi, 47 and 110. Cf. the classic inscription for Aelius Faustus (+c. 135-190 A.D.), CE 1814, as cited Plessis, p. 134: *Invida sed rapuit semper Fortuna probatos*.

[41]Death roll, XXXVII, 57 (p. 304).

[42]In early Christian verse; see Lattimore, pp. 323, 330. *Impia* appears twice in death rolls, XIX, 109 (p. 95) and XXXVI, 2 (p. 134).

[43]As in Alcuin, XCII, iii, 6, MGH:PLAC, I, 319; also in Fortunatus.

[44]In Carolingian *Carmina varia*, CV, x, MGH:PLAC, II, 656. For a murder, however, note France 4470: *tua mors anathema digna est*. Death rolls also speak of *mors saeva*, XII, 130; XXXVI, 93, 134 Item (pp. 122, 221, 262).

[45]France 19062.

[46]France 14119.

[47]England 3500b.

[48]France 7938, 7787 (*sors ultima*). Cf. Fortunatus IV, ix, 1, MGH:AA, IV, 85.

[49]Spain 17863.

[50]Germany 10219a.

[51]Spain 8154.

[52]France 15358. For death epithets throughout the Middle Ages and in varied literature, see Hengstl, pp. 110-111.

[53]Spain *14106: cum morte ensis fuit ictus. Death roll XXXVI, 184 Item (p. 252): mors, gladius vibrans.

[54]Germany 11409: se quem vitaret, vis necis hunc fugeret.

[55]Germany 5523b: mortis legem; also France 16668. Cf. Fortunatus, Item ad Chilperic et Fredegundem reginam, IX, ii, 22, MGH:AA, IV, 206: Cum de lege necis nemo solutus adest; Hibernicus Exul, XVII, 36, Epit. for Dungal, MGH:PLAC, I, 407: De mortis nullus lege solutus adest.

[56]Germany 6958:   . . . mortis decreta subivi
                  Quae vivens nemo praeterit ullo modo.

[57]France 1423: laqueos evadere mortis.

[58]See Lattimore, pp. 153, 323.

[59]E.g., Damasus, ix, 3, Ihm, p. 13: soluere qui potuit letalia vincula mortis; Fortunatus, IV, xii, 2, MGH:AA, IV, 83: sic furit ira necis neque nos fugit orbita mortis.

[60]France 4635.

[61]France 8533.

[62]France 15574.

[63]France 19062. Further developed personification in France 4635, 13112; England 16279a.

[64]XXXVI, 17 (p. 189): Cur, mors, sic sevis?; 178 (p. 256):   Nec parcis dominis, nec parcis, mors, dominabus;
                  Omnia mortificas, exceptis, mors, animabus.

XXXVI, 18 (p. 190):

>   O mors crudelis, nullique probata fidelis,
>   O mors immitis, nigri soror impia Ditis . . .

Although the address to death appears to be most character-
istic of the later Middle Ages, an early example is given by
the much anthologized Epitaphium filii Catonis (actually for
Vitales mimus), which appears, among other places, in the
VIII century Corbei codex of the Sylloge Centulensis (VII,
57, 1-2), De Rossi, II, 94:

>   Quid tibi mors faciam que nulli parcere nescis
>   Nescis letitiam necis amarae iocos.

[65]See Lattimore, pp. 250-256; Hengstl, p. 109.

[66]France 15668; cf. France 15112; England 15899; Germany
*1585, 8267; Italy 15141.

[67]XXXVI, 42 (p. 199). Cf. Horace, Odes I.4.13,14:
pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas regumque
turris.

[68]XXXVI, 144 (p. 244).

[69]XXXVIII, Item 4a (p. 296). For similar examples,
see Delisle XIX, 40, 109 Item (pp. 98-99); XXXVI, 139, 144,
196; XXXVIII, 57. I count more than two dozen shorter
examples, similar to those in epitaph. Cf. Fortunatus IV,
xxvi, 151-2, MGH:AA, IV, 99:

>   nam puer atque senes, niger albus, turpis honestus,
>   debilis et fortis, mitis et asper obit.

[70]Germany 15380.

[71]France 15910a.

[72]France 2915. Other similar "what use" passages:

France 4635, 15811, 15821; Germany 5255; England 16279a

(quid gemmae, pallia, vestes . . .); Italy 15141; Delisle

XXXVI, 11, 151, 181 Item (with flowers) (pp. 187, 245-247,

253); XXXVIII, 55, 47 (pp. 297, 301-302).

[73]Delisle, XXXVI, 47, 151 (pp. 201, 245-247). Cf.

CB 1127: Si pietate aliquem redimi fatale fuisset; CB 1424:

Si nescit mens sancta mori, si pura voluntas. . . .

[74]Spain 17745.

[75]Spain 17865.

[76]France 17978. Other "If" sequences in France 20459,

England 15899; combination of "If" and "What use" in Germany

17636; in Mathilda's roll, XXXVI, 151 (pp. 246-247).

[77]Matutin 1, Nocturn, according to Hengstl, p. 116.

[78]"Omnis . . ." I Peter, I, 24. Cf. Isaï, XL, 6.

Jerome Epist. LX, 13, ed. Labourt, III, 102.

[79]Alcuin, cxxiii, 15-16, MGH:PLAC, I, 350:

> Ut flores pereunt vento veniente minace
> Sic tua namque, caro, gloria tota perit.

[80]XIX, 128 (p. 119).

[81]XIX, 128 Item (p. 120).

[82]XXXVI, 23 (p. 191). The sic transit gloria mundi

appears twice, in slightly altered versions, in epitaph:

France 20760: Sic fugit atque perit, sic transit gloria

carnis; England 16065: Omnis in hac vita gloria transit ita.

[83]XXXVI, 181 Item (p. 253). Other flower figures in

XXXVI, 193, 196 (pp. 264, 266-67); XXXVIII, 53 (pp 504=505).

[84]Germany 5686.

[85] France 14496a.

[86] England, 16063.　Cf. France 15811: _somnia vana_, _vapor_ . . . _umbra_.

[87] France 2394.　Smoke also appears in Delisle, XXXVI, 144 (p. 244).

[88] France 15567.　The one mention of shadow in death rolls, XIX, 107 (p. 95), is a simple quotation of Horace's _pulvis et umbra sumus_.

[89] Germany 15992.

[90] Spain #0349.

[91] Germany 8540.　Other images of the passing world appear in Germany 10059: _Labilis hic mundus, homo quem petit, est quasi fundus_, and Germany 10425, which features shipwreck and setting and rising stars.

[92] Germany 8152.　Cf. CE 216, 6: _rosa simul florivit et statim periit_, from Mainz, as cited Lattimore, p. 196; Paul the Deacon, IX, _Epit. Sophiae Neptis_, 17-18, MGH:PLAC, I, 47:

> Genmanten vitem decoxit saeva pruina,
>　　Purpureamque tulit dira procella rosam.

also the early Christian Roman inscription _Corporis Lavreshamensi sylloge quarta_, VIII, 102, 12-14, De Rossi, 118

>　　　　heu mihi quam subito funere rapta iaces
> Vernante calidam decoxit frigore flores
>　　　　et gemma in fructu mors inimica tulit.

[93] Hengstl, pp. 79-80.

[94] France 14045.

[95] France 14482.　Cf. France 7850a, 15171, 8533; Germany

5523b, 20769. Variants include <u>non obiturus obit</u>, France
15358 and England 14261; reminders that life is death, death
life, England 19527 (<u>Vive Deo, mors est vivere, vita mori</u>),
Germany *13205, 8335.

⁹⁶Guifred's roll, XIX, 68, 120 Item, 121, 126, 127 Item,
127 Item, 128 Item, 128 Item, 130 (pp. 87, 109-110, 112-113,
116, 117-118, 118-119, 121, 121, 122). In Vital's roll, it
is endemic.

¹France 15372.

²XXVIII, 85 (p. 513).

³France 2250.

⁴France 2394.

⁵France 5294.

⁶France 15561.

⁷France 12132.

⁸Germany 9341a.

⁹Germany *124a.

¹⁰Germany *14496.

¹¹England 207.

¹²Spain 19510.

¹³Spain 2867. For similar simple references to position,
see also France 6777a, 13785a, 8265a, 2394, 15910a, 13869,
16668, *19506, 14482, 9479; Germany *8244, 15830, 7996,
8540, 6953, 5189a, 3253, 18354; Spain *14106.

¹⁴France *8549.

¹⁵AL, I:2, 51 (No. 507); cf. AL, I:2, 126 (No. 668),

Epit. Lucani; Corduba me genuit . . . . . Hengstl gives many
examples of medieval variants, pp. 13-19, including Walter
of Lille's Insula me genuit, rapuit Castellio nomen (Manitius,
III, 922); cf. Spain 6834: Francia me genuit.

[16]England 8600b.   Other common examples of men who
became monks are given in France 16484a, 7941, 15910a, 16668,
5294; Germany *17337, *10795; England *8559, 7439a, *20385.
Note of conversion is made in Guifred's roll, XIX, 54 (p. 82),
55 (p. 83), 109 Item a (p. 96), 109 Item g (p. 100), 120
(p. 108), 120 Item a (p. 108), 120 Item b (p. 109), 120 Item
g (p. 110), 128 Item a (p. 119), 128 Item h (p. 121).

[17]France 4535.   France 7016 also seems to suggest death-
bed conversion.

[18]England *20385.

[19]XIX, 69 (p. 87).

[20]XIX, 111 Item (p. 103); cf. 127 Item b (p. 113).

[21]France 5037.

[22]E.g., Fortunatus IV, 3: Te custode pio numquam lupus
abstulit agnum.

[23]Guifred's roll, XIX, 113 (p. 104):

> Dum Saulum vixit prius, hic tanquam leo sevit;
>   Post referens Paulum, diluit omne malum.
> Mutavit mores, mundi dum vitat honores;
>   Alter ut est habitus, defremit huic animus.

[24]Paul Aquileiensis, MGH:PLAC, I, 135, explains the
meaning quite clearly in his De morte Lazari et eius resur-
rectione, stanza 26:

> Possunt etiam per duas has sorores congrue
> due vite figurari utreque perspicue:

altera laboriosa quae sudat in opere,
altera quae suspendit raptim super ethera.

The figure is early used by Damasus, _Epit. papae Damasi quod sibi edidit ipse_, Ihm, p. 13:

Qui (God) . . . potuit
post tenebras fratrem, post tertia lumina solis
ad superos iterum Marthae donare sorori . . .

Hengstl, p. 158, cites a twelfth century epitaph for Bishop Alvisus (+1147; MGH:SS, 30, II, 866), wherein the women represent body and soul:

Dum loca sancta peto, petit et mea Martha Mariam.
Martha iacet fessa, non fessa Maria ministrat.
In finem populi finit mea Martha ministrans
Incipit illa soror nescia fine premi.

The figure is used to represent death in Guifred's roll, XIX, 109 Item e (p. 100) and 111 Item a (p. 103). Cf. epitaph for abbot Lithardus, Germany 1566:

Cuncta ministravit fratribus, ut potuit
Defessus tandem, terrena negotio spernens,
Elegit partem Magdalenae parilem.

[25]On murder in classic epitaph, see Lattimore, pp. 151-152; Hengstl cites a number of laments for medieval victims, pp. 104-106.

[26]France 842.

[27]England *9686.

[28]Germany 2856.

[29]Germany *2515, 8072a, *12087?, 13967.

[30]Germany 3374.

[31]France 16366.

[32]England *9636.

[33]Germany 10287?. Cf. Germany 8072a, which also tells

of the circumstances of his death:

> In prece prostratus, Domini mactatus ad aram,
>   Fit pro justitia victima grata Deo.

[34]Germany 5374.

[35]France 842.

[36]Germany 3084.

[37]See Dümmler, MA, I (1876), 178.

[38]AL, I:1, 312-313, 329 (Nos. 397, 398, 399, 432) on _Mors Catonis_. Others in _Gli Epigrammi attribuiti a L. A. Seneca_, ed. Carlo Prato (/Bari, 1955/), on a number of classic people. See also H. H. Davis, "Cicero's Burial," _Phoenix_, XII (1958), 174-177.

[39]France 15374.

[40]The earliest examples I have noted, however, are Italian and Spanish. It Italy *2690a and *16159 the figures appear as a comparison, and the peron of comparison is St. Peter: _Clavigeri instar erat_ . . . (*2690a); _Cetibus equavit naviger angelicis_ . . . (*16159). Spanish epitaph gives classic figures: _Paris alter et alter Achilles_ (8154); _Sanctius, forma Paris et ferox Hector in armis_ (17241), both from second half of eleventh century. The only early example which I have noted is Fortunatus, IV, xxviii, 7-8, MGH:AA, IV, 100:

> cuius in ingenio seu formae corpore pulchro
>   arte Minerva fuit, victa decore Venus.

[41]France 19582.

[42]France 20760.

[43]France 19582, 20760, 11024; Germany 5374.

[44]Spain 8154, 17241; France 19582, 11024.

[45]Spain 8154.

[46]Spain 17241; France 19523.

[47]France 20760, 11024.

[48]France 17923.

[49]France 7016, 13112; also Germany 7814, where Pithagoras, Socrates, Plato, Tully and Maro are mentioned.

[50]France 14057.

[51]Germany 7010.

[52]Maro, Germany 7010.

[53]France 11024, 17923; Germany 7814, 3374.

[54]France 15171.

[55]France 8111.   [56]France 11024.

[57]Germany 3374.

[58]France 7350a.

[59]Germany 136b. The reference to Martha leads to the Martha/Mary figure of death.

[60]Germany 13967.

[61]France 10812a.

[62]France 20760.

[63]England 16279a.

[64]Roll of Foulques, abbot of Corbie, XXV, 10 (p. 142).

[65]France 13112.

[66]Germany 10219a.

[67]Germany *13205. Other poems with mourners include France 147, 15910a, 6708, 14057, 11024; Germany 3335, 7814, 1019a, 7010; Italy 15141.

68Plessis, p. 39.   Date of epitaph is uncertain, but it is probably about the time of death.

69E.g., Seneca, _Hercl. furens_, 1054-55:

> Lugeat aether magnusque parens
> aetheris alti tellusque forax
> et vaga ponti mobilis unda . . .

Catullus 3: _Lugete, o Veneres Cupidinesque_ . . . _passer mortuus est_. See Lattimore, p. 132, for further discussion of topic.

70Hengstl, p. 102.

71Epist. LX, 14: _Tota hunc civitas, tota planxit Italia_, ed. Labourt, III, 103. Inspiration for the mourning of young and old, etc., in Germany 10219a is perhaps Ambrose's _De obitu Valentiani_ (+392), PL, XVI, 1353; as cited Hengstl, p. 101:

> Flent omnes, flent et ignoti, flent et timentes,
> Flent et inviti, flent et barbari, flent et qui
> videbantur inimici . . .

72E.g., Paulus deaconus, XXII, _Epit. Hildegardis Reginae_, 25-30, MGH:PLAC, I, 59:

> Te Francus, Suevus, Germanus et ipse Britannus,
>   Cumque Getis duris plangit Hibera cohors.
> Accola te Ligeris, te deflet et Itala tellus,
>   Ipsaque morte tua anxia Roma gemit.
> Novisti ad fletus et fortia corda virorum,
>   Et lacrimae clipeos inter et arma cadunt.

73Cf. Lattimore, pp. 290-299, 335-339.

74Fortunatus IV, iv, 21, MGH:AA, IV, 82.   Cf. xxiv, 9 (p. 94).

75Sylloge Turonensis, VI, 35, De Rossi, II, 69.   Cf. Raban Maur, XCVI, _Epit. Rutini_, MGH:PLAC, II, 243:

> Ingenio, probitate, fide verbique decore
> Inter regales vixit honore viros.

A number of lists appear in the Carolingian <u>Carmina Varia</u>,
v, <u>Epit. Podonis Episcopi</u>; xi, <u>Epit. Radelchis principis</u>;
xiv, <u>Epit. Ursi</u>, MGH:PLAC, II, 653, 657, 660.

[76]France 7938.

[77]France 2394.

[78]England 11846.

[79]Germany 124a.

[80]Spain 2367.

[81]Italy 13613.

[82]Italy 7335a.

[83]Vital's roll, XXXVIII, 153 (p. 323). For similar
lists, see also France 842, 4739; Germany 1589a; Italy, 1371a.

[84]France 14045. It has a mate in France 20609.

[85]France 953. For other poems of this highly colored
and rhetorical type, see France 15963, 20430, 15106, 2831,
8833, 2916; also France 15374 and 14119, which make use of
sustained metaphor in addition; England 20300a; Germany 8152,
10425, 18354, *6756, 20710.

[86]Germany 5958.

[87]France 6765. Cf. France 16366, 15568, 14713a, 8367;
Germany *15546, 1541a, 11915, for mention of gifts to church.

[88]Cf. Lattimore, p. 338.

[89]<u>Corporis Lavreshamensis sylloge</u>, II, iii, 5, De Rossi,
II, 126.

[90]France *18469a, 15379a, 147, 13869; Germany 16180,
9341, 15880, 16466, 13967; Spain *14477, 19310, *14106;
Italy 8076, *16139. In the rolls, it is most common for

Mathilda, perhaps because that virtue is mentioned in her encyclical.

[91]France 15358.

[92]Germany 7898.

[93]England *8559.

[94]Spain 6358.

[95]XXXVI, 99 (p. 222).

[96]XXXVI, 101 (p. 223).

[97]XXXVI, 104 . . . _Archidiaconi_ (p. 224).

[98]XXXVI, 141 (p. 238).

[99]XXXVI, 175 (p. 255).

[100]XXXVI, 215 _Item alios_ (p. 275).

[101]XXXVIII, 67 (p. 308).

[102]XXXVIII, 17 (p. 292).

[103]_Sylloge Turonensis_, VI, 27, for Deusdedit (I? +618), De Rossi, II, 57:

> Justicie cultor vite servator honeste
> pauperibus dives sed sibi pauper erat

Corpori Lavreshamensis sylloge III, XVI, 10, for Diogenia, De Rossi, II, 164:

> Prodiga pauperibus nam sibi parca nimis

Anthologia . . . . in codice Hispano, XXX, 2, _Edit. Sergis metropolitanus Tarraconensis_ (living 540), De Rossi, II, 294:

> Parcus in abundantia locuplex egentibus vixit.

[104]France 19582, 6708 are of uncertain date; Italy 16285 and France 1272 both come from the early eleventh

century. Fortunatus, IV, xviii, MGH:AA, IV, 91, mentions
pacis amicus; Hengstl, p. 144, notes *epit. Constantii, pacis
amator*, and Epit. Archbishop Brun of Cologne (+965; Kraus,
II, 273), *Bruno pacificus vir bonus atque pius.*

[105] France 6708.

[106] France 20406.

[107] Germany 8072a.

[108] England 17515a. See also France 1272, 19582, 20760;
Germany 1019a, 13501; England 20300a; Italy 16285.

[109] France 9964. Poem as given, by Hildebert, is complete.

[110] Germany 1014. Also England 16279a; Germany 13967,
3374.

[111] France 6765.

[112] France 15171.

[113] XXXVI, 119 Versus Arduini (p. 223).

[114] France 16504.

[115] France 8533.

[116] France 15379a.

[117] XXXVIII, 186 Pueriles versus (p. 338).

[118] XXXVIII, 204 Versus Radulfi filii Fulcredi Cadomensis
(p. 343).

[119] XXXVIII, 55 (p. 303).

[120] France 15358. The phrase is also used by Henry of
Huntingdon in an epitaph for Robert of Lincoln (+1123, about
the time when Vital's roll was in England), England 14261.

[121] So called by Marbod. See Wilhelm Meyer, "Die Arten
der gereimten Hexameter," Gesammelte Abhandlungen (Berlin,

1905), **I**, 95.

[122]France 147.

[123]Germany *17337.

[124]Germany *16661.

[125]Spain 10675.

[126]XLVI, 101 (p. 223).

[127]Sylloge Centulensis, 8th century at Corbei, VII, 52, and Corporis Lavreshamensis Sylloge Quarta, mid 9th century, VIII, 95, De Rossi, II, 90 and 116. These two codices were put together from an earlier one, probably of the seventh century, containing primarily Roman inscriptions. Nulli pietate secundus is in Aen. argum., AL, I:1, 2; Epit. Pope Hadrian, MGH:PLAC, I, 113; Epit. Hludowici Imperatoris, Carmina varia vi, MGH:PLAC, II, 653; an epitaph from Trier, Kraus, II, 177; Baudry of Bourgueil, Abrahams, p. 61. Nulli bonitate secundus: Fortunatus IV, 9; Hibernicus Exul, Epit. for Pippin (+810), MGH:PLAC, I, 405; Carmina varia, MGH:PLAC, II, 655. Nulli de nobilitate secundus: Fortunatus, IV, ix, 11, MGH:AA, IV, 85. Nulli sermone secundus: Baudry of Bourgueil, Abrahams, p. 91. For a number of these references I am indebted to Hengstl, pp. 64, 146.

[128]France 15910a.

[129]France 6856.

[130]France 6557.

[131]Germany 7996.

[132]Phrase and variants in Lattimore illustrations, pp. 54, 177, 213, 261, 283.

[133] XXXVI, 18 (p. 190).

[134] XXXVIII, 3 (p. 285). Also in XXXVI, 33 (p. 195), 124 (p. 230) _mundo d. v. in isto_, 139 (p. 237), 141 (p. 238), 183 (p. 261), 207 (p. 271) _d. v. in orbe_, 215 Item (p. 274); XXXVIII, 117 (p. 320), 186 (p. 337).

[135] XXXVI, 41 (p. 196).

[136] XXXVI, 49 (p. 202).

[137] XXXVI, 139 (p. 235).

[138] XXXVIII, 186 _Pueriles versus_ (p. 338).

[139] XXXVIII, 186 _Pueriles versus_.

[140] XXXVI, 39, 139 (pp. 195, 235).

[141] XXXVIII, 67 (p. 308), for example.

[142] Germany 7898: _mundo dum vixit_; 6756: _dum vixit_.

[143] France 19582: _tua dum viguit_, 20760: _teque vigente_; Germany *1535: _dum flatu et carne vigebat_, *13205: _Dum viguit vita_, 16180: _dum viguit_, *16661: _viguit dum corpore presens_, *8128: _dum viguit_.

[144] Spain 5834 (_vivere dum potui_), 2867 (_Dum sibi posse fuit, vivere dum licuit_); France 14496a (_Vivere proposuit, vivere dum potuit_).

[145] France *13469a.

[146] France 15910a.

[147] France 6708.

[148] France 14119.

[1] Germany *6975a, included among group of selected epitaphs discussed above.

[2]PL, CL, 873. The discussion is reprinted from Histoire littéraire de la France, VIII, 305. I am unable to locate citation; Mabillon is mentioned a few lines later, but there is nothing relevant in Vetera analecta (n.e., Paris, 1723).

[3]MGH:SS, VIII, 542-557.

[4]Germany 5189a.

[5]Germany *12237.

[6]Germany 136b.

[7]MGH:SS, VIII, 550.

[8]France 7850a, MGH:SS, VIII, 554. Cf. CE, p. 331: noua surgere foenix.

[9]Germany 7781a.

[10]Benedict II, abbot of Clusa, +1091.

[11]MGH:SS, XII, 196-208.

[12]MGH:SS, XII, 202.

[13]PL, CL, 1487-88.

[14]PL, CL, 1488.

[15]Initia 4245; M., V (1830), 607.

[16]M., VI (1831), 537. For numerous manuscripts and commentary, see Initia 16140 and PS 25516. Cf. Tibulus, II, 1, 1, Quisquis adest, faveat . . . and II, 11; 2, Quisquis ades, lingua, vir mulierque, fave . . .

[17]De Rossi, II, 223, citing Heidelbergensis scrin. IX, 23 olim monasterii Salem, fol. penultimo (f. 167), manu saeculi XIII, ed. E. Winkelmann, Archivio della società romana di storia patria, II, 561 ff.

[18]Initia 16163.

[19]Initia 16141.

[20]XXVIII, Scott, pp. 217-218; Initia 455.

[21]Scott, p. 268.

[22]Hauréau, MH, p. 199.

[23]Scott, p. 269.

[24]Delisle, pp. 138-144.

[25]XXXI, Scott, pp. 218-219; Initia 18006.

[26]XLIX, Scott, pp. 233-234; Initia 14038.

[27]Scott, p. 283.

[28]Possibly for Odo de Buris, abbot of La Couture in Le Mans; see Scott, p. 250.

[29]VI, Scott, p. 205; Initia 3643.

[30]Analyzed A. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le 'Floridus aspectus,'" Latomus, VIII (1949), 159-168; see also Boutemy, "Recherches sur le Floridus Aspectus," Le Moyen Age, LIV (1948), 89-112.

[31]Misc. 39, PL, 171, 1395-1396.

[1]II, Sylloge Reichenavensis, Vulgato nomine Einsidlensis, De Rossi, II, 9-35.

[2]VII, De Rossi, II, 72-94.

[3]X, Excerpta ex antiqua sylloge Inscriptionum Romanarum, in codice Sangallensis 271 saeculi IX, De Rossi, II, 123 ff.

[4]XVI, Corporis Lavreshamensis sylloge III circumpodana et subalpina, De Rossi, II, 159-173.

[5]XVIII, Syllogae epigraphicae peculiares, De Rossi, II, 185-192. These are from the basilicas of St. Felix and St.

Martin of Tours, but they differ from the material given by
Paulinus of Nola in his letter to Severus. Taken from a
ninth century Cluny codex, at Paris in 1888, they are
perhaps based on an earlier Italian manuscript.

[6]XXII. Anthologia saeculi VII and Appendix Anthologiae
Hispanae, De Rossi, II, 250-255.

[7]XVII. Sylloge epigrammatum Mediolaniensium, confecta
saeculo XI, De Rossi, II, 174-184.

[8]XVII, 15, Arialdo diacono, De Rossi, II, 181.

[9]VI. Sylloge Turonensis in codicibus Closterneoburgensi
et Goettweihensi, De Rossi, II, 53-71.

[10]De Rossi, II, 58. Other editors have suggested the
fourth and the eleventh century.

[11]De Rossi, II, 222-223; see also p. 195-196.

[12]De Rossi, II, 223, quotes only this epitaph. See
above, p. 120.

[13]XIX, De Rossi, II, 195-221.

[14]XIX, 9, 45, 80, and 88; 85 also appears to me to be
an eleventh century poem. It is for Pope Benedict IIII
(+903).

[15]De Rossi, II, 195.

[16]XXXI, 2, and LXVI, 59, De Rossi, II, pp. 306, 430.
LXVI, 4 (p. 410) gives a fuller and possibly more accurate
version of XIX, 88. LXVI, 52, Epit. Silvestri II (+1003),
p. 425, first line only.

[17]Damasus, as in VII, 21, 32, and 48.

[18]II, 75 In sepulchro Sancti Felicis (Damasus), De

Rossi, II, 32: <u>Caelestia regna petisti</u>; epitaph repeated in four different sylloges. II, 77 <u>In basilica Sancti Sebasti</u> (Damasus), De Rossi, II, 32: <u>Aetherios petiere sunus regnaque piorum.</u>

¹⁹

[20]VI, 1, and VIII, 13, epitaph for Caelestin I, De Rossi, II, 62:

> Corporis hic tumulus requiescunt ossa cinisque
> nec perit hinc aliquid domino caro cuncta resurgit
> terenum nunc terra tegit mens nescia mortis
> vivit et aspectu fruitur bene conscia Christi.

[21]VII, 25 (<u>Sylloge Centulensis</u>, VIII century from Corbei), De Rossi, II, 83.

[22]Germany 2356, for Friedrich, Bishop of Liège (+1121): <u>Clauditur hac tumba simplex sine felle columba.</u> Cf. Initia 2355: . . . <u>tumba presul pius, illa columna</u> (Epit. Chuonradi archiep. Salisb.), and Initia 2355a: . . . <u>pridem sine felle columba</u> (Epit. Everardi com.).

[23]VI, 27 (<u>Sylloge Turonensis</u>), De Rossi, II, 67.

[24]VI, 30 (<u>Syl. Turon</u>) and also VIII, 102; VII, 19, De Rossi, II, 69, and elsewhere.

[25]VII, 55, De Rossi, II, 93.

[26]VIII, 15 (<u>Corporis Lavreshamensis</u>), <u>Sylloge Quarta</u> De Rossi, II, 100: <u>sine fine dolor.</u> The poem is repeated in several sylloges. XVI, 9 (<u>Corporis Lavreshamensi Sylloge III</u>; from Milan), De Rossi, II, 164: <u>sine fine suis.</u> XIX, 37 (<u>Petri Lallii</u>; for Pope Boniface IV, +615), De Rossi, II, 208: <u>sine fine manet.</u>

[27]e.g., Germany 2267: <u>sine fine quies</u>; Germany *5756:

sine fine dies.

[28]This appears, with small variations, in VII, 3; VIII, 74; XIX, 38; XXII, 3; XXV, 9; see De Rossi, II, 52.

[29]The codices used by Karl Strecker, "Grabschriften," MGH:PL V:2, 281-353, may contain fragments of epitaph collections which stand between the Carolingian sylloges and Ekkehard's work.

[30]Egli, pp. 397-407. The epitaphs and other poems from this codex are not included in Walther's Initia.

[31]6. Epitaphium Ariboni archiepiscopo Iorontino, Egli, p. 397; 3 Dst, 2s l.

[32]See Kraus, II, 21-23.

[33]7. Epitaphium Vualtheri Spirensis episcopi, Egli, p. 398; 5 Dst, 2s l.

[34]13. Epit. Herimanno laico ad hostium apostolorum, Egli, p. 406; 5 Dst, l.

[35]13. Epit. Purchardo minori abbati, Egli, pp. 403-405; 7 Dst, l, much 2s rhyme.

[36]14. Epit. quatuor scolarum magistris eque tumulatis, Egli, pp. 405-406; 7 Dst, l.

[37]10. Epit. Ekkehardo monacho presbitero maiori decano (+973), 6 Dst, l; 11. Epit. Ekkehardo monacho presbitero preposito Iogontiaco apud Sanctum Albanum sepulto (+990), 6 Dst, l; 12. Epit. Ekkehardo monacho presbitero minori tempore decano (X-XI cent.), 5 Dst, l; Egli, pp. 401-403.

[38]9. Epit. sancte Rachilde virginis recluse, Egli, p. 399; 10 Dst, l, the last headed Unde supra metrum retrogradum.

[39]3. Edit. Sancto Notkero monacho, qui sequentias /composuit7, Egli, p. 399; 6 Dst, mainly 2s l.

[40]16, Egli, p. 407; 5 Dst, mainly 2s l.

[41]Egli, p. 397.

[42]Cf. Kraus, II, No. 393, with Greek words. Elsewhere in Kraus there are epitaphs with concluding Greek lines. The use of Greek in epitaphs seems limited to early eleventh century German work, probably the influence of Irish missionaries of preceding centuries.

[43]E.g., Nulla ut lucivomum valet arte restinguere lyknum, Egli, p. 400; in paradysiacis, p. 401 and 406; symmista, psychen, p. 402; estifera, p. 404; symphona, p. 406.

[44]Egli, p. 407.

[45]Egli, p. 400.

[46]Omont, Mélanges Julien Havet (Paris, 1895), pp. 211-236.

[47]No. 26, for two young brothers, unnamed and unidentified, are also apparently Fulcoius' own.

[48]7. Hugonis, Omont, p. 222.

[49]36. Bartholomaei, Omont, p. 233.

[50]12. Gervasii, Remorum Archipresulis, Omont, p. 226.

[51]14. Hermanni, Remensis magistri, Omont, p. 226.

[52]7. Hugonis, Omont, p. 222.

[53]21. Walcherii juvenis, Omont, p. 223.

[54]44. Parcarum, Omont, pp. 234-235.

[55]Omont, pp. 228-229.

[56]11. Simonis, comitis Crispiacensis; 31. Evae matronae;

15. Suessionensis Adam; 27. Adam fratris Fulcoii.

[57]5. Henrici /I/ regis, Omont, p. 220.

[58]25. Hildrici prepositi /Meldensis/, Omont, p. 229.

[59]40. Arnulfi, Omont, p. 234.

[60]Omont, p. 227.

[61]Ivoni, Sancti Dionisii abbati, Omont, p. 220.

[62]Godefridi Prioris Epigrammata Historica, Wright,
ALSP, II, 148-155.

[63]Wright, II, 149.

[64]Wright, II, 153.

[65]For summary of poems and their arrangement, see
Appendix C. Abrahams, pp. xxii-xxiii and footnote, p. 56,
states, "Cette pièce/XLIX/ et les pièces L-LXXXVII sont
écrites pour des rouleaux des morts." At no point in the
book does she give her reasons for making this statement;
most of the poems in question are tomb epitaphs. Her dis-
cussion of the veritable death roll poems in the index is
substantially correct.

[66]Abrahams, pp. 106-107.

[67]Abrahams, Index: Aubert.

[68]Abrahams, pp. 316-319; cf. AB, I:2, pp. 72-76.

[69]Abrahams, p. 101.

[70]Abrahams, p. 85.

[71]Abrahams, p. 92.

[72]Abrahams, p. 72.

[73]I include here the epitaph for Berengar of Tours,
archdeacon of Angers, though this office is not mentioned

in the epitaph.

[74]Abrahams, p. 80.

[75]LIX, LXII (2s), LXIII (part assonance), CI, L (2s), LXXII (part leonine, part caudati), CXXVI, CXVII, CIX, CXV, CVI, CXI, LXXXIX.

[76]Abrahams, pp. 89-91.

[77]LXXIV. Super Benedictam reclusam, Abrahams, p. 73.

[78]Epistola encyclica and Tituli funebres de S. Brunone Conf., Acta Sanctorum: Octobris III (Paris and Rome, 1868), 736-765.

[79]Delisle, p. 155. The Bollandist editors say little about the roll itself.

[80]In the roll as published, each separate poem is given a number, even though several groups of poems come from a single institution; thus the "title numbers" actually end at No. 178 as published. For the purposes of comparison, I have counted multiple poems, from a single institution, as a single title entry, as does Delisle. The multiple entries are: 22-23, 31-32, 52-56, 66-67, 70-71, 74-75, 100-101, 107-108, 123-124, 125-126, 129-130, 133-134, 135-136, 137-142, 143-144, 150-151, 155-156, 160-163, 172-175.

[81]E.g., from Sections I and II, in a total of 59 titles containing poetry, the concluding request for mutual prayers is found in 8 poems: 13, 21, 25, 26, 35, 48, 58, 59.

[82]No. 111, 21 lines; No. 131, 58 lines; No. 146, 22 lines, No. 166, 27 lines.

[83]No. 56, serpentine; No 92, tirade; No. 150, ventrini.

[84]See André Boutemy, "Quelques observations sur le recueil des poésies attribuées autrefois à Philippe de Harvengt, Abbé de Bonne-Espérance," RB, LIII (1941), 112-118; see p. 117..

[1]Gli Epigrammi . . . Seneca, ed. Carlo Prato, Nos. 7-15, 13, 19, 22, 40, 45, 53, 61-64. There are others in AL.

[2]Prato, No. 71; Initia 5960. Walther attributes it to Hildebert, but as Hauréau, HM, p. 141, points out, it appears in a ninth century manuscript; cf. AL, I:2, 126.

[3]No. 99b, OB, I:2, 134.

[4]OV I, 56, PL 171, 1684-1685.

[5]Martial, I, xiii. Cf. I, xlii.

[6]XIX, **Scott**, pp. 210-211; Initia 4863 (PL 171, 1447). See Scott, pp. 256-260, for commentary on authorship and text; he suggests, p. 260, that Hildebert drew the idea for the poem from Livy, I.58, not Ovid (Fasti II.721).

[7]Hauréau, HM, p. 192; Initia 5915.

[8]XXIII, **Scott**, p. 215; Initia 4902 (Indif. AL, PL 171, 1445).

[9]Scott, p. 255.

[10]Cf. The Greek Anthology, trans. W. R. Paton (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), II, 102-107; IX, 317; IX, 783; also AL, I:1, 262, In puellam hermaphroditam, from Liber epigrammaton Luxori, and I:1, 214 (No. 265).

[11]De ortu et morte pueri cujusdam monstruosi. Indif. VIII, PL 171, 1445-46; Initia 19940. By Peter Riga; cf.

Boutémy, Latomus, VIII (1949), p. 161, No. 14 in MS Arsenal
1136. Also see Raby, SLP, II, 34, on attribution.

[12]Scott, p. 255, notes "Poems on the same subject are
to be found in K /British Museum Additional MS. 24199 s.xii
end/ (fol 77[V], three distichs beg: natura faciente ed.
Boutemy Lat. 2 p. 32) and A /Bodleian Library, Rawlinson
G.109 s.xiii[1]/ (fol. 67) beg: cum dubitat natura." The
latter appears to be AL I:1, 214, No. 263, dum dubitat natura
                                       is
marem faceretne puellam; the former∧ Initia 11602.

[13]PL 171, 1446 (Indif. IX); Initia 6792.

[14]   AL, I:1, 148, No. 180. The editors comment:
"Simile distichon est in Lips. I 74, Sangall. 899, Petrop.:

          Anguis aper iuuenis pereunt ui uulnere morsu:
          Sus iacet extinctus, serpens pede, ille ueneno

addito c. 31, 2. Homerus de Euandro fratre Alexandri regis
errante in silua . . . Utrumque coniungit C fol.121:
Versus Virgilii cum uiderat↑ audierat iuuenem aprum inter-
ficientes ac tunc improuisū calcantes serpentem:

          /S/us, iuuenis, serpens casum uenere sub unum.
          Sus iacet (iaculo Magenus) extinctus, serpens pede,
                            ille ueneno
          Anguis aper iuuenis pereunt ui uulnere morsu:
          Hic fremit, ille gemit, sibilat hic moriens.

Sic fere et Vaticanus 3257 (olim Bembinus) s. IX . . . et
Parisinus 8093 s. XI-XII. Ex simili epigrammate uersus in
cod. Bern. fol. 207 s. X, de quo cf. Analecta Helvetica ed.
Hagenus p. CCXXVI (cf. Isidor. or. I 16):

          Anguis pressa perit, fera telo, uirque ueneno."

[15]Cf. Boutemy, Latomus, VIII, p. 161 (No. 15, MS).

[16]Hauréau, N&E, III, 266; Initia 19639.

[17]Hauréau, N&E, III, 304; Initia 6760.

[18]Serlo of Wilton, Öberg, p. 88; Initia 11335. Many of the short sayings, PS 15111-15221, beginning with the word mors are also probably of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

[19]Initia 19639, above, appears in eleven different MSS, sometimes independently, sometimes part of a longer poem; Serlo's poem, Initia 11335, is one in a series of epigrams. Initia 10911, _Mens mala mors intus, malus actus mors foris/ usus_ . . . , is another both quoted and given in isolation frequently.

[20]"Appendix," Draco Normannicus, in Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, HenryII, and Richard I, ed. Richard Howlett (London, 1885), II, 765-779.

[21]Howlett, p. 763.

[22]MGH:SS, XI, 221.

[23]Suppl. VI, PL 171, 1455; Initia 7165. See Hauréau, III, p. 163.

[24]XXXV, Öberg, pp. 108-109.

[25]Öberg, Appendix 1:A, 3, pp. 124-125.

[26]Lib. II, Cap. 194, ed. Stubbs, I, 235; Initia 2287. Poem, which appears in six different MSS, has inspired considerable commentary, primarily about date, subject, and authorship; cf. MGH:SS, X, 463.

[27]St. Martin of Tournai florilegium II, 1029 (XII century) and St. Omer 61 (XIII). See Boutemy, Revue Belge,

XVII (1938), 742.

²⁸Revue Belge, XVII, 742; Initia lacking.

²⁹"Appendix ad cod. 2414," Catalogus Codicum . . . Parisiensi, ed. Hagiographi Bollandiani, I (1889, Brussels), 116-117; Initia 17705.

³⁰Versus angeli, quos dedit Jerosolimis cuidam viro pernoctanti ad sepulcrum domini anno, quo interfectus est archiepiscopus Cantuarie , Romanische Forschungen, VI (1891), 9-10; Initia 4343. In a XIII cent. MS (Vienna 609, f. 23ᵛ), the title is shortened to Versus quos angelus detulit supra sepulcrum Domini, so that reference to Thomas of Canterbury is lost.

³¹CB, I:1, 209; Initia 1289 (Aus Otlohs Liber proverbiorum).

³²See Initia 1289, PS 1118.

³³Abrahams, p. 64. But see also Walther Bulst, "Studien zu Marbods Carmina varia . . . ," Göttingen Nachrichten, Phil.-hist. Kl., Fach. IV, N.F. Band II, Nr. 10, pp. 230-231, (1939), who points out that a hemistich common to the two poems comes from Ovid Met. V, 549 (dirum mortalibus omen) and questions Marbod's authorship of Ad nuntium mortis.

³⁴OV I: 39, PL 171, 1672-73; Initia 2251.

³⁵OV I:40, PL 171, 1673-1674; Initia 1890.

³⁶OV I: 41, PL 171, 1674; Initia 2782.

³⁷OV I: 42, PL 171, 1674; Initia 18778.

³⁸OV I: 43, PL 171, 1674-75; Initia 12266.

³⁹OV I: 44, PL 171, 1675; Initia 16281.

[40]CV I: 55, PL 171, 1684; Initia 11327.

Chapter IV

[1]For German poetic inscriptions, see especially Die Deutschen Inschriften (Stuttgart, 1942-), Akademien der Wissenschaften Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Leipzig, Munich, and Österreichischen Akademie der Wiss., Vienna. Vol. II of this series, Die Inschriften der Stadt Mainz von frühmittelalterlicher Zeit bis 1650, ed. Fritz Viktor Arens and Konrad F. Bauer (Suttgart, 1963), includes building and object titles, omits book and miniature titles, recorded titles for objects now disappeared. MGH:PL, V:2 (Berlin, 1939), ed. Karl Strecker, gives poetic titles of the Ottonian period (c. 900-1125), "Grabschriften," "Inschriften und Aufschriften," "Bucheinträge," "Verse in Miniaturenhand-schriften," and fugitive verse of other types; objects and art not fully described, full documentation. Franz Xaver Kraus, Die Christlichen Inschriften der Rheinlande: Von der Mitte des achten bis zur Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, 2 vols. (Freiburg, 1894), gives full descriptions, titles for objects now lost.

For Italy, see Vincenzo Forcella, ed., Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma: dal secolo XI fino al giorni nostri, 14 vols. (Rome, 1869-1884), and Iscrizioni delle Chiese e degli altri edifici di Milano dal secolo VIII al giorni nostri, 12 vols. (Milan, 1889-1893). Milan series

has chronological index, Rome series does not; mosaic and
fresco titles omitted from both.

Few poetic titles were apparently written in Spain.
Manuel Gómez-Moreno, Catalogo monumental de España: Provincia
de León (1906-1908), 2 vols. (Madrid, 1925), and Aemilius
Hübner, Inscriptiones Hispaniae (Berlin, 1871), pp. 67-90,
give only a few verse epitaphs, no epigrammatic object titles.

As far as I can determine, English and French titles
appear only in local collections. Hübner, Inscriptiones
Britanniae Christianae (Berlin and London, 1876), and
Épigraphie ou Recueil des inscriptions du Département du
Nord ou du diocèse de Cambrai, ed. Th[re] Leuridan, Société
d'études de la Province de Cambrai, Memoires, Vols. VIII-
XI, XXI-XXVIII (1903-1948), contain no epigrammatic titles
from the eleventh or twelfth centuries.

[2]Many recent art books with titled objects are available;
I have made particular use here of John Beckwith, Early
Medieval Art: Carolingian, Ottonian, Romanesque (London,
1964); Suzanne Collon-Gevaert et al., Art Roman dans la
vallée de la Meuse aux XIe et XIIe siècles (Brussels, 1962);
Georges Duby, The Making of the Christian West: 930-1140,
trans. Stuart Gilbert (Geneva, 1967); Joseph Gantner and
Marcel Pobé, Romanesque Art in France, trans. Marie Heyne-
mann (Norwich, England, 1956); Léon Gischia and Lucien
Mazenod, Les Arts primitifs Français (Paris, 1953); Hubert
Schrade, Die Romanische Malerei (Cologne, 1963); Wolfram von
den Steinen, Homo Caelestis: Das Wort der Kunst im Mittel-

<u>alter</u>, 2 vols. (Bern, 1956). The works of Joan Evans also have pictures with titles.

[3]See "Aufschrift und Beischrift," Gröber, II, 1, for titles in manuscripts published before 1900; see also descriptive library catalogues, such as N&E; Hauréau, N&E; and <u>Bibliotheca Casinensis</u>, which publish some titles in descriptions of MSS. Initia generally omits titles; PS includes some.

[4]Schrade, p. 91.

[5]My transcription from illustration, Schrade, p. 132.

[6]Schrade, p. 20.

[7]See illustration, Duby, p. 138; cf. illustration, p. 168, from same church.

[8]My transcription, illustration, Duby, p. 189.

[9]<u>Picture que est in capitolis claustri S. Maximini de miraculis eiusdem confessoris</u>, MGH:PL, V:1, 147-152. See also Kraus, II, 130-132.

[10]MGH:PL, V:1, 152.

[11]<u>Ad picturas claustri Sancti Galli</u>, Egli, pp. 369-381; see also intro., pp. xvi-xvii.

[12]Egli, pp. xvii-xviii.

[13]<u>Versus ad picturas domus domini Mogontine: veteris testamenti et novi: Aribone archiepiscopo iubente modulati: eligantur, qui picturis conveniant</u>, Egli, pp. 316-368.

[14]Egli, pp. xix-xxi.

[15]ll. 399-408, Egli, p. 343.

[16]ll. 568-575, Egli, p. 368.

[17] I-XIV, Lokrantz, pp. 53-54.

[18] Lokrantz, p. 54.

[19] III-V, De incarnato verbo; VI, Super Virginis partum; VII, Super beatam Mariam; VIII-XII, Super passionem Domini; XIV, Super Jesum et super Pilatum; XIII and XV, Super crucifixum; XVI, Super spinis coronatum; XVII-XIX, De sole detenebrato; XX-XXI, De sole et luna; XXII, De luna; XXVI (on Lazarus), XXVII (on Christ), XXVIII (on the Christian warrior), Abrahams, pp. 4-8.

[20] Abrahams, pp. 6-7.

[21] My transcription, illustration, Schrade, p. 140; no date given.

[22] Joan Evans, Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period (Cambridge, England, 1950), p. 8. Bertran was prior in 1122.

[23] Wischnia, fig. 195, p. 155.

[24] PL, CLXXIX, 287-288.

[25] Lokrantz, p. 61.

[26] CLII and CLIII, Lokrantz, p. 55.

[27] LXVI. Petri Sabini syll. inscri. christ., 59 and 60, De Rossi, II, 426.

[28] PL 171, 1281-1284.

[29] Hauréau, NH, p. 153, "M. l'abbé Bourassé les a trouvées, dit-il, reunies dans le n° 117 des manuscrits de Tours. Ailleurs on les trouve dispersées."

[30] André Wilmart, "Le Florilège de Saint-Gatien," RB, XLVIII (1936), pp. 253-258.

[51]PL 171, 1281.

[52]No. 19, PL 171, 1283.

[53]Nos. 32, Ubi Christi pingitur imago, and 45, Subter Christi imaginem, PL 171, 1283-34.

[54]Nos. 49 and 50, PL 171, 1284; the second is given as corrected by Hauréau, AH, p. 155.

[55]PL 171, 1426-1427. See also CV I: 19, PL 171, 1656, for a Christ in majesty.

[56]PL 171, 1590-1591.

[57]Analysis given of Arsenal MS 1136, André Boutemy, Latomus, VIII (1949), pp. 159-160.

[58]Boutemy, Latomus, VIII, p. 159; PL 171, 1590.

[59]PL 171, 1591.

[40]Ed. F. Liebermann, "Raginald von Canterbury," NA, XIII (1888), 533-555.

[41]

[42]PL 171, 1287-1288. See Wilmart, RB, XLVIII (1936), 15.

[43]Ed. W. Wattenbach, "Vita Hildegundis metrica und andere Verse," NA, VI (1881), 539; Initia 5701.

[44]Duby, p. 115.

[45]Annales Hornatienses, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH:SS, XVII, 37-53; also Kraus, II, 79 (No. 170), not complete.

[46]Kraus, II, 54 (No. 115).

[47]Varia carmina, PL, CCIIII, 97-98.

[48]Ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, Oeuvres complètes de

Suger, La Société de l'histoire de France, Vol. 43 (Paris, 1867), pp. 151-209 (: PL, CLXXVI, 1211-1240). See also De consecratione ecclesiae, Larche, p. 224, for other church titles.

[49]Larche, p. 205.

[50]Kraus, II, 179 (No. 372), probably from the twelfth century.

[51]Kraus, II, 119 (No. 254). Other eleventh century German church dedications are Kraus, II, 62, 89 (Nos. 142, 199). Closely related are a collegiate church inscription, Kraus, II, 60 (No. 138), of the late twelfth century, and an epigram inscribed beside a privilege for the city of Worms over the door of the cathedral, Kraus, II, 78 (No. 169). The privilege was granted by Emperor Frederick I in 1184.

[52]XXVIII. Sylloge Nicolai Laurentii, No. 9 (78), De Rossi, II, 328; Super columnas portici ecclesie S. Marie maioris in honorem Eugenii pape tercij /+1153/ qui dictam ecclesiam fecit. Other Italian dedications apparently from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, De Rossi, II, 322 (cf. p. 307; No. 4), 426 (No. 59), and 439 (No. 136).

[53]Schrade, p. 16.

[54]Lapida de la consagracion del monasterio de Santa Maria de Belmonte, Don José Amador de los Rios, Historia Crítica de la Literatura Española, II (Madrid, 1862), 351. The date is 1197 A.D., the usual 38 years earlier than the Spanish aera date.

[55]Gantner, p. 61 (ill., fig 110).

[56]Schrade, p. 13.

[57]Steinen, I, 268 (ill., II, 219).

[58]Kraus, II, 55 (No. 119). Another triumphal arch inscription is given p. 64 (No. 148).

[59]My reading of illustration, Gantner, pp. 63-64 (Plate 135). The west portal at the cathedral of Jaca (Huesca), Spain, showing a monogram of Christ flanked by lions, late 11th to mid-12th century, illustrated Duby, p. 138, and the tympanum of the Last Judgment signed by Gislebertus at the cathedral Saint-Lazare of Autun, from about 1130, illustrated Robert Philippe et al., eds., Le métamorphoses de l'humanité: 1100/1300 (Paris, 1965), pp. 82-83, possibly bear poetry, to judge from difficult to read illustrations.

[60]See Kenneth John Conant, "The Iconography and the Sequence of the Ambulatory Capitals of Cluny," Speculum, V (1930), 278-287; Richard Wingate Lloyd, "Cluny Epigraphy," Speculum, VII (1932), 336-349; Joan Evans, Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period (Cambridge, England, 1950), pp. 110-119, fig. 192a-197a, 202-207.

[61]Lloyd, Speculum, VII, 346.

[62]Lloyd, Speculum, VII, 347. I omit indications of abbreviations and guesswork. The second title obviously lacks a foot from the beginning. The titles are quite hard to read in their present state, with many chips on the edges and painted parts almost vanished.

[63]Lloyd, Speculum, VII, 348.

[64]CLXXXVII. <u>Circa crucifixum</u>, Abrahams, p. 182 (: PL 171, 1426, Misc 36). Abrahams notes various versions of this inscription in several other manuscripts. Another cross inscription by Baudry is XIII. <u>Super crucifixum</u>, p. 5.

[65]In addition to the eight below, VI. <u>In crucifixo</u>, VIa, XXXVII, XL, Strecker, Froumund, pp. 27, 28, 99, 121.

[66]Strecker, Froumund, p. 212 (XL).

[67]LIX, <u>De cruce</u>, and LX, <u>Item de S. cruce duobus invicem inimicis</u>, Lokrantz, p. 64.

[68]XIII, <u>Sub cruce, ex persona crucifixi</u>, Arnulf of Lisieux, PL, COI, 200. Cf. <u>Dulcis amice vides</u> (Initia 4305), in S. Löwenfeld, "Kleinere Beiträge," NA, XI (1886), 608. Other cross titles in tituli sections of PL 171, mentioned above, notes 55 and 56; also Misc LVI, PL 171, 1407.

[69]Steinen, I, 269 (ill. II, 225).

[70]Kraus, II, 40-41 (No. 34).

[71]Kraus, II, 64 (No. 147).

[72]E. Dümmler, "Verse des 11. Jahrhunderts," NA, VI (1881), 446; Initia 3247.

[73]E.g., <u>Versus circa crucifixi picturam</u>, associated with Serlo of Wilton's poetry, Öberg, p. 124.

[74]PL, CCIV, 158. Reiner quotes another cross inscription, identified as such, <u>Lacrymarum II</u>, col. 170; Initia 10865, long bibliography. Another, <u>Circa crucifixum</u>, is included in his <u>varia carmina</u>, col. 97-98; Initia 3484a.

[75]XL, Strecker, Froumund, p. 121; Initiae 8153, 17583, 7432, 10776, 4481, 4558.

[76]Collon-Gevaert, pp. 248-249 (illustrated).

[77]Kraus, II, 65 (No. 149).

[78]Steinen, I, 258.

[79]My transcriptions from Collon-Gevaert, pp. 136-137 and fig. 5; Duby, p. 105.

[80]Collon-Gevaert, pp. 136-137.

[81]Steinen, I, 255 (ill. II, 92). The statue inscription noted Kraus, II, 27 (No. 57) is also an epitaph.

[82]PL, CIL, 263.

[83]Strecker, "Inschriften," MGH:PL, V:2, 365; illustration in Duby, p. 37.

[84]Letter No. 50, W. Wattenbach, "Aus den Briefen des Guido von Bazoches," NA, XVI (1391), 97.

[85]CLXXVI. Circa lapidem altaris suis, Abrahams, p. 181.

[86]CCXIII, Abrahams, p. 319.

[87]XX-XXVIII, ed. Liebermann, NA, XIII (1888), 549-555.

[88]XIX. Versus stallo suo suprascripti et ab ipso compositi, Symbolum electorum. Brewer, I, 364.

[89]XX. Versus trilices super dextrum chorum and Super sinistrum; XXXI. De senioribus unde viginti quinque: Item super chorum, ed. Liebermann, NA, XIII (1888), 555-556.

[90]André Grabar, L'Art de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen âge (Paris, 1968), I, 367-369; illustrations, III, No. 92, 93.

[91]Louis Réau, as quoted Collon-Gevaert, p. 34.

[92]Karl Drexler and Thomas Strommer, Der Verduner Altar: ein Emailwerk des XII. Jahrhunderts im Stifte Klosterneuburg

(Vienna, 1903), pp. 4-5.

93Drexler, p. 7.

94Drexler, p. 7.

95Drexler, pp. 7, 8, cites this title as Vvulnere
/rede: munere/ dignare regina fidem Salomonis (Title 12).
The title immediately to the left, showing the circumcision
of Samson (Title 9) he transcribes as misticat in donis is
notat istum jussio legis. His illustrations bear out this
reading. As is obvious in the photograph given by Collon-
Gevaert, p. 36, the two misplaced plates have been exchanged
once more, apparently fairly recently.

96Drexler, pp. 3-4, suggests that the six added pictures
are those showing the death of Abel and Abner, coupled with
Iudas' kiss (Titles 22-24) and the deposition scene, with
Eve and the deposed kings of Jericho (Titles 28-30). If he
is correct, the central section was six files broad, with
the Last Supper and Passion in the middle.

97Steinen, I, 271.

98Collon-Gevaert, pp. 162-167, for transcription and
commentary.

99Collon-Gevaert, pp. 194-195.

100Kraus, II, 73 (No. 154).

101CCLIII, De rota in eadem ecclesia pendente, quae dum
volubili giro assidue vertitur, lampades ardentes quae in ea
pendent nec extinguntur, nec conduunt, nec oleum effunditur,
and CCLIV, De corona eiusdem ecclesiae, in qua sunt XII
turres, in quibus sunt imagines arte mechanica se moventes

et quasi exsilientes, Abrahams, pp. 361-362.

[102]Kraus, II, 133 (No. 577). See also Kraus, II, 59,
63, 150 (Nos. 132, 146, 303) for other eleventh century
German chandelier titles.

[103]Kraus, II, 65 (No. 150). Bucket and inscription are
reproduced in Arens and Bauer, eds., *Die Inschriften der*
Stadt Mainz, p. 353. In the upper inscription, Kraus'
reading *quadruplum* is in error. See also Kraus, II, 174
(No. 361) for a font inscription from Trier.

[104]Ed. Dümmler, M., VI (1881), 445; Initia 13674.

[105]*Varia carmina*, PL, CCIV, 97-98. See also Peter
Damian's inscriptions for liturgical spoons, which he calls
benedictions, LXVI, LXVII, LXIII, Lokrantz.

[1]Munich, Staatsbibl., clm. 4454, fol. 25^V, described
and pictured, Steinen, I, 249 and II, 153.

[2]Ed. Strecker, MGH:PL, V:2, 435.

[3]But cf. Steinen, I, 249, who seems to interpret the
imago minor as the winged figure, the *substantia maior* as
die grössere Substanz (der deus-homo). *Praetitulante*, "to
put a title in front of something," is chosen to suggest
that Matthew's gospel, the first, serves as "title" for the
incarnation.

[4]Bamberg, Staatsbibl. cod. bibl. 140, fol. 59^V 160^r,
discussed and illustrated Steinen, I, 281-282 and II, 243.
Cf. four two-line titles, Steinen, pp. 230-231, for a
miniature of Emperor Henry II (1002-1024) in the time before
his coronation, Munich, clm. 4456, fol. 11^r.

[5]Strecker, MGH:PL, V:2, 432.

[6]Bremen, Staatsbibl. Cod. C. 21, fol. 78^V 79^r, discussed and illustrated Steinen, I, 235, and II, 83-89. Transcriptions mine.

[7]Brussels, Biblithèque royale de Belgique, ms. II, 2570, fol. 3^r, discussed and illustrated Collon-Gevaert, 159-161.

[8]As transcribed Collon-Gevaert, p. 159. The writing is hardly readable. Other eleventh century manuscripts with epigrammatic titles are pictured in Beckwith, pp. 114, 122, 136.

[9]Liège, Bibliothèque de l'université, ms. 365C, discussed and illustrated Collon-Gevaert, pp. 226-223.

[10]Codex CLXXIX, pp. 145-146, described Bibliotheca Casinensis seu Codicum manuscriptorum qui in tabulario Casinensi asservantur, IV (Monte Cassino, 1880), 82-83.

[11]Bibl. Casinensis, p. 83.

[12]Carmina Burana, fol. 1^r, reproduced as frontispiece, CB, I:1, commentary II:1, 30*-31*.

[13]Corpus Christi Coll. MS., Cambridge, 66, fol. 66: Imago Mundi, XII century, showing Fortune and Sapience, reproduced Howard R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), plate V facing page 112.

[14]PL, CCIV, 79-90.

[15]PL, CCIV, 85-86.

[16]PL, CCIV, 89-90.

[17]AH, I:1, 247-250

[18]PL, CCIV, 89-92; Initia 1451a.

[19]Ed. Karl Pertz, MGH:SS, XI, 591-631; especially Epygrama libri primi, pp. 599-612.

[20]Ed. Strecker, "Bucheinträge," MGH:PL, V:2, 380; also MGH:SS, IV, 673; Initia 12936a.

[21]Öberg, p. 83.

[22]PL, CL, 1300-1301; Initia 7372a.

[23]Tituli capitum Libri I and Liber secundus: In primis metrice dictus, Guidonis Disciplina Farfensis, PL, CL, 1193-94 and 1249. Neither is listed in Initia. The opening of the second, Quisquis ad aeternam mavult conscendere regnum, is similar to Initia 16131: Quisquis ad eternam cupiens pertingere vitam (De initio ordinis Cistert.), found in seven MSS, the earliest of the XIII century.

[24]See Oratio XIX, PL, CLVIII, 899, and Meditatio XVIII, col. 793, Initia 18496.

[25]Ed. Wattenbach, NA, XVI (1891), 104; cf. letter No. 32, p. 99, Initia 6701.

[26]Augustinus Theinerus, De Sancti Anselmi Lucensis canonum collectione: Dissertatio, PL, CIL, 537-38, quotes the poem.

[27]PL, CIL, 1081-1082.

[28]Ed. Dümmler, "Gedichte aus dem elften Jahrhundert," NA, I (1876), 180.

[29]Cf. MGH:PLAC, I, 320:

> Nauta rudis pelagi ut saevis ereptus ab undis
>   In portum veniens pectora laeta tenet,
> Sic scriptor fessus, calamum sub calce laboris

Deponens, habeat pectora laeta satis.
Ille Deo dicat grates pro sospite vita,
Proque laboris agat iste sui requie.

Charles H. Beeson, A Primer of Medieval Latin (Chicago, 1925),
says it is a common subscription in medieval manuscripts;
Walther, Initia 11637, gives no MS references.

[30]Ed. Dümmler, "Aus Handschriften," NA, V (1880), 625.

[31]Ed. G. Waitz, "Pariser Handschriften," NA, VI (1881),
487; Initia 8528. A preferable transcription, differing
slightly, is given with other tituli from Hautmont MSS, by
J. Leclercq, "Les manuscrits de l'abbaye d'Hautmont,"
Scriptorium, VII (1953), 66.

[32]As described by Waitz, NA, VI, 487. Other book titles
appear in Haureau, NBE, I, 29 and 351; III, 10, 11, 142, and
222; HGM:PL, V:2, 408; PL 171, 1448 (Indif XVIII) and 1678
(CV I: XLVII); Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, "L'escola poètica de
Ripoll en els segles X-XIII," Institut d'Estudis Catalans,
Secció hist.-arqueo., Anuari MCMXV-XX, Vol. VI, 82-84, along
with benedictions and building inscriptions.

[33]Letter No. 4, Nobili adolescenti, ed. Wattenbach,
NA, XVI (1891), 73.

[34]NA, XVI, 73.

[35]LXXI and LXXII, Abrahams, p. 72.

[36]XXIV, Abrahams, p. 12.

[37]Abrahams, p. 7.

[38]Abrahams, p. 196.

[39]No. 45, In mensa, Omont, p. 235.

[40]XXIV. Versus armariolo librorum Giraldi quo composuit

suprascripti, Brewer, I, 369; Initia 2450.

[41]Brewer, I, 370; Initia 14017.

[42]Du Cange (Niort, 1883), II, 385: Coclearius: Vide Cauculatores. II, 234: Cauculatores: . . . praestigiatores . . . . vel qui cauculis, seu poculis amatoriis, cibis, vel phylacteriis ita mentes quorumdam inficiunt, ut in insaniam versi a plerique judicentur . . . coclearii . . .

[43]Strecker, Froumund, p. 91; Initia 10859.

[44]MGE, XXXI:1, 140, from St. Omer 115; Initia 3685.

[45]OV II: VIII, PL 171, 1719; Initia 8313.

[46]Marchegay et Salmon, Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou, pp. 380-381, as quoted Abrahams, p. 270.

[47]CCXIV, Abrahams, p. 270.

[48]CXCVI, Adelae Comitissae, ll. 1328-1333, Abrahams.

[49]Aemilius Hübner, Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae (Berlin and London, 1876), p. 16 (No. 44), from Llanamlwch.

Chapter V

[1]C. H. Talbot, Florilegium Morale Oxonense . . . II:
Flores Auctorum (Louvain and Lille, 1956), p. 20, citing
John of Salisbury, Policraticus, ed. C. Webb, II, 125.

[2]Ed. H. H. Omont, "Notice sur le manuscrit Latin 886
des nouvelles acquisitions de la Bibliothèque Nationale . . . ,"
N&E, XXXIX (1909), 26; Initia 13374. On identity of poet,
see P. E. Beichner, "The Champagne Letter Writer and Peter
Riga," Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale, XXX
(1963), 336-340.

[3]CV II, XXX, PL 171, 1724; Initia 17359.

[4]Othloni Libellus proverbiorum, ed. William Charles
Korfmacher (Chicago, 1936), p. 2; also in PL, XC, 1089 ff.

[5]Florilegium Morale Oxonense, II, 6-7. Talbot cites a
recent study, Dom. H-M. Rochais, "Contribution à l'histoire
des florilèges ascétiques du haut moyen âge latin: le 'Liber
Scintillarum,'" RB (1953), pp. 246-291, which I have not
examined.

[6]Hauréau, N&E, I, 211. See I, 208-213 for description
of MS. The little poems are discussed pp. 211-212.

[7]Hauréau, N&E, I, 225-237.

[8]Hauréau, N&E, I, 356-387.

[9]Hauréau, N&E, I, 377.

[10]Hauréau, N&E, I, 385.

[11]Hauréau, N&E, II, 5-15.

[12]Hauréau, N&E, II, 14.

[13]Hauréau, N&E, III, 294-310.

[14]Hauréau, N&E, III, 304.

[15]"Bericht über eine Reise durch Steiermark im August 1876," NA, II (1877), 383-425; codices Vorau 12 and 111 described pp. 397-410. Philippe Delhaye, Florilegium morale Oxoniense: I: Flores Philosophorum (Louvain and Lille, 1955), p. 21, lists ten florilegia presenting moral topics, two of them unpublished.

[16]"Le Florilège de Saint-Gatien," RB, XLVIII (1936), 3.

[17]"Le manuscrit 511 du 'Hunterian Museum' de Glasgow," Studi medievali, IX (1936), 18-121.

[18]"Recherches sur le 'Floridus aspectus,' II," Latomus, VIII (1949), 159-168.

[19]"Analyse d'une anthologie poétique de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Tournai," Revue Belge, XVII (1938), 727-746; MS Bibl. royale de Belgique, II, 1091 (= 1435 du Catalogue), fol. 119^V, 2e col.-129.

[20]PL 171, 1192-1194, found also in Saint Omer 115.

[21]André Wilmart, "Le Florilège de Saint-Gatien: Contribution à l'étude des poèmes d'Hildebert et de Marbode," RB, XLVIII (1936), 3-40, 147-181, 235-258.

[22]Wilmart, RB, XLVIII, 16.

[23]Charles Fierville, "Notice et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Saint-Omer, N° 115 . . . ," N&E, XXXI (1884), 49-145. For date as twelfth century work, see André Boutemy, "Notes additionneles à la notice de Ch. Fierville sur le manuscrit 115 de Saint Omer," Revue Belge, XXII (1943),

5-33.

[24]Other _florilegia_ of this type which I have noted, coming from outside of France, are early thirteenth century collections. Biblioteca toletana, Plut. XVII, número IV, has a small gathering of sixteen or more contemporary poems, published by Amador de los Rios, "Prologuios--Adagios--Epigramas," _Historia Crítica de la literatura Española_, II 333-355. Zurich C 148, with protocol and documents of the Lateran Council of 1215, has small florilegia, fol. 22^V-24, described and in part printed, Jacob Werner, _A._, XXXI (1905), 579-583. Two others are from England, in A. Boutemy, "Notice sur le recueil poétique du manuscrit Cotton Vitellius A xii du British Museum," _Latomus_ I (1937), 278-313.

[25]On fol. 49-101 of Bodleian 633, a MS devoted primarily to works by St. Bernard and other prose authors, copied at the end of the XII or beginning of the XIII century, from the cathedral at Worcester. A XV century table of contents lists the work as _quedam carmina Oracii, Lucani, Ouidii, Catonis et aliorum._

[26]Ed. Philippe Delhaye, _Analecta Mediaevalis Namurcensia_, 5 (Louvain and Lille, 1955).

[27]Ed. C. H. Talbot, _Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia_, 6 (Louvain and Lille, 1956).

[28]Talbot, p. 15.

[29]Talbot, p. 15.

[30]For classic authors in medieval _florilegia_ of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see B. L. Ullman,

Classical Philology, XXIII, 2 (April, 1928), 128-174; XXV,
1 (Jan., 1930), 11-21; XXVI, 1 (Jan., 1931), 21-30; XXVII,
1 (Jan., 1932), 1-42.

[51]Ed. Ernst Voigt, Romanische Forschungen, III (1887),
231-314; cod. philol. 130 der Göttinger Universitätsbiblio-
thek, fol. 159^a-130^b, without rubric. Voigt, p. 231, notes
that errors indicate this is the copy of an earlier composi-
tion.

[52]CB, 2 vols., and Carmina Burana: Lateinische und
Deutsche Lieder und Gedichte . . . , ed. J. A. Schmeller
(Breslau, 1894, 1st ed. 1847), which contains poems unpublished
in the incomplete CB.

[52a]But see M., V (1890), pp. 526, 552 ff. for mention of
eleventh century florilegia.

[53]Talbot, pp. 20-22.

[54]Talbot, p. 24.

[55]Ed. Marcus Boas (Amsterdam, 1952).

[56]Joseph de Ghellinck, L'Essor de la littérature latine
au XIIe siècle (Brussels, 1946), II, 236.

[57]Hans Walther, PS, I, xvi, lists a Cato secundus, ed.
M. Boas, Neophilol. 15, 1930, 255-58; Cato interpolatus, ed.
Zarncke, "Weitere Beiträge z. mlat. Spruchpoesie," Berichte
uber d. Verhandlungen d. Kgl. Sächs. Ges. d. W. zu Leipzig,
phil.-hist. Cl. 1865/66, pp. 54-103; Cato leoninus, ed.
Zarncke, "Eine 4 Umarbeitung der sogen. Dist. Catonis,"
Berichte . . . Leipzig, phil.-hist. Cl. 1870, I, 181 ff.;
Cato novus, ed. Zarncke, "Beiträge zur mlat. Spruchpoesie,"

Berichte . . . Leipzig, phil.-hist. Cl. 1863, I/II, pp. 23 ff.

[38]Ed. Wilhelm Wackernagel, Zeitschrift für deutches Altertum, III (1843), 128-130. J. de Ghellinck, L'Essor, II, 257, mentions further the Proverbia Heinrici, wide spread; the Proverbia rusticorum, 269 proverbs in romance and Latin; the Versus proverbiales, 90 proverbs in elegiac distiques; the Proverbia sapientium, 351 largely leonine verses. Cf. Manitius, III, 714-717. Hauréau, NE, I, 324, calls attention to a Versus proverbiales with plusieurs centaines d'epigrammes . . . guère ingénieuses in a late twelfth century codex with some of Serlo of Wilton's verse, Ancien Fonds 6765. Gröber, 2:1, 382, mentions a few others.

[39]Die Werke Wipos, ed. Harry Bresslau, Scriptores rerum germanicarum 53, 3rd ed. (Hannover, 1915).

[40]Ed. Ernst Voigt (Halle, 1889).

[41]Ed. Iohann Huemer, "Zur Geschichte der mittellateinischen Dichtung: Arnulfi delicie cleri," Romanische Forschungen, II (1886), 211-246.

[42]"Beiträge zur Textkritik und Quellenkunde von Arnulfs Delicie Cleri," Romanische Forschungen, II (1886), 383-390.

[43]William Charles Korfmacher, Othloni Libellus proverbiorum (Chicago, 1936); also in PL, CXLVI, 299 ff.

[44]Walther, PS, I, ix.

[45]Nos. 44-73, Öberg.

[46]Kenneth McKenzie and William A. Oldfather, eds., Ysopet-Avionnet, U. of Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit., Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 9-12.

[47]Cf. Lanitius, III, 771-777. The earliest is the
Novus Avianus cuiusdam Astensis poetae, c. 1100. All pub-
lished in Léopold Hervieux, Les fabulistes latins depuis le
siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge, Vols. II and
III (Paris, 1893-1899).

[48]Ed. Salvatore de Renzi, Collectio Salernitana, Vol.
5 (Naples, 1859).

[49]Physiologus: A Metrical Bestiary of Twelve Chapters,
ed. and trans. Alan Wood Rendall (London, 1928).

[50]PL 171, 1737-1780.

[51]Raby, SLP, I, 331, citing Lanitius, III, 724.

[52]Ed. Ludov. Choulant (Leipzig, 1852).

[53]Ed. Graevius, Thesaurus Antiquitatum et historium
Italiae, IX.iv.5, pp. 36 ff., /as cited Raby, SLP, II, 169/

[54]Appendix II, Öberg, pp. 134-142; see also Appendix
I.A, pp. 125-132 for Versus de generibus nominum.

[55]PL 171, 1687-1692.

[56]Faral, AP, pp. 106-193.

[57]Fierville, NE, XXXI (1884), 100-112: Colores verborum
and colores sententiarum. Cf. Faral, AP, p. 51, who dates
it as a XIII century work, a point disputed by André Boutemy,
"Notes Additionelles . . ." Revue Belge, XXII (1943), 5-33.

[58]"Le Florilège de Saint-Gatien," RB, XLVIII (1936), 6.

[59]PL 171, 1381.

[1]Bresslau, p. 66; Initia 4201.

[2]PS 1989. Anonymous proverbs presented in this section

appear for the first time in unpublished XI-XIII century
MSS listed in PS "Appendix I" and fall within the sequences
PS 865-1073, 1761-2051 (Alterius--Animum, Aula--Bis).

³PS 1992.

⁴PS 2001.

⁵Wackernagel, Zeit. f. d. Alt., III (1843), 128. Mani-
tius, III, 718, gives an eleventh or early twelfth century
date.

⁶Lokrantz, p. 55.

⁷Lokrantz, p. 69.

⁸Lokrantz, p. 69.

⁹Nos. 5-7, Korfmacher, p. 3; from Ps. 2:12, Mt. 7:14,
Ez. 18:20.

¹⁰Huemer, Rom. For., II (1886), 217-218, as corrected by
Voigt, Rom. For., II, 385. Voigt, p. 385, notes the passage
comes from Prov. 1:8; Eccli. 1:25-27; Prov. 1:7; Prov. 9:12;
Prov. 4:23; and Prov. 22:6. Raby notes that "leonine hexa-
meters and elegiacs are mingled with rhythmic and rimed
pieces . . . which remind(s) us of Anglo-Saxon and Irish
originals," and he draws attention to the "coining of new
and strange words," SLP, I, 362, 363, remarks which apply to
introductions and the dialogue of poeta and libellus but not
to the proverbs themselves.

¹¹Öberg, p. 114 (No. 47).

¹²Öberg, p. 115 (No. 55).

¹³PS 1761-1763, 1765, from Oxford, Rawl. C. 496 (XIII
cent.), f. 10ʳᵃ These appear to be from an elegiac poem.

[14]No. 15, CB, I:1, 30. Cf. Nos. 7, 18, 32, 40, 45 for other proverb gatherings on a single topic. Walther, PS, I, ix, comments; "In _M_. waren die Sammlungen meist sachlich geordnet, etwa nach Stichworten wie _Amicitia, Amor, Ars_ usw., die dann fast stets in alphabetischer Reihenfolge stehen . . .

[15]PS 976, Paris, B.N. l. 6765 (XII cent.).

[16]PS 979, clm 22281 (XII cent.), f. 151^r (_annus et annus_ . . .).

[17]PS 874, Zwettl 212 (XIII cent.), and other MSS.

[18]PS 2033a, Besançon, cod. 94 (XIII cent.), f. 144^v, _Versus de proverbiis_.

[19]PS 962a, Vespas. B. XIII (XIII cent.), f. 129vb, and PS 2001a, f. 127^v.

[20]PS 1945a, Vespas. B. XIII, f. 129^{vc}

[21]PS 902, Vienna 901 (XIII cent.), f. 50^r.

[22]PS 1730, Besançon, cod. 94, f. 144^v; cf. Sap. 6:3.

[23]1043a, Cambridge, Trin. Coll. O. 2.45 (XII cent.), p. 332.

[24]PS 1810. Widespread, with many variations. Cf. No. 73, _Gli Epigrammi attribuiti a L. A. Seneca_, ed. Carlo Prato (Bari,7 /1955/), _Aura quid levius_ . . . _quid muliere? Nichil_.

[25]PS 1815, Vienna 901, f. 1^v.

[26]PS 1810, Oxford, Joh. Bapt. 178 (XIII cent.), and elsewhere.

[27]PS 2027, Leiden, Ryks-Univ., B.P.L. 191.E (XIII cent.),

f. 124[V].   For other two-line proverbs of the same time,
see PS 884, 1006, 1022, 1050b, 1838, 1855, 1869.

[28]PL 171, 1055-1064.

[29]PL 171, 1491-1494.

[30]PS 951; Cap. IV, De ambitione, PL 171, 1493.

[31]PS 1307; Cap. III, De avaritia, PL 171, 1493.

[32]PS 1027; PL 171, 1689.

[33]PS 1837; PL 171, 1691.

[34]PL 171, 1755-56; cf. Wilmart, "Florilège de Saint-
Gatien," RB, XLVIII (1936), 235 ff.

[35]PS 833; De Virtutibus vitae honestae, PL 171, 1061.

[36]PS 1755a; Mathematicus, PL 171, 1571.

[37]PS 1073, Alex. 10, 195-199; PS 1905, Georg. 66; PS
1988, Alex. 6, 224-227.

[38]PS 1797, Wright, ALSP, II, 181; PS 1979, Wright, ALSP,
II, 186; PS 1978, Wright ALSP, II, 180.

[39]PS 877, Tobias, 686.

[40]PS 1905, Wright, ALSP, I, 62; PS 884, Wright, ALSP,
I, 257; PS 868, Wright, ALSP, I, 259.

[41]Novus Aesopus, XIX, ed. Édélestand Du Méril, Poésies
inédites du moyen âge: précédées d'une histoire de la fable
ésopique (Paris, 1854), p. 191.

[42]Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, "L'escola poètica de Ripoll,"
Anuari Inst. Catalans, VI, 61.   No. 44, from Ripoll 59, X-XI
century; Initia 14721.   Many other MSS, one from IX century.
Another poem, No. 45 in the Ripoll collection, from early
XIII cent. MS (Paris BN, MF lat. 5132) gives horoscope and

days of week in rhythm. Cf. other poems on months, AL, I:1,
309-311; I:2, 91-92, 122-123, 228.

[43]Ed. Salvatore de Renzi, Collectio Salernitanae, V
(Naples, 1859).

[44]Don José Amador de los Rios, Historia crítica de la
literatura Española, II (Madrid, 1862), 355; Biblioteca
toletana, Plut. XVII, número IV.

[45]Hierville, HLE, XXXI, 139-140; from St. Omer 115;
Initia 211.

[46]Hauréau, HLE, II, 194; Fonds Sta. Germain des Prés,
13468 (XIII cent.?); Initia 14570. Hauréau notes three
variants of this from Bandini, Munich, and Berne.

[47]Mattenbach, NA, II (1877), 398; Cod. 12, Vorau monas-
tery near Hartberg (XII cent.); Initia 17750, 2546.

[48]"St. Gatien," ed. Wilmart, RB, XLVIII (1936), p. 51
(No. 187); Initia lacking, cf. Initia 2336.

[49]PS 1896, Besançon cod. 94, f. 144^V. Cf. Eccli. 19:2,
Vinum et mulieres apostatare faciunt sapientes. Also
published Roman. Forsch., XXVI, 175.

[50]II, Scott, p. 204.

[51]PS 1841, Cambridge Trin. Coll. O. 2.45, p. 361 (XII
cent.), and elsewhere.

[52]Jakob Werner, "Nachlese aus Züricher Handschriften,"
NA, XXXI (1905), 580; Zurich C 148 (XXIII cent.); Initia
13440.

[53]PS 1921, Hannover, C. IV, 524 (XIII cent.), f. 4^{Vb};
Initia 2054.

[54]No. 134, CB, I:2, 226, where it is provided with German glosses; Initia 11930, in seven other MSS.

[55]Hauréau, NEE, II, 47; Supplément Latin 11412 (XIII cent.); Initia 12273.

[56]CV I: LII, PL 171, 1684; Initia 11638.

[57]PS 1059a, Cambridge, Trin. Coll. 0. 2.45 (s.XII), p. 555.

[58]PS 2025a, Cambridge, Trin. Coll. 0. 2.45, p. 353.

[59]*De aranea*, "Printed in Cologne, 1492," Rendell, pp. 32-34; see p. 59 on meter (-..-../-...), unknown in classic metrics, similar to decasyllabic alcaics.

[60]PL 171, 1742-1743.

[61]Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, IX.iv.5, pp. 33 ff., as quoted Raby, SLP, II, 169.

[62]*De laudibus divinae sapientiae: distinctiones decem*, ed. Thomas Wright, Rolls Series, Vol. 34 (London, 1863), pp. 357-503.

[63]*De Laudibus*, II, 753-764, ed. Wright, p. 390.

[64]*De laudibus*, VI, 167-170, ed. Wright, p. 467.

[65]Ed. Thomas Wright, Rolls Series, Vol. 34 (London, 1863), pp. 1-354. Martial and Lucan are favorit sources for the frequent quotations; other classic authors and anonymous proverbs also appear.

[66]No. 66, CB, I:2, 50, *Versus de Eode*; Initia 297. Poem also appears in clm. 17142 (XII cent.), f. 91$^{r/v}$, written as prose along with all types of lexicographic and etymologic explanations; MS described by Wattenbach,

Stizungsbericht Munich, III (1873), 710-742.

⁶⁷Boutemy, "Saint-Martin de Tournai," Revue Belge, XVII (1938), 734; Initia 20326. Contrast popular saying quoted by Neckham, De naturis rerum, I, xiv, ed. Wright, p. 54:

> Rusticus in luna, quem sarcina deprimit una,
> Monstrat per spinas nulli prodesse rapinas.

⁶⁸De naturis rerum, I, xi, ed. Wright, p. 48; also in Hans Walther, "Zu den kleineren Gedichten des Alexander Neckam," Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch, II (Cologne, 1965), 126.

⁶⁹Omont, N&E, XXXIX (1909), 5; Paris BN 336, f. 107; Initia 13441, several MSS, one of XI century.

⁷⁰Öberg, p. 82. Walther, PS, I, xiii, remarks, Eine S. Galler Hs. s. XIII (cod. 197 ab p. 92) hat eine kleine Collection solcher Differentiales, darunter ein so merkwürdiges Beispiel wie: Est bona villa metis, tu gaudes, si bene metis, wo obendrein die Prosodie falsa ist. Die Verfasser verbanden mit der sprachlichprosodischen Belehrung meist eine Ermahnung moralischer Art; diese Verse gehören dann auch im engeren Sinne zur Gattung der Verssprüche.

⁷¹PS 1980a, Besançon, cod. 94, f. 145ᵛ.

⁷²Hauréau, N&E, I, 339: Ancien Fonds 3447, in an anonymous Graecae derivationes secundum ordinem alphabeti which appears associated with John of Garland's work; Initia 5606.

⁷³Boutemy, "Saint-Martin de Tournai," Revue Belge, XVII (1938), 738; Initia 99.

⁷⁴De naturis rerum, II, clxxxiii, ed. Wright, p. 323; cf. poems on avitia, pp. 269-270, below.

[75]Boutemy, "Saint Martin de Tournai," Revue Belge, XVII, 738; Initia 14283.

[76]Öberg, Appendix I:A, 4, pp. 125-132.

[77]Öberg, p. 127.

[78]Hauréau, N&E, II, 15: Supplément Latin 9593 (XIII?); Initia 274.

[79]Hauréau, N&E, II, 353: Fonds Ste. Germain des Prés 14193.

[80]Indif XII, PL 171, 1446; Initia 19563.

[81]CV I: LVII, PL 171, 1685; Initia 11442.

[82]Marbod, CV II: XIV, PL 171, 1720; Initia 4447.

[83]Hauréau, N&E, II, 47: Supplément Latin 11412 (XIII); also in Bibl. Nat. No. 11867, fol. 239, and No. 14747, fol. 15, col. 2; Initia 4321.

[84]PL 171, 1689; Initia 12513.

[85]Colores verborum, N&E, XXXI, 101.

[86]Colores sententiarum, N&E, XXXI, 110. For other exempla of rhetorical colors, see Faral, "Le manuscrit 511 du 'Hunterian Museum' de Glasgow," Studi medievali, IX (1936), 18-121.

[87]CV I: XII, PL 171, 1653 (19 hex, 2-s 1).

[88]CV I: XIII, PL 171, 1653-54 (7 hex, 1).

[89]CV I: XLIX, PL 171, 1684 (4 hex, 2-s 1).

[90]CV II: II, PL 171, 1717 (8 hex, 2-s 1).

[91]CV II: XVII, PL 171, 1720 (12 lines, elegiac, 2s caudati).

[92]CV II: XXVI, PL 171, 1723 (12 hex, unrhymed).

[93]CV II: XXVII, PL 171, 1723 (15 hex, 2s 1).

[94]CV II: XXIX, PL 171, 1723-24 (15 hex, 1).

[95]CV II: XXVIII, PL 171, 1723 (12 hex, unrhymed).

[96]CV II: XXX, PL 171, 1724 (16 hex, 2s 1).

[97]CV II: XXXVII, PL 171, 1726 (16 hex, trinini).

[98] Brewer, I, 338-387.

[99]Misc CVIII, PL 171, 1428; Initia 5384. Cf. Initia 6406, also Misc CIX and CXXVII for other diatribes. Hauréau, NH, 105-106, points out plagarism and suggests the poem is a late XII or early XIII century work.

[1]Misc CXXIII, PL 171, 1436-1437; Initia 15324.

[2]CV I: XXXVI, PL 171, 1671; Initia 11239.

[3]Hauréau, NE, III, 243: Fonds St. Victor, 14384; Initia 5217. Other biblical epigrams, without exegesis, are XXX and XXXI, Strecker, Froumund, pp. 77-79.

[4]Corrected text, Hauréau, NH, 127 (: Misc CXXII, PL 171, 1440); Initia 20357, listing of 29 MSS. Hauréau comments that Herrad of Landsberg and Peter the Cantor both quote the poem, as do a number of later writers.

[5]L'Essor, II, 215.

[6]Cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le 'Floridus Aspectus', III," Latomus, VIII (1949), 286-291.

[7]Text and commentary, Scott, pp. 294-361.

[8]See Walther Bulst, "Studien zu Marbods Carmina varia," Göttingen Nachrichten, phil.-hist. Kl., Fachgruppe IV, N.F., II (1939), 194, for listing of the twenty-one epigrams by

Rivallonus of Nantes, published among Hildebert's in _Epigram-_
mata sacra, PL 171, 1283-1282.

[9]Boutemy, _Latomus_, VIII (1949), 288; Initia 19824
(:Misc LXV, PL 171, 1410). Cf. Hauréau's correction of text,
HM, p. 67, which differs considerably.

[10]"Additional Biblical Epigrams," No. 7, Scott, p. 343;
Initia 4053 (: Misc V, PL 171, 1387-1388). Rabanus Maurus,
commenting on Matt. 2:11, Matt. col. 759D, as quoted Scott,
p. 351:

> Per ista ergo munerum genera, in uno eodemque
> Christo et divina maiestas, et regia potestas,
> et humana mortalitas intimatur. Thus enim ad
> sacrificium, aurum pertinet ad tributum, myrrha
> ad sepulturam pertinet mortuorum.

[11]Misc LXXII, PL 171, 1425-1426; Initia 19790. Reading
is corrupt; see Hauréau, HM, pp. 95-101, on alliance of
poem with others in MSS.

[12]Misc V, PL 171, 1387-1388, as corrected Hauréau, HM,
p. 12; Initia 15924. Included in _Floridus aspectus_, cf.
Boutemy, _Latomus_, VIII (1949), 160, and in _aurora_, II, 11.
485 ff. Cf. tympanum title on three kings, above, p. 177.

[13]Hauréau, NdE, I, 212; Initia 19209.

[14]Misc CXXXIII, PL 171, 1440; Initia 2169.

[15]OV I: IX, PL 171, 1352; Initia 5133.

[16]Hauréau, NdE, III, 272; Initia 5992, many MSS.

[17]Hauréau, NdE, I, 558 (incomplete); Initia 12497.
Hauréau calls attention to similar poem, _Anna viros . . . ._,
Initia 1062; cf. also Initia 1067 and 1069.

[18]Misc LXXX, PL 171, 1425; Initia 5991.

[19]Hauréau, M&E, II, 224   : Ancien Fonds 3664; Initia
20503.

[20]XXXIV, Scott, p. 220 (Misc CXXII, PL 171, 1436).

[21]XLII, Scott, p. 229 (Misc CXXVIII, PL 171, 1438).

[22]III, Appendix to Ausonius, ed. White, II, p. 280.

[23]Hauréau, M&E, II, 214-215: Fonds Ste. Germain des
Prés, 15463; Initia 16030.

[24]Biblical epigram No. 15, Scott, p. 322.

[25]Marbod, OV I; XII, PL 171, 1653; Initia 19803.

[26]LII, Lokrantz, p. 61; Initia 6422a.

[27]Raby, SLP, I, 371.

[28]Misc CXXIV, PL 171, 1437; Initia 18492, which lists
15 MSS. Herrad of Landsberg, as well as a number of other
writers, transcribed the first two verses; the second distich
may be a later addition, according to Hauréau, NH, pp. 123-124.

[29]PS 7245; Initia 5556. Cf. Coelestia praeferenda
terrenis, XXV, Scott, p. 216 (: Misc CXXVI, PL 171, 1437 :
Misc LXI).

[30]OV I: XIII, PL 171, 1653-1654; Initia 20475, by Marbod;
24 MSS noted.

[31]Hauréau, M&E, II, 25: Supplément Latin 11125; Initia
10629.

[32]Misc LXVI, PL 171, 1410; Initia 19323. Longer versions
extend to 18, 50 lines, the latter given by Hauréau, NH,
pp. 67-69.

[33]Hauréau, M&E, I, 385: Ancien Fonds 8433 and elsewhere;
Initia 17373.

[34] Misc II, PL 171, 1385; Initia 105; by Peter Riga, cf. Boutemy, Latomus, VIII, 159.

[35] Misc LI, PL 171, 1406.

[36] XL, Scott, p. 228 (: Misc LII, PL 171, 1406).

[37] Hauréau, M, p. 195.

[38] Cf. De nativitate domini, Misc CXVIII, PL 171, 1435; corrected reading Hauréau, M, 118-119.

[39] E.g. Christus de se ipso, Misc CXX, PL 171, 1436; Verba Christi in cruce, Misc CXXV, PL 171, 1437; De puero arae tradito, Hauréau, M, p. 202. Several for Mary and God also appear to be titles, such as Hildebert's De Virgine, XII, Scott, p. 207, and Initia 6577, 15727, 16255.

[40] Dümmler, N, VI (1881), 445: Paris N.a. 241; Initia 14051.

[41] LXVIII, Lohrentz, p. 66; Initia 16381a.

[42] OV I: XXXII, PL 171, 1669.

[43] OV I: LIV, PL 171, 1675. Cf. Hildebert XX, De triplici dono humani generis, Scott, p. 211; Peter Riga, De triplici dono iusti, PL 171, 1382.

[44] Misc LXXIII, PL 171, 1428; Initia 4052.

[45] Misc. CXXXV, PL 171, 1440; Initia 7115. Hauréau, M, p. 129, suggests this is a title.

[46] G, I:1, 64 (No. 59b); notes OS, II:1, 69. This stanza may be the beginning of a longer poem. It is inserted after the second stanza of No. 59, along with two others that appear to go together, No. 59A. No. 59 is a lament over the wickedness of the world, in the same rhythmic form.

[47]Hauréau, N&E, I, 211: Ancien Fonds 3417; Initia 13484.

[48]Hauréau, N&E, III, 254: Fonds St. Victor 14883. The poem is introduced by commentary, <u>Debet (peccator) consider-are quod (sacramentum confessionis) tribuit virtutem resis-tendi tentationibus et multa alia bona facit quae enumerantur a magistro R. in versibus suis. Unde versus: . . .</u> . . Hauréau **speculates that the writer may be** Robert de Sorbon.

[49]Hauréau, N&E, III, 226: Fonds de St. Victor 14883; Initia 3135.

[50]Hauréau, N&E, III, 226, quoting from PL, CCVII, 1153; only one Initia is listed.

[51]Lokrantz, p. 47.

[52]Misc LXXI, PL 171, 1425, as corrected Hauréau, MM, p. 95; Initia 15179. Hildebert XXI, <u>De tribus missis in natale domini</u>, and XLV, <u>Versus . . . dominicum corpus</u> . . . , Scott, pp. 211, 230, are also of this type.

[53]E.g., Misc LXXII, <u>In apparitione Domini</u>, PL 171, 1425-26.

[54]From <u>De septem horis canonicis</u>, Misc CXXX, PL 171, 1438-39. Cf. Hildebert LVII, <u>Versus de horis cottidianis</u>, Scott, p. 244.

[55]Misc CXXXIV, PL 171, 1440.

[56]Hauréau, N&E, I, 208: Ancien Fonds 3303 and elsewhere; Initia 13976.

[57]Hauréau, N&E, I, 334: Ancien Fonds 8433; Initia 11167.

[58]Hauréau, N&E, I, 374: Ancien Fonds 8433; Initia 18341. Cf. Nigel Longchamp's <u>Quae monachis deceant</u>, Raby, SLP, II,

99.   Gröber, 2:1, 367, 374, mentions other religious epigram by Willeram of Ebersberg (Hagen, _Germania_ 5, 179) and Fulbert of Chartres (PL 141) which I have not examined.

[59]Egli.

[60]XXX, Egli, p. 157.

[61]11. 59, 224, Egli, pp. 295, 310.

[62]PL, CXII, 331.

[63]Misc CXXXVI, PL 171, 1440-41.   Hauréau, _M_, p. 129, suggests this is a title.

[64]PL, CXCIV, 1538.

[65]PL, CXCIV, 1541.   See also Froumund's prayers, Nos. II, XVI, XXIX, XXXVI, Strecker, pp. 17, 51, 76, 95-96.

Chapter VI

[1]Hauréau, NxB, I, 373: Ancien Fonds 8433; Initia 956, 12500.

[2]CV II: XI, PL 171, 1719; Initia 19438.

[3]XCVII, Lokrantz, pp. 72-73; Initia 11256a.

[4]See Paul Lehmann, Pseudo-antike Literatur des Mittelalters (Darmstadt, 1927), pp. 16 ff.

[5]I, XLIII, Scott, pp. 204, 230.

[6]VIII, IX, XLVII, Scott, pp. 206, 232. IX and XLVII were formerly attributed to Martial.

[7]VIII, Scott, p. 206.

[8]Raby, SLP, II, 39.

[9]Wright, ALSP, II, 105; Initia 10302.

[10]Wright, ALSP, II, 120; Initia 1537a.

[11]Wright, ALSP, II, 138; Initia 16302a.

[12]Wright, ALSP, II, 174; Initia 13889.

[13]John Edwin Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1921), I, 674.

[14]Faral, AP, p. 191; Initia 19572. On identification of Arnoul as Rufus, see Faral, AP, p. 2.

[15]Est ratio quare bafio dici merearis, Hauréau, NxB, I, 257 and elsewhere.

[16]Indif XV, PL 171, 1447.

[17]CV II: I, PL 171, 1717; Initia 11690.

[18]XVII, Scott, p. 208 (: Suppl IX, PL 171, 1456-1458); Initia 11215.

[19]Strecker, Froumund, p. 29; Initia 6039a.

[20]Abrahams, p. 162; Initia 19834.

[21]CV II: III, PL 171, 1717.

[22]CV II: VII, PL 171, 1719; Initia 9042.

[23]E.g., Martial IV, lxxii:

> Exigis ut donem nostros tibi, Quinte, libellos
> non habeo, sed habet bybliopola Tryphon.
> "Aes dabo pro nugis et emam tua carmina sanus?
> non" inquis "faciam tam fatue." nec ego.

Many others on same theme.

[24]Abrahams, p. 118; Initia 20197.

[25]No. 78, Öberg, p. 121; Initia 10349.

[26]Hauréau, N&E, I, 235: Ancien Fonds 3705; Initia 17877.

[27]Hauréau, N&E, II, 47: Supplément Latin 11412; Initia 4618.

[28]Walther, "Zu den kleineren Gedichten des Alexander Neckam," Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch, II (1965), 128, commenting on the third greeting given here: Zu derartigen "Liebesgrüssen" vgl. die von mir gesammelten Beispiele in der Z. f. d. A. 65, 1928, 257-89; inzwischen sind mir so viel neue Beispiele bekannt geworden, dass von einer eigenen Literaturgattung gesprochen werden kann.

[29]Walther, Mittell. Jahrbuch, II, 127.

[30]Hauréau, N&E, I, 534: Ancien Fonds 8433; Initia 9002.

[31]Walther, Mittell. Jahrbuch, II, 127.

[32]Hauréau, N&E, II, 213: Fonds Ste. Germain des Prés, 13468; Initia 740.

[33]Thomas Wright, ed., The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes (London, 1841), p. 85: MS Harl. 2851;

Initia 14240.

[34]CV I: XVIII, PL 171, 1656; Initia 150.

[35]CV I: XXXII, PL 171, 1569.

[36]CV I: LV, PL 171, 1684; discussed above as a satire of roll poetry, p. 153.

[37]From _Historia rerum Anglicarum_, as quoted by L. B. Hessler, "The Latin Epigram of the Middle English Period," P.M., XXXVIII (1923), 717; Initia 6458. Hessler's article, pp. 712-723, gives a good review of epigrams from the Rolls Series.

[38]Lokrantz, p. 70.

[39]Hauréau, N&E, II, 214, the first from Fonds Ste. Germain des Prés, 15463, the second from No. 3207; Initia 17451, from Abelard, _Astrolabius_, 163, 5.

[40]II, C3, I:1, 5; Initia 16630, one XII cent. MS. For dialogue, cf. PS 1767, 1810.

[41]No. XII, W. Meyer, "Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas," _Nachrichten v. d. K. G. d. W. z. Göttingen_, Phil.-Hist. Kl, (1907), p. 147; Initia 16610. Cf. _De birro castoreo_, in Claudian, ed. Maurice Platnauer (London, 1922), II, 184.

[42]No. 75, Öberg, p. 120; Initia 14603.

[43]"Les épigrammes liées d'Hugues Primat et d'Hildebert," RB, XLVII (1935), 175-180.

[44]CV II: XV, XVI, PL 171, 1720; Initia 11951, 102. _Avitia_ appears to be a personal name.

[45]On Herbert Losinga; _De gesta regum Anglorum_, IV, ed. Stubbs, Rolls Series (London, 1887), p. 536; Initia 18920.

[46]De gesta pontificum Anglorum, ed. Hamilton, Rolls Series (London, 1870), p. 435; Initia 11502.

[47]Hauréau, NE, II, 47; the first from Supplément Latin 11412, the second from Arsenal 1038; Initia 7569, 14335. Cf. Initia 8059.

[48]Wilmart, "St. Gatien," (No. 151), RB, XLVIII (1936), 29; Initia 6445.

[49]Walther, "Zu . . . Alexander Neckam," Mittell. Jahrbuch, II, 128.

[50]L'Essor de la littérature latine au XIIe siècle (Brussels, 1946), II, 224. Gröber, II:1, 359, 361, 372, 374, mentions a number of anonymous satiric epigrams, primarily from Italy, which I have not examined. For political satire, see in particular the St. Gatien florilegium, RB, XLVIII (1936), 3-40.

[51]Ed. Ernst Dümmler, "Briefe und Verse des neunten Jahrhunderts: Anhang," NA, XIII (1888), 358-360.

[52]NA, XIII, 359; Initia 8476.

[53]NA, XIII, 358; Initia 2506.

[54]NA, XIII, 359; Initia 6411, 2653.

[55]NA, XIII, 359; Initia 1740.

[56]NA, XIII, 358; Initia 1823.

[57]NA, XIII, 359; Initia 3547, 3501.

[58]NA, XIII, 358; Initia 3187.

[59]Raby, SLP, I, 353. In his short section on "Anonymous epigrams and occasional poems," Raby quotes the parody, Arbore sub quadam dictavit clericus Adam; de cervisia;

and several anecdotes about people fallen or thrown into privies, with reference to other unprinted poems on the same topic.

60Nos. 171, 172, 200, Wilmart, RB, XLVIII (1936), 30, 32; No. 171 Initia 19253a.

61No. 120a, OB, I:2, 201.

62No. 121a, OB, I:2, 203; Initia 12025.

63No. 154, OB, I:2, 261; Initia 5574, cf. 5818 and 12352.

64See Hilka and Schumann notes on 153, OB, I:2, 262-63.

65J. Werner, "Lateinische Gedichte des XII Jahrhunderts," NL, XV (1890), 404; Initia 17663.

66Hauréau, NLE, I, 317: Ancien Fonds 6765 and elsewhere; Initia 11741.

67PS 7250, as cited by Salimbene, MGH:SS, XXXII, 133.

68Wright, MLSP, II, 174; Initia 15693.

69PL, CCI, 198 (No. VII); Initia 13120.

70No. 23, Überg, p. 105; Initia 4963.

71No. 32, Überg, p. 107; Initia 13676. See also Nos. 27, 31, 33, 37, 42.

72No. 99a, OB, I:2, 134. Cf. Initia 7160, in Dümmler, NL, VI (1891), 446:

> Gens ruit Assirię, patriam captare Tobię:
> Pleps captivatur, cadit, urbe ruente fugatur.

It comes from Paris Nouv. acquis. 241 (2nd half XI cent.), among a group of epitaphs.

73Nos. 14-24, 46-53, Faral, "Hunterian MS," Studi Medievali, IX (1936), 52-54, 115-117.

[74]"L'enfant du neige qui fu remis au soleil," Recueil
général . . . des fabliaux des XIIIe et XIVe siècles (6 vols.
Paris 1872-90), I, 14, probably a thirteenth century work,
is the only French example of the legend. Édélestand du
Méril, Poésies inédites du Moyen Âge (Paris, 1854), p. 119,
notes a German version, date not given. Latin versions are
numerous. The earliest is the much published Modus Liebinc,
probably of eleventh century German authorship. De merca-
tore, dating apparently from the late twelfth century and
of French authorship, is a Latin comedy, similar to Milo,
of 100 elegiac verses. Edmond Faral, "Le fabliau Latin au
Moyen Âge," Romania, L (1924), 370, believes it was used as
an example of development (amplificatio) in the schools of
the Loire. De viro et uxore moecha, 20 distichs in length,
Faral places in the fourteenth century. A rhythmic poem in
goliardic stanzas, a prose Latin version copied from a St.-
Martin de Tours manuscript, now lost, and a reference to the
story in the Ludus Coventriae also attest to its popularity.
See Faral, Romania, L (1924), 369-375, and Du Méril, p. 119.

[75]W. Wattenbach, "Das Schneekind," Zeitschrift für
deutsches Alterthum, XIX (1876), 122: Vatican Reg. Christ.
344; Initia 3172.

[76]Wattenbach, Zeitsch. f. d. Alt., XIX, 240: Wasserkirche
of Zurich, C 78; Initia 5004.

[77]Du Méril, Poésies inédites, p. 419 (also Faral, LP,
p. 219); Initia 16437, 20420, 4127.

[78]Hauréau, N&E, I, 383: Ancien Fonds 8433, fol. 113;

Initia 13761.

[79]No. 145, _Recueil général_, V, 51: Berlin, Hamilton 257.

[80]Charles H. Livingston, _Le Jongleur Gautier Le Leu_ (Cambridge, 1951). The priest castrated or threatened with castration, thanks to a love intrigue, is presented in _De Connebert_, its variant, _Du prestre qui pardi les colles_, and in _Le prestre teint_. The last appears slightly earlier in the Berlin collection containing _Du prestre et du leu_.

[81]Felix Liebrecht, "Beiträge zur Novellenkunde: mit Besonderem bezug auf die ältere deutsche Literatur," _Germania_, I (1856), 271, says the version is published in Keller's _Altdeutschen Erzählungen_ (Stuttgart, 1855), p. 365; for further bibliography, see Joseph Bédier, _Les Fabliaux_ (Paris, 1925), p. 468, and Initia 13761.

[82]_Les cent nouvelles nouvelles_, ed. Franklin P. Sweetser (Geneva, 1966), No. 56.

[83]Paris B.N. Ancien Fonds 8433, according to Hauréau, N&E, I, 261, is written in fourteenth century hand, contains work by Matthew of Vendôme, sermons by Geoffroy Babion (Anger, 1096-1110), rhythmic poems (one by Philippe de Grève), a lapidary, a rhythmic satire on wandering clerics, and a number of varied epigrams, some by Hugh Primas. Poem also appears in a XII century Oxford MS.

[84]Hauréau, N&E, I, 385; Initia 5005.

[85]VII, _De Milone mercatore_, Scott, p. 205. Milo is also the addressee of a satiric epigram, IX, p. 206.

[86]Hauréau, MH, p. 193; Initia 3088.

[37]Hauréau, MH, p. 195; Initia 6455.

[38]LI (10 Dst), MGH:PLAC, I, 551-552; cf. L (23 Dst), De vulpecula involante gallinam, MGH:PLAC, I, 550-551.

[89]According to Raby, SLP, I, 400, there are fables in Puppis of Egbert's Fecunda Ratis, such as that of wolf turned monk, Voigt, p. 195.

[90]VII, Scott, p. 205.

[91]XXIV, Scott, p. 215.

[92]XIX, XXIII, Scott, pp. 210, 215, discussed above, pp. 150-151.

[93]XXXII, Scott, p. 219; Initia 3711.

[94]XLVIII, Scott, p. 233; Initia 10471.

[95]Other anecdotal epigrams include Forte querebatur quod erat scabiosus Alexis, Hauréau, NE, I, 323; Fur erat in furno. "Salies huc," rusticus inquit, Hauréau, NE, I, 256; Gallus erat cuidam viduae, gallumque comedit, PL 171, 1684 (Marbod CV I: LI); Cum Linus Pholoen peteret, nec posset habere, Hauréau, NE, II, 354; De paupere ingrato, Laesta parens miserae paupertas anxietate, Seneca's tale of the indigent suicide (Contr. 5, c. 1), Du Méril, Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge (Paris, 1847), p. 9.

[1]CV II: X, PL 171, 1719; Initia 4917.

[2]PS 1971.

[3]Hauréau, NE, I, 257: Ancien Fonds 3705; Initia 20335.

[4]Misc LXVII, PL 171, 1423-1424; Initia 12379. Hauréau, MH, p. 83, notes a better text is needed and cites an

alternate MS title, De amore et fortuna.

[5]Suppl VIII, PL 171, 1456.

[6]M. Esposito, "More of Prorogationes Novi Promethei," English Historical Review, XXX (1915), 456; Initia 4774.

[7]Note, however, the single stanza 2a, Walther, "Alexander Neckam," Mittell. Jahrbuch, II, 116.

[8]No. 6, Walther, "Alexander Neckam," Mittell. Jahrbuch, II (1965), 123; Initia 4776.

[9]IV and XI, Scott, pp. 205-206.

[10]CV I: V, PL 171, 1718, quoted above, p. 16.

[11]Hauréau, NeE, I, 317: Ancien Fonds 6765; Initia 12601.

[12]Hauréau, N&E, II, 34: Fonds Ste. Germain des Prés, 12418, and elsewhere; Initia 4614. Hildebert, XIV, Scott, p. 207, also reproaches the avaricious.

[13]No. XXV, CB, I:1, 44-45, notes II:1, 53; Initia 20744.

[14]Also LXXVIII, PL 171, 1421; Initia 13232.

[15]LII, Scott, p. 257; Initia 20552.

[16]Carmina varia, XXIX, PL, CCIII, 1397-1398. Franco Munari, "Die spätlateinische Epigrammatik," Philologus, CII (1958), 138-139, mentions Sigebertus Gemlacensis and Anonymus Mellicensis as imitators of Symphosius. I could not locate the Anon. Mell. work in question, though there are a number of references, primarily bibliographic, in Manitius. Manitius, III, 548, mentions a riddle book of Sigebert of Gembloux's teacher Thomas, in the guise of a conversation between Wisdom and the Liberal Arts. Manitius, III, 755-756,

mentions that De mirabilibus mundi, ed. M. R. James, Essays
and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway (Cambridge, 1913),
pp. 290-296, an English collection of lore verses from the
XI century, operates like a riddle book insofar as the verses
cannot be understood without the titles, omitted in some
MSS. He suggests that the epigrams might have been used as
picture titles in a book, as many begin with Hic. The collec-
tion of 79 pieces, of one to three verses, was widely used in
schools. Gröber, II:1, 382, mentions 21 alphabetically ordered
riddles (usually 2 Hex, 1) and 9 longer problemata, along
with 25 lore verses and religious epigram, attributed to
Hugo Metellus of Toul, in Hugo, Sacrae antiquitatis monumenta
(1731), 415.

[17]Hauréau, NRE, I, 315: Ancien Fonds 6765 (end XII cent.);
Initia 16621.

[18]Paral, "Hunterian Museum," Studi Medievali, IX (1936),
106-107.

[19]Boutemy, "Saint-Martin de Journai," Revue Belge,
XVII (1938), 738; Initia 14600 (Turtur).

[20]Hauréau, NRE, III, 243: Fonds St. Victor 14384;
Initia 954. Cf. Initia 953; Boutemy, "Peter Riga," Latomus,
VIII (1949), 296.

[21]Dümmler, "Briefe und Verse des neunten Jahrhunderts,"
NA, XIII (1888), 353; Initia 10317.

[22]Dümmler, NA, XIII, 353; Initia 5825.

[23]Dümmler, NA, XIII, 353; from Bern MS published H.
Hagen, Carmina medii aevi, 213; Initia 5650.

[24] Abrahams, p. 321 (No. CCXXVII); Initia 19611.

[25] CCXXVIII, Abrahams, p. 321.

[26] Indif XVI, PL 171, 1447-48; Initia 3292.

[27] Marbod, CV I: LVIII, PL 171, 1635; Initia 880.

[28] Flerville, NRE, XXXI, 91: St. Omer 115, Fol. 45; Initia 11621. Cf. Boutemy, "Floridus aspectus," Latomus, VIII (1949), 159.

[29] Uberg, p. 100; Initia 6689.

[30] Walther, "Alexander Neckam," Mittell. Jahrbuch, II (1965), 125-126; Hospita . . . Initia 8470.

[31] No. 55, CB, I:1, 110; Initia 891. Cf. Initia 373 (ad maratonta lyri pro toxica-noxica lyri), 299 (Achmata thronti post oxica loxica lyri), 13503 (Oppositum montem conscendere cernis Orontem).

[32] Raby, SLP, I, 322.

[33] Walther Bulst, "Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods," Liber Floridus: Mittellateinische Studien Paul Lehmann . . . gewidmet, ed. Bernhard Bischoff and Suso Brechter (St. Ottilien, 1950), 287-301.

[34] Ed. W. Wattenbach, "Der poetische Briefsteller des Matthaeus von Vendôme," Sitzungsber. d. bayer. Akad., II (1872), pp. 561 sqq., as cited Raby, SLP, II, 32.

[35] Nos. IV, VII, XI, XVII, XVIII, XX, XXI, XXVII, Strecker, Froumund, pp. 21, 24, 36, 52, 53, 72-73).

[36] XVII, Strecker, p. 52; Initia 7154.

[37] Marvin L. Colker, ed., "Fulcoii Belvacensis epistulae," Traditio, X (1954), 191-273; twenty-six letters in all.

[38]XV, Scott, p. 207; Initia 1754.

[39]XVI, Scott, p. 203; Initia 6781.

[40]Suppl VI, PL 171, 1455-1456; Initia 7165.

[41]Stubbs, II, 322; Initia 8129. See also Spanish eulogy, possibly associated with death rolls, Rudolf Beer, "Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll," <u>Vienna Akad. d. Wiss. Sitzungsberichte</u>, Phil.-hist. Kl., Vol. 155 (1908), 72-74; Vol. 158 (1908), 7, 28-30.

[42]No. 32, to nephew Rainaud, Wattenbach, "Aus den Briefen des Guido von Bazoches," NA, XVI (1891), 99; Initia 6701.

[43]X, Scott, p. 206; Initia 4287. Other MSS, equally authoritative, title it <u>Ad M./athilda/ reginam</u>.

[44]E.g., Baudry, CLXI (to Godefrey of Reims), CCXX (to a duke Roger), Abrahams, pp. 151-157, 323-325; Peter Riga, <u>De laude Sansonis archipresulis</u> (40 verses), PL 171, 1386; Peter Riga, <u>Versus de laude Alexandri pp</u> (34 verses), Boutemy, <u>Latomus</u>, VIII (1949), 161-162; Bernard of Clairvaux, <u>Versus in laudem Sugerii abbatis</u> (**sent** to Pope Eugenius, 52 verses), PL, CLXXXVI, 1347-1348. See also Matthew of Vendôme's examples of <u>commendatio</u> for a pope, Julius Caesar, and Ulysses, and his <u>vituperium stulti</u>, in <u>Ars Versificatoria</u>, Faral, AP, pp. 121-125, ranging from 23 to 48 elegiac distichs.

[45]Marbod, CV I: LIV, PL 171, 1684; Initia 1454.

[46]Misc CXVII, PL 171, 1435; Initia 17585. Hauréau, NE, pp. 117-118, suggests this was written by the author of

the preceding poem, Misc CXVI, <u>De civitate Pictavi et quodam</u>
<u>ejus praesules</u>, a longer eulogy. Reference in Misc. CXVII
is to marriage of Louis le Jeune and Eleanore of Aquitaine.

[47] OV II: XXXVII, PL 171, 1726-27; Initia 19750.

[48] <u>De Liguribus</u>, Hauréau, ..., p. 139; Initia 20869.

[49] Hauréau, MGM, II, 47; Initia 5362.

[50] Misc CLX, PL 171, 1429; Initia 1743. Hauréau, ...,
p. 105, speculates that the missing objects for <u>habet</u> and
<u>exspoliat</u> indicate verses are missing.

[51] L, Scott, pp. 254-256.

[52] Sn. II, 451 ff., ed H. C. Hoskier (London, 1929).

[53] Bouteny, <u>Latomus</u>, VII (1948), 51 sqq. as cited and
summarized Raby, SLP, II, 27.

[54] XXXV, XXXVIII, Scott pp. 221, 223. See also XXXVII,
<u>De Anglia</u>; XL, <u>Cur Deus homo</u>; LI, <u>De motu ecclesie</u>, Scott,
pp. 222, 226, 236; the last two are religious and largely
lack the personal note.

[55] In particular, Ubern, Nos. VII, VIII, IV, XI, XII,
XXIX, XII.

[56] Bulst, "Studien zu Marbods Carmina varia und Liber
decem capitulorum," <u>Göttingen Nachrichten</u>, Philol.-hist. Kl.,
Fachgr. IV, NF, II (1939), 204-205 (: OV I: LIX, PL 171,
1635); Initia 14284.

[57] PL, CLII, 972.

[58] Léopold Delisle, "Discours . . . Appendice," <u>Annuaire-</u>
<u>Bulletin</u>, Société de l'histoire de France, XXII (1885), 151;
Initia 5115.

[59]G. M. Dreve, "Profane lateinische Lyrik aus kirch-
lichen Handschriften," Zeitschrift f. d. Alt., XXXIX (1895),
368, commenting on the contents of a XIII century MS, says
Es "könnten noch einige lieder in betract kommen, von denen je
nur éine strophe vorhanden ist, noting this poem among them.
Cf. Gustav Milchsack, Hymni et Sequentiae (Leipzig, 1886).
Milchsack's section, Carmina vagorum, and Delisle's address
both contain laments; Delisle's source is usually limited to
single stanzas, Milchsack's gives longer versions.

[60]Walther, "Alexander Neckam," Mittell. Jahrbuch, II
(1965), 116-117; Initia 10104, 9565.

[61]Walther, Mittell. Jahrbuch, II, 116.

[62]Nigel de Longchamps, Speculum stultorum, ed. John H.
Mozley and Robert R. Raymo (Berkeley, 1960), p. 44 (ll. 593-
594).

[63]Ysengrimus, VII, 417-422, ed. Ernst Voigt (Halle,
1884), p. 382.

[64]Mentioned Paul Lehmann, Die Parodie im Mittelalter
(Munich, 1922), p. 229.

[65]Lib. I, Cap. xv, PL CCIV, 23; omitted, as are most
verses so incorporated in narrative, from Initia.

[66]PL, CLVI, 679-938.

[67]Listed by order of birth date, with summary of
epigrams, in Appendix D.

[68]On their relationships, see Scott, pp. 47-62. Baudry,
CXLVII, Marbodo poetarum optimo, Abrahams, p. 124, reveals
he and Marbod had not corresponded before.

[69]Raby, SLP, II, 42.

[70]Frank Barlow, The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux, Camden Third Series, Vol. LXI (London, 1939), p. xiv.

[71]De gesta regum Anglorum, ed. Stubbs, p. 339 (Quem modo miratur) and p. 403 (Par tibi Roma); he also quotes Godfrey's epitaph for Serlo of Gloucester, p. 513.

[72]Cf. Speculum ecclesiae, II, 33, Brewer, IV, 104 ff.

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_____. See Damon, Esposito, Hunt, Kuijper, Walther.

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