



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

Edinburgh Research Explorer

Mediaeval Latin

Citation for published version:

Stover, J 2024, Mediaeval Latin. in R Gibson & C Whitton (eds), *The Cambridge Critical Guide to Latin Literature*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 272-333. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108363303.007>

Digital Object Identifier (DOI):

[10.1017/9781108363303.007](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108363303.007)

Link:

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

Document Version:

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Published In:

The Cambridge Critical Guide to Latin Literature

Publisher Rights Statement:

This material has been published in The Cambridge Critical Guide to Latin Literature edited by Roy Gibson and Christopher Whitton. This version is free to view and download for personal use only. Not for re-distribution, re-sale or use in derivative works. © Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2024.

General rights

Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy

The University of Edinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact openaccess@ed.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



*Mediaeval Latin**Justin Stover***'Sine finibus'**

Mediaeval Latin, as a period of the long history of Latin literature, is beset with obscurity and paradox. As a field it defies boundaries. It admits only of vague periodisation. No one agrees as to where precisely it begins – in the fourth century with the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, in the third with Tertullian and the Latin *passiones*, or in the seventh after the age of Boethius, Cassiodorus, Maximian, Corippus, Venantius had passed? When does it end? Everyone acknowledges that the generations following Lovato Lovati, Albertino Mussato and Petrarch marked some fundamental change in the approach to Latinity, yet millions of pages of what is indisputably mediaeval Latin continued to be written in the universities, courts and chanceries for centuries to follow.¹ As recent work has demonstrated, once one goes beyond the mannered prefaces, the language even of such works as Bacon's *Novum Organum* and Newton's *Principia* is simply mediaeval Latin under a different guise.

Mediaeval Latin defies quantification. No one knows how many Latin texts were written in the millennium between 500 and 1500. No one has any idea what proportion the surviving texts bear to the number originally produced. No one even knows the full extent of what survives.² We are fairly certain that what has been put into print or discussed in scholarship represents only a fraction of what remains in manuscript even for this period. The large repertories, which themselves cannot claim to be genuinely comprehensive – such as

* I would like to thank the editors of this volume for many helpful comments, as well as Aaron Pelttari and Zubin Mistry for reading various drafts. My forays into mediaeval Latin have very much been inspired by Jan Ziolkowski, to whom this chapter is dedicated.

¹ On Neo-Latin, see Haskell in this volume; and on the problems of periodisation in general, see Kelly in this volume.

² For some hints on the extent of lost mediaeval Latin literature, see Hays 2016.

Stegmüller's eleven-volume *Repertorium biblicum*, a handlist of biblical commentaries, Lohr's five-volume *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, or Weijer's *Le travail intellectuel à la Faculté des Arts de Paris: textes et maîtres* (ca. 1200–1500), in nine volumes – give the impression that the edited and studied texts represent a fraction considerably less than 5 per cent of the whole.³ And even what has been edited is almost unimaginably vast: the *Repertorium edierter Texte des Mittelalters* of Schönberger and others, which focuses only on philosophy broadly conceived, covers forty thousand editions with brief bibliographic data, in almost five thousand pages.⁴ For the later period, after 1500, non-humanistic texts in Latin survive in even greater numbers. Law dissertations written in German-speaking countries between 1650 and 1750, as Leonhardt points out, come to a total of some million pages of texts, a corpus larger than the entire surviving output of Latin antiquity.⁵

Mediaeval Latin defies standardisation. No lexicon can claim to be comprehensive. Most of the modern lexica are based on limited national corpora, such as the recently completed *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (1975–2013), or Bartal's *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis Regni Hungariae* (1901), or Arnaldi's *Latinitatis Italicae medii aevi lexicon* (1939–64). The only complete lexicon which aims for comprehensiveness remains that begun by Du Cange in 1678 in three volumes, which was expanded and updated until the end of the nineteenth century, when Favre came out with a ten-volume edition from 1883–87. It remains an astonishing work of scholarship, even though it is nowhere near comprehensive of all the Latin words contained in mediaeval texts. Its successor, the *Novum glossarium mediae Latinitatis*, has only managed to cover thus far the words from *la* (the Romance feminine article that is very rarely found in Latin texts) to *potentificus* in twenty-three fascicles from 1972 to the present day. Likewise, no grammar of the Latin of the mediaeval period can claim the comprehensiveness of Kühner–Stegmann: the magisterial five-volume *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters* of Stotz (1996–2004) is more a patient and painstaking catalogue of bewildering linguistic variety than what classicists might think of as a systematic grammar.⁶

³ Stegmüller 1950–80; Lohr 1988–2013; Weijers 1994–2012.

⁴ Schönfeld 2011, which continues Schönberger 1994. ⁵ Leonhardt 2013: 3–4.

⁶ Stotz 1996–2004.

Mediaeval Latin defies stylistic qualification. It is the last period in which Latin remained a living language for the normal business of life, and the first period in which Latin was a fixed, canonised language learned through the study of old books. It is a language, or a phase of a language, marked by both conservatism and innovation. For a thousand years, its rudiments were taught from the same textbook, Donatus' *Ars minor*. Education aimed at reading the same small number of works – the Latin of the vulgate Bible and the liturgy, Virgil, Terence, Statius' *Achilleid*, the *Dicta Catonis*, Boethius, Augustine, Gregory the Great, some Ovid, a little Sallust, a little Cicero. Under such conditions, the language itself could undergo no radical transformation without undermining its *raison d'être*. And yet this list of texts contains astounding variety and stylistic range, from the evocative broken impressionism of the Latin Septuagint psalter to the charming and supple elegiac couplets of Ovid, from the ponderous and patient ploddings of the *Moralia in Iob* to the glittering *brevitas* of the *Catiline*. This variety of canonical models – of considerably greater range than the models admitted during the Renaissance and later – gives mediaeval Latin its distinctive feel, and ultimately fostered tremendous flexibility and innovation in both style and genre without compromising imitation of the *auctores*.

The History of Histories of Mediaeval Latin

No single study can claim to trace the history or even the lineaments of so vast a field. The lone exception is Manitius, whose three-volume *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (1911–31) is the only completed attempt at a continuous literary history of the Latin Middle Ages (only three volumes out of four of Brunhölzl's work of the same name were published before his death in 2014).⁷ As valuable as both of these histories are, they are by necessity severely selective, in a way that Conte's *Latin Literature* did not have to be.⁸ A history as comprehensive as Conte's (which itself does not cover everything, particularly from late antiquity) would extend to hundreds of volumes, even if it were made up of cursory notices.⁹ There is also no agreement as to what sort of texts this imaginary guide would contain. The corpus of Latin works from antiquity is slim enough that most everything can be subsumed

⁷ Manitius 1911–31; Brunhölzl 1975–2014. ⁸ Conte 1994.

⁹ See the trenchant comments by Ziolkowski 1996a: 530.

under the category of literature: agricultural manuals sit alongside novels, philosophical commentaries next to bawdy comedies. The only specimens of ancient Latin often excluded from the category of Latin literature are late finds usually based on archaeological discovery, and many are included in Adams' new *Anthology of Informal Latin* (2017).¹⁰ So catholic an approach would hardly suit mediaeval Latin. Even granting the traditional distinction between charters and texts, analogous to the one between diplomatics and palaeography, many texts of the latter category would rarely be considered examples of mediaeval Latin literature. Are the untold masses of commentaries on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* or on the *Corpus Aristotelicum* part of mediaeval Latin literature or not? One could assign them respectively to the history of theology and philosophy. And yet one could not even begin to understand, contextualise and interpret such undoubtedly literary authors as Alan of Lille, Alexander Neckham or Peter Abelard without understanding them. Are the vast troves of sermons part of mediaeval Latin literature?¹¹ Many of them may indeed be dull and formulaic, but to exclude them as a category would be to fail to mine one of the richest veins of classical rhetorical practice in the postclassical period. It would ignore the most important works of one of the most dextrous and skilled prose stylists of the entire mediaeval period, Bernard of Clairvaux, considered by some Renaissance humanists as the only one to achieve eloquence between Gregory the Great and Petrarch. The fact of the matter is that there is no consistent rule or criterion for determining what counts as literature from the Latin Middle Ages.

Mediaeval Latin has no canon, at least not in the normal sense of the word.¹² What one might term the canon – which really means the texts that most specialists in mediaeval Latin will be familiar with, those that are often taught in surveys, excerpted in anthologies like Harrington's *Medieval Latin*, available in translation in modern languages, and with sufficient scholarship to generate a bibliography – is heterogeneous, and the product of accidental formation.¹³ It includes texts which have been read for a very long time, such as the poetry of Venantius Fortunatus (d. c. 600), the histories of Gregory of Tours (d. 594), Isidore's *Etymologiae*, the works of Aldhelm and Bede, some Carolingian productions like the *De laudibus sanctae crucis* of

¹⁰ Adams 2017. ¹¹ Schneyer 1969–90 is a repertory of those from 1150–1350 in eleven volumes.

¹² For comparison, see Peirano Garrison in this volume on canons. ¹³ Harrington 1997.

Hrabanus Maurus (pattern poems imitating Optatian), the comedies of Hrotswitha of Gandersheim, some twelfth-century works, such as the love letters of Abelard and Heloise, the *Anticlaudianus* of Alan of Lille, the *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon, the *Architrenius* of John of Hauville, the legendary history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the satiric *Speculum stultorum* of Nigel of Canterbury.¹⁴ Other components of this canon are more recent discoveries, like the early mediaeval historical epic, the *Waltharius*, or the German chivalric romance called the *Ruodlieb*, both of which were discovered and printed for the first time in the nineteenth century.¹⁵ Indeed, it was the nineteenth century in which mediaeval secular lyric first came to be printed and appreciated, with the discovery of *Carmina Burana* at the beginning of the century and Thomas Wright's printing of the poetry attributed (almost always falsely) to Walter Map in 1841.¹⁶ Similar is Jakob Grimm's discovery of the beast-poems *Ysengrimus* and *Ecbasis captivi* as well as the narrative tales *Rapularius* and *Asinarius* in the first decades of the century, followed up a few decades later by the poems of the Archpoet.¹⁷ Other now canonical works were not even printed till the end of the century: the *Dolopathos* of John of Altasilva by H. Oesterley in 1873, Bernardus Silvestris' *Cosmographia* by C. S. Barach and J. Wrobel in 1876, *Eupolemius* and the classicising *Sermones* of Sextus Amarcus in 1891 and 1888 by M. Manitius.¹⁸ At least two undoubtedly canonical mediaeval poetic collections were not even printed until the twentieth century, the poems of Hugh Primas by Meyer in 1907 and those of Baudri of Bourgeuil by Phyllis Abrahams in 1926.¹⁹

All of these are works of sterling quality which richly repay close attention and study. But as a roster or syllabus they represent a mish-mash with no internal consistency as to what is included and what is excluded, dependent above all on accidents of the chronology of scholarly study. The *Flosculus* of Rahewin of Freising (d. c. 1175), with its rich re-imagining of bucolic (discussed further on pp. 287–8), is as interesting and unusual a poetic project as anything produced in the Middle Ages; and yet

¹⁴ On Venantius, see Roberts 2009; on Gregory, see Contreni 2011.

¹⁵ Both are translated by Kratz 1984.

¹⁶ For Map, Wright 1841; and for the *Carmina*, see the new DOML text and translation by Traill 2018.

¹⁷ See Ziolkowski 2007 and 1993.

¹⁸ *Dolopathos*: trans. Gilleland 1981; *Cosmographia*: trans. Wetherbee 2015; *Eupolemius* and Sextus Amarcus: trans. Pepin and Ziolkowski 2011.

¹⁹ Abrahams 1926. The standard edition for Baudri is Tilliette 1996–2000. For Hugh, see the translation by McDonough 2010.

some works, with arguably less intrinsic interest, like the formal eclogues of Warnerius of Basel (d. *post* 1050), have received considerably more scholarly attention. Warnerius is mentioned at least in passing in nearly every survey of mediaeval Latin literature, and has been the subject of at least a couple of dedicated studies; Rahewin's *Flosculus* is mentioned in almost none. This is because Warnerius' two long poems, the *Synodius* and the *Paraclitus*, were edited in 1887 (by Huemer) and 1892 (by Hauréau) respectively, but Rahewin's collection was only fully edited in 1999 (by Deutinger).²⁰ Indeed, some works of considerable literary and intellectual merit have yet to attract much attention at all. The verse encyclopaedia of the Italian Benedictine Gregorio de Montesacro, the *Peri ton anthropon theopiisis (sic)* (c. 1228) in some 13,000 hexameters has attracted only a fraction of the scholarship of the nearly contemporary *Anticlaudianus* of Alan of Lille (d. 1202).²¹ A strong case can be made for Alan's superior merit, as he is surely one of the most vigorous and original authors of the entire mediaeval period, but this can also be explained by chronological bias, since Gregorio's work was only edited in 2002.²² The most detailed commentary on the generation of the soul in Plato's *Timaeus* – in the same spirit as Plutarch's *De procreatione animae in Timaeo* – written by one Hisdosus, was only fully edited for the first time in 2016 (by Hicks), this despite the fact that an apophthegm comparing the soul to a spider attributed to Heraclitus found only in this text has long been included – for no particularly compelling reason – among the fragments of the pre-Socratics (Heraclitus fr. 67a Diels, 115 Marcovich).²³ The Levantine historian William of Tyre has been described as one of the best writers of the Middle Ages, and one of its greatest historians, and has been a principal source for crusade history since the Renaissance.²⁴ And yet his *Chronicon* was critically edited for the first time only in 1986 by R. B. C. Huygens.²⁵ Other important works are still in wholly inadequate editions: the first text to cite Propertius since antiquity, a strange mystagogic treatise from mid-twelfth-century England entitled the *De septem septenis*, is still only available in an incomplete and wholly inadequate nineteenth-century edition by J. A. Giles.²⁶ Its thirteenth-century sequel, a treatise abounding in pseudo-antique Hermeticism, called the *De novem scienciis*, is only available in a diplomatic transcription in a doctoral dissertation from 1938.²⁷

²⁰ Warnerius: the best edition is Hoogterp 1933. Rahewin: Deutinger 1999.

²¹ See Wetherbee's translation of Alan (2013); and for a discussion Curtius 1953: 119–21 and, at much greater length, Simpson 1995.

²² Pabst 2002. ²³ Hicks 2016. ²⁴ For example, Hamilton 2000: 6.

²⁵ On the difficulties of this, see Huygens 1984. ²⁶ Giles 1848. ²⁷ Williams 1938.

The huge and hugely influential Latin lexicon of the eleventh-century scholar Papias survives in a substantial number of manuscripts and was printed four times before 1500; contemporary scholarship has only been able to offer a critical edition of the letter A (by V. De Angelis) and a reprint of the 1496 Venice printed edition (1966).²⁸ Much remains unavailable to scholarship. For example, G. Dinkova-Bruun's survey of biblical poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries lists forty-seven items: nineteen of them are unedited.²⁹ Astonishingly, the *inediti* include two full versifications of the Bible by known authors, Adam of Barking (c. 1200) and Leonius of Paris (d. after 1201) each comprising around 15,000 hexameter lines. Indeed, it is only genre surveys of this sort that can give some picture of how much is unavailable. Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann's 2007 study *Lateinische Dialoge 1200–1400*, for example, lists some 120 dialogues written in Latin in the two centuries under discussion.³⁰ Only about half have been printed, and some of those only in the sixteenth century or before.

Mediaeval Latin cuts across what are now national and linguistic boundaries, defying conventional conceptions of national literature. Yet, as a discipline, it has been fostered piecemeal, primarily as an adjunct to the project of constructing national literatures. There is no single series for mediaeval Latin comparable to the Bibliotheca Teubneriana, Collection Budé or Oxford Classical Texts, although Brepols' *Corpus Christianorum continuatio medievalis* (CCCM), with 374 volumes in print, is coming closer to assuming that role despite its history of hewing closely to theological, devotional and religious texts, and the DOML, with its Loeb-like format, is growing rapidly.³¹ Instead, publication of mediaeval Latin has been piecemeal, and in many cases directed by national consciousness. The great *Monumenta Germaniae historica* (MGH), founded in 1819, has given the *respublica litterarum* hundreds of high-quality critical editions of texts from late antiquity to the fifteenth century.³² While the MGH has interpreted its mandate broadly, that national mandate still constricts the sort of texts for which editions are commissioned. A number of similar projects sprang up in other countries. Britain, for example, had the *Rolls Series* which printed some 253 volumes between 1853 and 1911, albeit not all of them containing Latin texts, and J. A. Giles' *Patres ecclesiae Anglicanae*, for which he edited thirty-four volumes between 1837 and 1843. The British Academy still sponsors the *Auctores Britannici medii aevi*, which has

²⁸ De Angelis 1977. On the manuscripts of Papias, see Zonta 1960. ²⁹ Dinkova-Bruun 2007.

³⁰ Cardelle de Hartmann 2007.

³¹ The early history of the CCCM is discussed by Hendrix 1993. ³² See Knowles 1960.

published since 1969 some thirty-eight volumes containing critical editions of mostly philosophical texts by mediaeval British authors. In Italy, the *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* have since 1900 published hundreds of editions of mediaeval Latin texts relevant to Italian history, inspired by the *Rerum italicarum scriptores* of Ludovico Antonio Muratori issued in twenty-eight volumes between 1723 and 1751. Many smaller such series exist, such as the *Corpus philosophorum Danicorum medii aevi*, which since 1955 has produced some sixteen volumes of Latin editions of mediaeval philosophers from Denmark. These initiatives at their origin were fuelled by more than a little Romantic nationalism, particularly the *Monumenta* and Muratori's *Scriptores* both undertaken to provide Latin *fontes* for the history of nations which did not yet exist. And yet as a mode of organising (not to mention funding) scholarship, national initiatives make a certain intuitive sense in a general way.³³ In particular cases, however, it can introduce misunderstanding. Anders Sunesen, for example, archbishop of Lund from 1201–28, composed a verse hexaameron inspired by his theological studies in Paris, extant in a single manuscript now in Copenhagen (E don. var. 155 4^o, available online).³⁴ It has received considerable attention, an *editio princeps* in 1892 by M. Cl. Gertz, a second deluxe two-volume edition by S. Ebbesen and L. B. Mortensen (1985–8) and a modern-language translation (Danish, by Schepelern),³⁵ as well as several dedicated studies.³⁶ Contrast that with the attention paid to the *Planctus Evae* of Henry of Augsburg, a verse Genesis with an hexaameron, from about a century earlier. In 1891, about a quarter of the poem was published in a Gymnasium programme by Huemer.³⁷ The rest was not printed until the 1956 edition by Colker published in a journal.³⁸ Anders' poem is listed in the major repertories, such as Stegmüller's *Repertorium biblicum* (no. 1332) and Schönberger's *Repertorium edierter Texte* (2890–10); Henry's is listed in neither. This discrepancy cannot by any means be chalked up to merit – literary or philosophical – or contemporary relevance. Henry is as good a poet as Anders, and in terms of intellectual history, his ideas are more original than those of Anders, whose theology very much follows lines laid down by Stephen Langton at Paris.³⁹ Nor can we blame simple chronology, since Huemer's and Gertz's edition came out about the same time. Instead, it must be

³³ Cf. Fuhrer in this volume on national traditions in classical scholarship.

³⁴ <http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/638/eng/>. ³⁵ Schepelern 1985.

³⁶ Ebbesen and Mortensen 1985–88; on Anders, see the papers in Ebbesen 1985. ³⁷ Huemer 1891.

³⁸ Colker 1956. ³⁹ See Ebbesen and Mortensen 1985.

due to the fact that Henry is one of quite a few eleventh-century authors from German-speaking lands, and by no means the most important, whereas Sunesen's poem has to be regarded as one of the 'national monuments' (Ebbesen) of Danish literature.⁴⁰ This is just one example – and many, many more could be adduced. While not a major problem – it is not that Anders deserves less attention, but rather that Henry deserves more – it does illustrate the potential distortions introduced by pursuing the study of a designedly international and cross-linguistic literature like mediaeval Latin along national lines.

This introduction has been deliberately apophatic. At least at our current stage of scholarship, we cannot pin down the elusivity of mediaeval Latin literature through the usual means, defining it through periodisation or linguistic and literary analysis, by genre or canon or place. To attempt to do so requires one to disregard whole categories of evidence and sources, and any results obtained give not just a partial picture but a misleading one. Hence I shall not attempt here to retread ground that has been covered elsewhere, and give my own (partial, misleading) survey of so vast a field. Instead, I shall illustrate two separate ways of looking at mediaeval Latin without the pretence of a universal survey: *microstoria* and *Stilgeschichte*. While both have weaknesses, these two approaches complement one another. For the first, we will explore how to write a *diachronic* history through the lens of genre, epic in particular, and bucolic, and assess how such histories taken together can help trace the outlines of a broader literary history. For the second, we will look *synchronically* at the different stages in Latin style from late antiquity to the Renaissance. While the first approach tends to abstract individual authors from their own historical context to put them in an ideal frame, linking each to their own literary models and successors, the second ignores that ideal frame, and tries to uncover the links contemporary authors have with one another in their way of approaching and using the Latin language, untrammelled by national or generic boundaries.

Microstorie

Exploring microhistories means looking at mediaeval Latin as having not one, single, architectonic history, but untold numbers of histories,

⁴⁰ Ebbesen 2012.

each formulated under its own distinctive principles.⁴¹ In social and cultural history, the practice of *microstoria* often entails a close examination of those margins of society which are ignored or elided in larger-scale histories.⁴² In a similar way, applying the principle to literary history can help shed light on the more obscure corners of the library which canonical histories tend to ignore. Take genre. One way to write about mediaeval Latin would be to look at one specific genre through a long diachronic frame, only bringing in material from outside the genre as it is relevant to help us illuminate our primary subject. The advantage of this approach is that it frees us from arbitrary chronological and national distinctions, while restricting the material that has to be covered to a more manageable scope, and putting the works by authors both major and minor, known and unknown, identified and anonymous, on a level footing. Even so, there are challenges: genre is not unproblematic in classical literature, problems extensively explored in contemporary classical scholarship,⁴³ and those problems grow even larger in following the genres from the classical period to the Middle Ages.⁴⁴

Say we wanted to write the history of mediaeval Latin epic poetry.⁴⁵ The first thing that might be noticed is the fact that epic is not a single thing in the Middle Ages, even if we do restrict our enquiry to extended hexameter narrative. Instead, epic comprises several distinct streams or sub-genres or branches. For the first branch, we might look at classically themed epic, starting from the ancient sources (Virgil, Ovid, Statius, the *Ilias Latina*) and their late antique successors (Claudian, Ausonius), through the sixth century (Dracontius). We arrive then in the Middle Ages proper, where texts like the *Iliads* of Simon Chèvre d'Or and Joseph of Exeter and the anonymous *Historia troyana Daretis Frigii* can be examined next to the *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon and the later *Troilus* of Albertus von Stade, and conclude perhaps with the *Africa* of Petrarch.⁴⁶ In parallel, we could look at historical epics from Lucan to Corippus in the sixth century, continue to the

⁴¹ The *loci classici* for the concept of microhistory are Ginzburg 1993 and Levi 1991. To my (very limited) knowledge, it is not used elsewhere for literary history.

⁴² See Raggio 2013. ⁴³ Farrell 2003 is a good place to start. ⁴⁴ See Rigg 2015.

⁴⁵ For the best overview, see Ziolkowski 1996b and Schaller 1993.

⁴⁶ Simon Chèvre d'Or: the most recent edition is Peyrard 2007; see also Boutemy 1947. Joseph of Exeter: Gompf 1970, with translation by Rigg 2005. *Historia troyana Daretis Frigii*: Stohlmann 1968. *Alexandreis*: ed. Colker 1978, trans. Townsend 1996, with a book-length study by Lafferty 1998. Albertus von Stade: ed. Gärtner 2007. Petrarch: ed. Festa 1926, with the study of Bernardo 1962.

Carolingian period with *Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa* and Abbo Cernuus' *Bella Parisiaca urbis*, and on to the Crusader epics of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁴⁷ The twelfth century also sees a rich harvest of contemporary historical epic produced in Italy, by authors such as William of Apulia (*Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*).⁴⁸ We could take this strand perhaps up to the *De obsidione domini Canis Grandis de Verona* of Albertino Mussato.⁴⁹ As a third strand, we would need to examine biblical epic, starting with its origins with Juvenus, and proceeding through Marius Victor, Arator, Avitus, Severus Episcopus and the rest,⁵⁰ up to the poetry of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries just mentioned, authors like Henry of Augsburg, Anders Sunesen, Leonius of Paris, Peter Riga, including the considerable amount of material still only found in manuscript. As a fourth strand, we would have to look at the rich tradition of epic hagiography – which itself goes back to the ancient genre of verse biography.⁵¹ Starting from such disparate sources as the two Paulini, of Pella and Petricordia, continuing through to Venantius and Bede, and dwelling on extraordinary productions like the *Passio S. Thebeorum* of Sigebert of Gembloux, Hildebert of Lavardin's *Vitae S. Mariae Aegyptiacae*, and Nigel of Canterbury's *Passio S. Laurentii*.⁵² (We could go a step further and include the 'anti-hagiography', in Tolan's phrase, of Embrico of Mainz's *Vita Mahumeti*.)⁵³ A final strand could include allegorical poetry, tracing a history from the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius to *Eupolemius* and the *Anticlaudianus* and the *Architrenius*, concluding perhaps with at least a glance at Dante's (non-Latin) *Commedia*.

All of these different strands of mediaeval Latin epic have a common stock in ancient Latin epic. Indeed, it is precisely the status of the *auctores* – the authoritative ancient authors – which provided generic coherence and stability throughout the mediaeval period. As Jan Ziolkowski put it, *imitatio* was the highest form of compliment in mediaeval Latin culture, and in that sense we can begin to understand the whole history of mediaeval Latin epic as

⁴⁷ *Karolus Magnus*: ed. Hentze et al. 1999, with the studies in Godman et al. 2002.

⁴⁸ See Bayerle 2012. ⁴⁹ Edited in Gianola 1999.

⁵⁰ A good overview is Green 2006; McBrine 2017 provides a bridge from the late-antique epics to the early mediaeval.

⁵¹ For example, Phocas' verse life of Virgil, on which see McGill 2017 and Harrison 2017.

⁵² On verse hagiography, see in general Tilliette 1989. ⁵³ Tolan 1996.

imitatio of Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Prudentius and Claudian.⁵⁴ But we cannot end there.

Each of these different strands would bring unique challenges. To understand the Trojan epics, for example, one would have to examine minutely sources a classicist would not normally consider suitable: Dictys Cretensis' *Ephemerides*, which claims to be a Latin translation of a Phoenician account of the war supposedly written by one of the Greek combatants, a companion of Idomeneus, king of Crete; and Dares Phrygius, which purports to be a translation made by Cornelius Nepos and addressed to Sallust of an account of the war by the Trojan Dares, a priest of Hephaestus (cf *Il.* 5.9–10 ἦν δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δάρης ἀφνειὸς ἀμύμων | ἱρεὺς Ἡφαίστοιο).⁵⁵ (In reality, both are probably late antique Latin productions, Dictys a translation of a Greek text, fragments of which are preserved on papyrus, and Dares perhaps an original Latin composition.) One would also need to look at other mediaeval Latin prose sources for the war, some of which preserve ancient information independently, such as the Rawlinson *Excidium Troiae*, the *Origo Troianorum*, and Guido of Colonna's *Historia destructionis Troie* (1287).⁵⁶ One would also need to look at the emerging national legends associated with the Trojan diaspora in both Latin and vernacular texts, and the burgeoning harvest of Trojan romances, such as Benoît de Saint-Maur's *Roman de Troie* (written between 1155 and 1160) or Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (c. 1385).⁵⁷ Likewise, to chronicle the Alexander epics one would have to immerse oneself in the major ancient Latin sources – Curtius Rufus and Julius Valerius, in addition to minor works like the *Itinerarium Alexandri* or the Metz Epitome – in addition to thoroughly sounding the ancient and early mediaeval sources for the Alexander Romance, and not just those in Latin and Greek.⁵⁸

The history of mediaeval Latin biblical epic, by contrast, would entail a completely different set of contiguous fields. One would have to know the Bible in the most intimate detail, obviously, but this means not only the Vulgate translation, but the various Vetus versions as well. One would also have to have a very firm grasp on the whole patristic tradition of exegesis, which includes not only the four Latin doctors – Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and Gregory – and the minor Western exegetes, but

⁵⁴ Ziolkowski 2001.

⁵⁵ On the circulation of Dares, along with some manuscripts of the (neglected) *Origo Troianorum*, see Favrier D'Arcier 2006.

⁵⁶ See, for a general guide, Atwood 1937 and Yavuz 2015. ⁵⁷ See Desmond 2016.

⁵⁸ See the essays in Zuwiyya 2011.

also the Greek Fathers whose works were available in Latin translation, such as Origen, John Chrysostom and John of Damascus. From that foundation, one would have to traverse the width and breadth of mediaeval exegesis, with de Lubac's magisterial two-volume *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'Écriture* (1959) providing the road map and travel guide. Of course, exegesis by itself is simply an abstraction, *fides sine operibus*. And so to round out our auxiliary disciplines, one would have to turn to sermons, perhaps with something like Kienzle's *The Sermon* (2000) providing a starting point, especially since biblical poetry shared with sermons an essentially paedagogical and hortatory didactic function.

Allegorical epic would share some background with biblical epic, but require additional specialised sources. To do justice to the allegorical tradition, one would need to seriously investigate the Latin philosophical exegetical tradition. One would need a firm grounding in what might be the earliest philosophical commentary in Latin to survive, Calcidius' translation and commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, followed up by Favonius Eulogius' brief discourse on Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, Macrobius' massive commentary on the same, and Martianus Capella's allegorical introduction to the liberal arts, and the vast field of ancient Virgil scholarship, not just Servius' commentary – which is of course essential – but Fulgentius' explicitly allegorical *Expositio Virgilianae continentiae secundum philosophos morales* as well.⁵⁹ Mediaeval theory and practice of hermeneutics is just as necessary, entailing traversing the commentaries of such twelfth-century masters as Bernard of Chartres on Plato, William of Conches on Plato, Macrobius and Boethius, and Bernardus Silvestris on Virgil and Martianus, which provide the essential background to Alan's *Anticlaudianus*.⁶⁰ At least a cursory glance at later mediaeval vernacular productions – most of all the *Roman de la rose* and Dante's *Commedia* – would round out a full treatment of Latin allegorical epic.⁶¹

So too would the other strands of this enquiry require investigation of other fields. In all cases, however, heavy demands would be put on our intrepid enquirer: he or she would have to make free use of sources

⁵⁹ On Calcidius and his influence: Dronke 2008 and the text and translation by Magee 2016; Macrobius: Caiazzo 2002, trans. Stahl 1952; Martianus: trans. Stahl and Johnson 1977; the mediaeval commentaries are surveyed and translated into Italian in Ramelli 2006. On mediaeval *Vergiliana*, see Ziolkowski and Putnam 2008.

⁶⁰ A good introduction to these authors can be found in Dronke 1988; the twelfth-century hermeneutic tradition is ably traversed in Bezner 2005. Much of the work of discovering and editing the commentaries of William of Conches was done by E. Jeuneau.

⁶¹ Two worthwhile general guides to the allegorical tradition are Dronke 1986 and Treip 2015.

which are only available in manuscript; keep one eye on the vernacular tradition, not only as parallel and derivative to the Latin tradition, but in some cases as the source of the Latin texts; and have that same eye keep the Greek tradition in sight, and not only the ancient Greek tradition, but the contemporary Byzantine tradition as well.

Generic Microhistory: Mediaeval Bucolic Poetry

The principle of microhistory can be applied even more productively to slighter genres. Consider the *tenuis Musa* of bucolic. Latin literature offers a slim but virtually unbroken 1,500-year history of pastoral poetry, starting from Virgil. His *Eclogues* have always been read, and the slim but important line of authors that follow in antiquity, Calpurnius Siculus, Nemesianus, Olybrius (the author of the *Einsiedeln Eclogues*), Endecheius, the centonist Pomponius, testify to the enduring attraction of his rustic strains.⁶² The last two show how flexibly bucolic could adapt to innovation: Endecheius, who taught rhetoric in Rome, and is mentioned in a subscription to Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* dated 395 and 397, writes a Christian allegory with cowherds named Buculus, Aegon and Tityrus, but not in hexameters, but rather asclepiads.⁶³ Pomponius, of uncertain date but at least of the same era, cashed in on the elite vogue for centos – witness the obscene Virgilian cento of Ausonius, the pious one of the aristocratic Proba and the pious Homeric cento of the Empress Eudocia – by writing a Christian centonic bucolic. In the sixth century, we find two, or even three, rewritings of Virgil's bucolic corpus. Two are wholly lost. From Cassiodorus, we know that Boethius wrote bucolic: *condidit et carmen bucolicum*, as he says (*Anecdoton Holderi* 7). This probably means that Boethius wrote bucolic divided into individual *eclogae*, but it is impossible to be sure. We also know from the Lorsch library catalogue that one Severus Episcopus (tentatively identified as the bishop of Malaga who died before 602) composed ten bucolics, four georgics and a twelve-book Gospel epic.⁶⁴ Sadly, only a few folios of the last survive, so we cannot say anything definite about his bucolic poetry. We do, however, have one collection surviving seemingly entire, albeit in a single thirteenth-century manuscript (and

⁶² See for example Mayer 2006 and Karakisis 2011. For the identification of the author of the *Einsiedeln Eclogues*, see Stover 2015.

⁶³ On both of these, see Barton 2000 and O'Hogan 2016: 99–108. ⁶⁴ See Stover 2020.

a sixteenth-century copy of it). The four eclogues of Martius Valerius imitate successively the first, second, third and sixth of Virgil's *Eclogues*, and hew closely to bucolic convention.

The other prolific sixth-century poets – Ennodius at the beginning of the century, and Venantius Fortunatus at the end – never write formal bucolic, although individual poems of theirs are strongly marked by the influence of the bucolic tradition. The florescence of letters in the Carolingian period, whether or not we call it a Renaissance, sees renewed cultivation of the *Musa agrestis*.⁶⁵ Alcuin composed a couple of short, formal bucolic poems, including the famous *Conflictus* between winter and spring, which manages to merge the emerging genre of *Streitgedicht* with the Virgilian song contest. Winter and Spring personified are the singers, but Daphnis sits in the audience and Palaemon is the judge.⁶⁶ The other Carolingian formal bucolics are the miniature *Libri* of Modoinus, who styled himself Naso. The *Libri Nasonis* are structured as two long bucolic poems, bookended by an elegiac prologue and epilogue addressed to Charlemagne. Like Calpurnius, Olybrius and, to a lesser degree, Virgil before him, Modoin uses bucolic – still with its traditional trappings of fields shaded by oaks, springs, hills, characters like Micon and Meliboeus – as a mode for reflection on Empire. Under Charlemagne, the promise of the fourth Eclogue is fulfilled: ‘the lamb hastens to the wolf, the fiercest bear convenes with the sheep in a pious peace’ (2.41–2).⁶⁷ The other Carolingian poet to make use of the pastoral mode was Paschasius Radbertus, who wrote a pastoral dialogue between two nuns called Galathea and Phillis, lamenting the death of Adalard of Corbie (d. 827). The inspiration is Virgil's fifth Eclogue, from which Paschasius took the name Phyllis.

But it was not Modoinus' *Libri* or Paschasius' pastoral elegy which would shape the later bucolic tradition, but another written some decades later, called the *Eclogue of Theodulus*.⁶⁸ In it, an Athens-born shepherd named Pseustis, making a tune on his pipe, happens upon the shepherdess Alithia playing the lyre she inherited from David her forefather. This naturally leads to a singing contest: Pseustis proposes stakes, and Alithia points out that *mater Phronesis* is standing by to serve as a judge. They begin – and for more than three hundred lines

⁶⁵ On Carolingian pastoral, see Mosetti Casaretto 2001.

⁶⁶ On the *Conflictus*, see Zogg 2017. Alcuin's authorship is only probable, not certain.

⁶⁷ The first book of Modoinus is translated in Godman 1985: 190–7 and discussed in Godman 1987.

⁶⁸ On Theodulus, see Mosetti Casaretto 1997.

they trade quatrains, Pseustis offering an ancient mython, Alithia topping with a biblical story with much the same moral. Who Theodulus was – the German equivalent would be Gottschalk – and when he wrote is still debated. But not debatable is the influence of his poem. By the twelfth century, the *Ecloga Theoduli* had become a standard school work, incorporated into the so-called *Liber Catonianus* with the *Dicta Catonis* and Statius' *Achilleid*, and extant in countless manuscripts.⁶⁹ This influence extended to formal imitation. The *Synodus* of the eleventh-century cleric Warnerius of Basel, a formal bucolic, is deeply marked by Theodulus' influence.⁷⁰ In it, Sophia describes the *locus amoenus* she finds herself in and proposes a song contest between Thlepsis and Neocosmus. Thlepsis, or 'tribulation', begins with an anecdote in seven lines from the Old Testament; Neocosmus responds with a linked anecdote from the New Testament, or Christian history, again in seven verses. After some three hundred lines, the sun goes down, and Sophia calls a halt to the day's contest. The next day they pick up again, until at last after some 540 verses total, Sophia draws the conclusion to a close. Sophia is an innovative character – hardly a passive judge like Virgil's Palaemon and Theodulus' Phronesis. She actively gets involved in the contest, interrupting the songs to bestow admiration and praise. At the end, she tells them both how much more they could have done, fashioning a series of paired monostichs and distichs on other parallel anecdotes they could have adduced.

Around the middle of the twelfth century, bucolic underwent a revival in Bavaria. The historian Rahewin of Freising, who authored the continuation of the more famous chronicle of his predecessor Otto of Freising, also composed a poetic collection he called the *Flosculus*.⁷¹ It is divided into four parts, the first two versifications of a scholastic summa like the sentences of Peter Lombard. The remaining two parts consist of a prologue, or *Apollogeticum*, and a long bucolic poem of 332 hexameter lines, written in the first person. *Forte die quadam solus residens meditabar* ('One day I chanced to sit alone and sing'), he begins, and the subject of his meditation is his *curae* (cf. *Carm. Einsid.* 2.1). Rahewin transforms Virgil's poetic *otium* into a mental affliction (*ut curae crucient, dissolvant ocia mentem*, 'that

⁶⁹ See Green 1982. There is even an extant eleventh-century commentary on it, by Bernard of Utrecht (ed. Huygens 1977).

⁷⁰ Walther 1920: 9608. On Warnerius, see Ziolkowski 1991. ⁷¹ Ed. Deutinger 1999.

cares torture the mind, relaxation slackens it'), and seeks urgent solace (9–10). Three characters appear to him: *Philosophia consolans*, the Lady Philosophy of Boethius' *Consolatio*, Apollo with his lyre and Pan with his pipe. *Philosophia* sings first (lines 16–59 should be assigned to *Philosophia* in Deutinger's edition), about the subjects of philosophy; Pan goes next with a straightforward theogony (66–98). Apollo responds with a euhemeristic account of the gods, focusing on physical interpretations – such as that Juno is air and Jupiter is fire, and they are said to be siblings and spouses due to the adjacency of the two elements (101–56).⁷² So the debate between the two of them continues, in a free-flowing, non-symmetrical verse, until at last Apollo abruptly closes the exchange and the poem. (It is quite likely that the poem is imperfect at the end.)

At about the same time as Rahewin, further to the south the monk Metellus of the monastery of Tegernsee was embarking on one of the most ambitious literary projects of the twelfth century, a six-part rewriting of a large corpus of ancient poetry by Horace and Virgil into pious poems celebrating St Quirinus, Tegernsee's patron.⁷³ After imitating Horace's *Odes* for the first four parts, the fifth embarks on a sequence of ten bucolics, each modelled after the corresponding Eclogue of Virgil. Metellus' curious art can best be appreciated through examples. The first bucolic, unsurprisingly a dialogue between one Melibeeus and a Tytirus, begins: *Tytire, tu magni recubans in margine stagni* ('You, Tytirus, reclining on the shore of a great lake', 1.1). Metellus has only changed four words of Virgil's first line (*Tytire, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi*, 'You, Tityrus, reclining under the cover of a spreading beech', *Ecl.* 1.1), but thereby effectively transports the bucolic scene to the shores of the Bodensee, the *magnum stagnum*. Metellus transforms Virgil's second Eclogue into Corydon's praise of a beautiful cow, which he has promised to St Quirinus but which he is loath to give up: *Rusticus est Coridon, nec munera providet are* ('Coridon is rustic, and does not look to gifts for the altar', 2.35) slyly adapts Virgil's *Rusticus es, Corydon; nec munera curat Alexis* ('You are rustic, Corydon, and Alexis cares not for your gifts', *Ecl.* 2.56). With just two words, Metellus transforms the lover's *munera* into pious offerings for an interceding saint. Or at the beginning of the song contest in Metellus' third, Dametas sings *Principium Deus est, orbem Deus ambit et implet* ('God is the beginning; God embraces and fills the world', 3.70), which keeps the essential word *principium* from Virgil (*Ab*

⁷² This can be fruitfully compared with contemporary discussions in such texts as the mythography of Alberic of London (Third Vatican mythographer), the anonymous *De natura deorum*, William of Conches, *Glosae super Macrobius* and Bernardus Silvestris, *Commentum in Martianum Capellam*.

⁷³ Ed. Jacobsen 1965.

Iove principium Musae, Iovis omnia plena, ‘From Jove is the beginning of the Muse, of Jove all things are full’, *Ecl.* 3.60), while correcting its heterodox theology.

With Rahewin and Metellus, formal bucolic slips again beneath the surface, only to re-emerge in dramatic fashion some 170 years later in the bucolic epistle of Dante to Giovanni de Virgilio, which inaugurates the rich tradition of Renaissance bucolic from Boccaccio to Sannazaro and beyond.⁷⁴

In broad outlines, at least, that is roughly the story of mediaeval bucolic, on the basis of the seminal studies of P. G. Walsh (1976) and P. Klopsch (1985), a story told in both general treatments of mediaeval literature (e.g. Worstbrock 1999) and in diachronic surveys of bucolic (e.g. Cooper 1977 and Kegel-Brinkgrove 1990).⁷⁵ Still, it has never been told quite this way: Rahewin’s *Flosculus* was only edited in 1999, and Martius Valerius has only been correctly dated since 2017 (although Dolbeau intimated the date thirty years earlier).⁷⁶

But it is, nonetheless, not wholly satisfying. What are we to make of something like this?

1. Declinante frigore,
picto terre corpore
tellus sibi credita
multo reddit fenore.
Eo surgens tempore
nocte iam emerita
resedi sub arbore.

2. Desub ulmo patula
manat unda garrula,
ver ministrat gramine
fontibus umbracula,
qui per loca singula
profluunt aspergine
virgultorum pendula.

3. Dum concentus avium
et susurri fontium
garriente rivulo
per convexa montium
removerent tedium,
vidi sinu patulo
venire Glycerium . . .

5. Frons illius adzima,
labia tenerrima.
‘Ades,’ inquam, ‘omnium
michi dilectissima,
cor meum et anima,
cuius forme lilium
mea pascit intima.

6. In te semper oscito,
vix ardorem domito;
a me quicquid agitur,
lego sive scriptito,
crucior et merito,
ni frui conceditur,
quod constanter optito.’

7. Ad hec illa frangitur,
humi sedit igitur.
Et sub fronde tenera,
dum vix moram patitur,
subici compellitur.
Sed quis nescit cetera?
Predicatus vincitur.

⁷⁴ On Dante’s bucolic, see Raffa 1996 and Witt 2000: 221–3; for translation and commentary, one still must rely on Wicksteed and Gardner 1902. For a survey of the later tradition, see Velli 1992.

⁷⁵ See also Skafte Jensen 1997. ⁷⁶ See Dolbeau 1987 and Stover 2017.

As the chill was waning, and the earth's body became adorned with colour, the soil returned its loan with interest. Arising at that time when night retired, I took a seat under a tree. (2) Under the spreading elm, a babbling brook trickles, spring offers shade on grass by the springs, which flow by every place with a splash, which dripped from the bushes. (3) As the symphony of birds and whispers of springs, and the jabber of the stream, down the slope of the hills, took away my weariness, I saw Glycerius coming, with her prominent breasts . . . (5) Her brow was unblemished, her lips most tender. 'You're here,' I said, 'my favourite of all, my heart and soul, lily, whose beauty sustains me inwardly. (6) I gape at you, barely able to control my passion. If I read or write, whatever I try to do, I am tormented, and rightly so, if I am not allowed to enjoy what I constantly long for.' (7) At this, she was broken, and sat upon the ground, and under the tender branches, as she could scarcely brook a delay, she was forced to lie down [i.e. be a subject]. But who doesn't know the rest? A predicate is attached!

This was written by Walter of Châtillon (the author of the *Alexandreis* discussed on p. 281) in the twelfth century, and represents mediaeval lyrical style at its summit. It is also clearly pastoral, situated in a *locus amoenus* with all its conventional accompaniments, springtime, trees, water, birds and the like, indeed with a textual resonance of the opening of Virgil's first in the word *patula*. The very name of Glycerium was learnedly pilfered from Servius' commentary on Virgil's *Eclogues* (cf. Glyceranus in *Carm. Einsid.* 2).⁷⁷ Indeed, its frank sexuality makes it closer in spirit to the bucolic tradition from Theocritus to Nemesianus than the pious and pedantic poems of Rahewin and Metellus, although Walter too is not without his pedantry (witness the grammatical euphemism at the end). And yet generically, we would assign this poem not to bucolic but rather to 'pastourelle', a vernacular genre, and it is clearly in the same tradition as an Occitan poem like *L'autrier, a l'issida d'abriu* of the troubador Marcabru (c. 1130).⁷⁸ It is not my intention here to delve into the vexed and disputed question of the origins of pastourelle, and the relationship between Latin and vernacular examples of the genre. It is beyond my competence to address whether, for example, Marcabru's 'Trobieï la sotz un fau ombriu' ('I found her under a beech tree's shadow') has anything to do with Virgil's *sub tegmine fagi*.⁷⁹ Instead, I would only

⁷⁷ This source is not mentioned in the learned comments by Bate 1983: 23–4.

⁷⁸ No. xxix in the edition of Gaunt, Harvey and Paterson 2000. On the generic problem of Walter's poem, see Tilliette 2016.

⁷⁹ See De Conca 2009: 9.

suggest that Walter's use of Virgil's bucolics is undoubtedly deliberate – no one can doubt Walter's intimate familiarity with the entire Virgilian corpus – and that he viewed his lyric pastoral as part of the tradition of Virgilian bucolic. Hence a full treatment of mediaeval Latin bucolic would need to look beyond formal bucolic to pastourelle, both Latin and vernacular, to paint a full picture of the *Musa rustica* in the Middle Ages.

The History of Mediaeval Latin Genres

I do not pretend that this is any great critical innovation. Even if no one has called them microhistories, approaching the development of mediaeval Latin literature through genre (broadly or narrowly conceived) has been a common approach in scholarship throughout the twentieth century and beyond. Starting with poetry, we could read the two classic surveys by Raby, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry* (1927, with 2nd edition 1953) and the two-volume *History of Secular Latin Poetry* (1934). The latter study has a replacement in Joseph Szövérfy's four-volume *Secular Latin Lyrics and Minor Poetic Forms of the Middle Ages* (1992–5), which covers some 5,000 poems from the tenth to the fifteenth century; its utility, however, is marred by the difficulty in accessing it, and the frequent lapses in editorial oversight. Less ambitious, more focused histories have been more successful. For example, just for Latin hymnody – and we have thousands of mediaeval Latin hymns surviving, many of them collected in the fifty-five-volume *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, edited by Dreyes and Blume from 1886 to 1922 – we have Szövérfy's indispensable two-volume *Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung* (1964–5), and a host of his other studies. For biblical epic, we have the extraordinary work by Dinkova-Bruun, which over the course of a number of studies provides the lineaments of a general history of the genre.⁸⁰ For love lyric, there is the extraordinary *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love Lyric* by Dronke (1965–6). For the mixed genre – prosimetrum or Menippean satire – we are in the unusually fortunate position of having two general guides – a huge and minutely detailed repertory by Pabst, and a lively analytic investigation by Dronke.⁸¹ Pabst discusses some 131 (mostly Latin) prosimetric texts from Menippus to Jean Gerson in detail. This makes prosimetrum one of the smaller genres

⁸⁰ Especially Dinkova-Bruun 2007 and 2008. See also the essays in Stella 2001. ⁸¹ Dronke 1994.

from the Middle Ages in terms of the number – albeit not the importance – of surviving texts. Yet a real history still takes some 1,100 pages. It is true, as Shanzer has pointed out, that Pabst's study could be condensed considerably without compromise,⁸² but this example still illustrates how vast an adequate survey of all mediaeval Latin literature would have to be. (Indeed, that number, 131, represents approximately the total number of authors discussed in the Latin volume of the *Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, as listed in Drury's 'Appendix of authors and works' at the end of the volume.)⁸³

What all of these generic surveys, or microhistories, have in common is their humility. They do not purport to be exhaustive. They are provisional, summations of the current state of knowledge, but open to revision as new texts are discovered and further work is done. Looking at epic or bucolic or prosimetrum or hymns in the Middle Ages opens for us little windows into the vast library of mediaeval Latin literature. While perhaps frustratingly narrow, such microhistories can give us insights into the *longue durée* of mediaeval Latin with a greater verisimilitude than a broader history can provide. And by reading as many of them as possible together, we can catch at last some glimpse of the whole.

Stilgeschichte

The best, or at least the most engaging, history of postclassical Latin literature before Manitius is found in a novel. In Joris-Karl Huysmans' novel *À rebours* (1884), the syphilitic protagonist Jean Floressas des Esseintes is a libertine, a decadent, an aesthete. He possesses an extraordinary library, whose shelves unfurl an 'anticanon' of Latin literature.⁸⁴ It is not just a library: in Huysmans' narration, it is a history of literature from the perspective of style. Des Esseintes rejects and despises the authors of the so-called Golden Age, not finding a single author to his taste until Petronius and the Christian poet Commodian (whom he dates to the middle of the third century):

These stilted, gloomy verses, with their whiff of the feral, full of everyday terms, of words with their original sense distorted, appealed to him and interested him even more than the style (for all that it was over-ripe and already green with rot) of the historians Ammianus

⁸² Shanzer 1996. ⁸³ *CHCL* 11 799–935.

⁸⁴ The phrase is Hexter's (2015: 33). See also McGill 2018.

Marcellinus and Aurelius Victor, of the letter-writer Symmachus or of the compiler and grammarian Macrobius; he even preferred them to the genuinely scanned lines, and the many-faceted, magnificent language that came from the pens of Claudian, of Rutilius and of Ausonius. These last three were at that time, the masters of the art; they filled the dying Empire with their cries: the Christian Ausonius with his *Cento nuptialis* ... Rutilius, with his hymns to the glory of Rome ... Claudian – a kind of avatar of Lucan ... a poet forging dazzling, sonorous hexameters, and amid showers of sparks beating out his epithets with staccato blows of his hammer ... Santus Burdigalensis [*viz.* Endelicus], who, in an eclogue imitated from Virgil, shows the shepherds Aegon and Buculus lamenting the ailments that plague their flocks ... He much preferred browsing through the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, the inventor of the allegorical poem, a form which was to enjoy a long run of popularity in the Middle Ages, and he enjoyed dipping into the works of Sidonius Apollinaris, whose correspondence, studded with witticisms, conceits, archaisms, and enigmas, he found enticing ...

Des Esseintes' interest in the Latin language remained undiminished, now that it hung like a completely rotted corpse, its limbs falling off, dripping with pus, and preserving, in the total corruption of its body barely a few firm parts, which the Christians took away to steep in the brine of their new idiom ...

Years went by; the Barbarian tongues began to systematize themselves, to emerge from their sclerosis, to develop into true languages; Latin, saved from the cataclysm by the cloister, remained confined to the convents and the presbyteries; here and there a handful of poets sparkled, cold and deliberate: the African Dracontius, with his *Hexameron*, Claudius Mamertus with his liturgical verses, Avitus of Vienne ...

The centuries that followed were represented on Des Esseintes' shelves by just a scattering of works. Nevertheless, he did have, for the sixth century, Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, whose hymns and whose *Vexilla regis*, carved out of the old carcass of the Latin language and seasoned with the aromatic spices of the Church, haunted him on particular days; Boethius, old Gregory of Tours, and Jornandes [*leg.* Jordanes] ... the low Latin of the chroniclers such as Fredegarius and Gregory of Tours ... the legend of St Columba by the cenobite Jonas and that of the blessed Cuthbert, composed by the Venerable Bede ... the lives of St Rusticula and St Radegunde, the first related by Defensor, Synodite of Ligugé, the second by the modest and artless Baudonivia, a nun of Poitiers.

There were, however, a number of singular works of Anglo-Saxon literature, written in Latin, that he found more enticing: the entire series of enigmas by Aldhelm, Tatwine, and Eusebius ... His enjoyment lessened as these two centuries drew to a close; by and large he took little pleasure in the ponderous works of the Carolingian Latinists, the Alcuins and Einhards,

being content, as far as examples of ninth-century Latin were concerned . . . with the poem on the siege of Paris by Abbo le Courbé, and with the *Hortulus*, the didactic poem written by the Benedictine Walafrid Strabo, in which the chapter in honour of the pumpkin, symbol of fruitfulness, filled him with delight . . .

. . . his Latin library stopped at the beginning of the tenth century. For in fact the quaintness, the complicated artlessness of Christian Latin had likewise come to an end . . .⁸⁵

The genius of Huysmans' *Stilgeschichte* is that it takes the pose toward later Latin literature typical since the Renaissance – decline, decay, decadence – and turns them into virtues. It is true, as McGill puts it, that:

The vision of literary history it provides is refracted through [Des Esseintes] and must be colored by what Huysmans lets us know about him. Thus, we should consider his sense of Latin literature to be, like Des Esseintes himself, rebellious and thrilling in its novelty, but also willfully contrarian, alienated, and even perverse.⁸⁶

The Latin of the Middle Ages is certainly not classical, but for Des Esseintes, it has value precisely because it does not ape Cicero and Virgil. In describing it, Huysmans is making what was then a radical claim: works of mediaeval Latin literature deserve attention not only for their content, as monuments of historical, or philosophical or theological importance, which is the view implicit in the great national or ecclesiastical collections of mediaeval Latin literature, from the *Monumenta* to the *Rolls Series* to the *Patrologia*, but as works of literature and specimens of Latin style. Fifteen years after Huysmans, style would form the basis of one of the first attempts at a continuous history of Latin literature since the Renaissance, Eduard Norden's *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* (1898). Unlike Huysmans' Des Esseintes, however, for whom anticlassicism was the chief attraction of late Latin, the classicist Norden was primarily concerned (in the later parts of the study) with tracing the persistence of the classical style through the late antique and mediaeval periods. The difference between Huysmans and Norden can be seen at a glance in their treatments of Charlemagne's biographer Einhard. Self-consciously imitating Suetonius, Einhard managed what was at times a tolerable facsimile of the style of ancient historiography. Indeed, in Norden's judgement, there are in his works passages of which Caesar or Livy would not be ashamed, such as this:⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Huysmans 1998: 28–33. ⁸⁶ McGill 2018: 90–1. ⁸⁷ Norden 1898: 11 749.

Cum enim assiduo ac poene continuo cum Saxonibus bello certaretur, dispositis per congrua confiniorum loca praesidiis, Hispaniam quam maximo poterat belli apparatu adgreditur; saltuque Pyrinei superato, omnibus, quae adierat, oppidis atque castellis in deditionem acceptis, salvo et incolomi exercitu revertitur. (Einhard, *Vita Karoli* 9)

While he was carrying out the war with the Saxons persistently, indeed almost continuously, he established garrisons at appropriate places and set out for Spain with the greatest military force he could muster. After crossing the Pyrenees he received the submission of every town and fortification that he approached and his army came back safe and sound.⁸⁸

Huysmans' *Des Esseintes* will have none of this, taking 'little pleasure in the ponderous works of the Carolingian Latinists, the Alcuins and Einhards'.

Norden, in turn, inspired one of the most important and engaging surveys of later Latinity, Erich Auerbach's *Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter* (1958). Auerbach's goal is to trace the influence of what he calls the *sermo humilis*, or the distinctive contribution of Latin Christianity, and particularly the vulgate Bible, to Latin style, what Huysmans had called *la saumure de leur nouvelle langue* ('the brine of their new language'). But for Auerbach it is precisely this which gives vitality and freshness to some mediaeval Latin literature. Neither a hunter for linguistic perversity like Huysmans' *Des Esseintes*, nor possessed of Norden's censorious classicism, Auerbach found his heroes in authors like Augustine, Caesarius of Arles and Bernard of Clairvaux. As for Einhard, Auerbach grudgingly acknowledged his skill in depicting the political events of Charlemagne's reign, but judged his efforts a failure as soon as he turned to matters of personality and character:

It was not possible in Suetonian Latin, to show how men lived in the Carolingian period, how they looked and moved, and above all how they spoke and reacted. The rhythm is wrong, the words are wrong, and the sentence structure is incompatible with the structure of a genuine Carolingian sentence of conversation . . . His Latin is correct, it may even be said to be relatively elegant, but it is lifeless.⁸⁹

There are considerable advantages to pursuing the history of mediaeval Latin literature through the standpoint of style. Stylistic trends flow across generic and national boundaries. Stylistic change in Latin literature tends

⁸⁸ Trans. Noble 2009: 29–30. ⁸⁹ Auerbach 1965: 119.

to move according to a broad dialectic, providing a general overview of a period without needing to discuss the innumerable individual works.

Mannerism

The key driver of stylistic change in the Middle Ages is mannerism (*Manierismus*), or an author's deliberate decision to turn his or her work into an intellectual puzzle. Mannerism means finding the most difficult and convoluted way of saying the simplest thing – *la naïveté compliquée*, the 'complicated artlessness', that charmed Des Esseintes. It can manifest in many ways: sometimes it is merely when 'syntax is simple, vocabulary fantastic in the extreme' (Winterbottom); sometimes the syntax itself collapses under its own weight, often both.⁹⁰ It is the spectre that haunts the history of mediaeval Latin, and one way to understand the history of the literature is through the progressive emergence, eclipse and reappearance of mannerism. Such an enquiry offers a counterpoint to Auerbach, who traced the development of the *sermo humilis* against the constant threat of mannerism – unfailingly denigrated with the usual descriptors, 'decadent', 'obscure', 'arid', 'unctuous', 'self-satisfied', 'degenerate', 'absurd', 'ornamental', 'rigid', 'sterile', 'pedantic' and so on. One could equally examine the history the other way around. The *Stilgeschichte* of postclassical Latin up to the Renaissance offers a dialectic of mannerism.

Certainly, mediaeval readers read a small number of books intensively and repeatedly.⁹¹ But those works included not just the psalms and the *Moralia* and the *Aeneid*. Indeed, as pointed out in the introduction, what gives mediaeval Latin its vitality is the diversity of its stylistic models. While Latin studies since Petrarch has tended to narrow the range of the Latin authors accepted as models of style, mediaeval writers could choose to follow a bewildering variety of models. Like Pope's Bentley, they had no qualms in quarrying the arid technical remains of antiquity:

For me, what Virgil, Pliny may deny,
Manilius or Solinus shall supply:
For Attic phrase in Plato let them seek,
I poach in Suidas for unlicens'd Greek.

(*Dunciad* 4.225–8)

⁹⁰ Winterbottom 1977.

⁹¹ Essential on monastic reading is Leclercq 1982. On the difference between 'intensive' and 'extensive' reading, see, *inter alia*, Darnton 1986 and Engelsing 1974.

Mediaeval scholars read, re-read, meditated on, taught and commented on Martianus Capella, Macrobius' commentary, Boethius' *Arithmetica*. Understanding the Latinity of these works is essential to understanding mediaeval Latin as a literary language.

Everyone may know that Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* is a prosimetric encyclopaedia of the liberal arts, composed toward the end of antiquity and immensely influential in the Middle Ages. Not everyone tries to actually read it. Here is how *Astronomia* is introduced by Satira in the eighth book, with Martianus' own response:

Astrigerae iam sedis iter cursumque polorum
 et sacra multiuagos qua tollunt sidera flexus
 dicere tempus adest. Video splendente pulsu
 icta corusciferi subitum laquearia caeli.
 Illinc bis septem solitus seruare Triones
 pastor Hyperborea resplendet luce Bootes,
 hinc, qua deuexo tellus subducitur axe,
 ignoto Canopos sese infert fulgidus astro.
 Phoebeos pariter currus rapidosque meatus
 et toties uariae flammantia cornua lunae,
 quin etiam medios quos nectunt culmina circos
 obliqua, et rutilus qua se rapit orbita signis,
 cernere iam uideor: tu fingere ludicra perstas
 uiliaque astriloquae praefers commenta puellae?

Talia adhuc canente Satura, uetitus ille ac durissime castigatus denuo me risus inuasit. 'Euge,' inquam, 'Satura mea, an te poetriam fecit cholera? Coepistine Permesiaci gurgitis sitire fontes? Iamne fulgores praeuides et uultus deorum? Vbi illud repente discessit, quod irrisoria semper lepidaque uersutia inter insana [semper] deridebas uatum tumores, dicabulis cauillantibus saleque contenta nec minus [poetarum] rhetorum cothurno inter lymphatica derelicto? Et quod rabido feruebas cerebrosa motu, ac me Sileni somnum ridentem censorio clangore superciliosior increpabas?' (Martianus, *De nuptiis* 8.808–9)

'The time is now at hand to speak of the path of the starry sphere, the course of the poles and of the region where the hallowed planets trace their diverse and winding courses. I see the canopy of heaven gleam, now struck by a bolt of lightning from the sky. From one direction, Herdsman Bootes, brilliant in the northern light, is wont to watch the Septentriones [Ursa Major and Ursa Minor]; in the other direction, where the earth verges out of sight beneath the inclined sky, bright Canopus ranges imperceptible. And now I think I see Phoebus' team, swiftly coursing, and the blazing horns of the ever-changing moon; and what is more, the middle circle that is bound by the diagonal girdle, along which a path is

traced by glittering planets. You would rather fashion cheap and silly fictions than listen to a girl discoursing on the stars.'

As Satire was reciting these lines, I succumbed again to the mood to banter, despite her prohibitions and stern rebukes. 'A fine performance, my Satire', I said. 'Has your choler made a poet out of you? Have you begun to thirst for Permessian waters? Are you already anticipating the flashing countenances of the gods? What has suddenly happened to your ever-ironical and subtle contempt for the bombast and conceits of the poets, whereby you content yourself with chaffing and witticisms while consigning their poetry to the realms of absurdity? Is there any reason to rage madly at me and to chide me in a superior and contemptuous way for being amused at the slumbering Silenus?'⁹²

An author like Tacitus might use what one might call tortured Latinity, but he does it with a point, for psychological layering, for innuendo, to mirror the political complexity of the early Empire; his 'asymmetrical, often jarring syntax . . . highlights pretext, juxtaposes truth and falsehood, and emphasizes the discordant relationship between events' (Hammer).⁹³ But what need is there for a rather basic introduction to the liberal arts to deploy what can only be described as obfuscation? The answer can only be that the stylistic effect is its own goal. It is not the case that Martianus wanted simply to pass along the rudiments of the arts, but that he wanted to do so in such way that would dazzle his readers and give them the satisfaction of working out exactly what he was trying to say.

It was not just Martianus. Many influential authors of the late fifth and early sixth centuries composed works tinged with mannerism, including Boethius (who was even more widely read than Martianus), Macrobius, Cassiodorus and Fulgentius in prose, and Dracontius, Merobaudes and Martius Valerius in verse. Martius, for example, ends the elegiac prologue to his bucolic with a sequence of lines consisting of two or three words:

Fortunatorum diffamavere tropaea
 indelimatis plurima carminibus,
 commemoraverunt praetermittenda frequenter,
 praetermiserunt commemorabilia,
 decantaverunt inconsummabilia
 formidandorum proelia caelicolum.
 Excusabuntur natura pauperiores:
 dormitaverunt irreprehensibiles.

(Martius *pr.* 13–20)

⁹² Trans. Stahl 1977: 316–17. ⁹³ Hammer 2014: 356.

They disgraced the many trophies of those upon whom fortune had smiled in unpolished song. They often commemorated things that should have been passed over, and passed over things that ought to be commemorated. They sang the matchless battles of the terrible gods. Those poorer by nature will be excused: the blameless have fallen asleep.

Toward the end of the sixth century, however, Auerbach's *sermo humilis* and its analogues were in the ascendant. Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, Martin of Braga and Venantius Fortunatus, different as they may be, are all marked by clarity. Even a work like the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours, which is not necessarily particularly clear to us, was appreciated in its own day for its *rusticitas*, its easy accessibility to the unlearned.⁹⁴ As an example, consider the discussion of *disciplina* and *ars* at the beginning of Isidore's *Etymologiae*:

Disciplina a discendo nomen accepit: unde et scientia dici potest. Nam scire dictum a discere, quia nemo nostrum scit, nisi qui discit. Aliter dicta disciplina, quia discitur plena. Ars vero dicta est, quod artis praeceptis regulisque consistat. Alii dicunt a Graecis hoc tractum esse vocabulum ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς, id est a virtute, quam scientiam vocaverunt. (Isid. *Etym.* 1.1.1–2)

Disciplina gets its name from *discere* ['to learn'], and for this reason it can also be called *scientia*, knowledge. For *scire* comes from *discere*, since no one has knowledge unless he learns. Alternatively, *disci-plina* is derived from the fact that a *plenitudo* is learned. *Ars*, by contrast, is so called, because it is constituted by narrow (*artus*) rules and regulations. Others say that this word is taken from the Greeks, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς, that is, from virtue, since they called it a science.

Whatever one thinks about the linguistic prowess on display or the (lack of) originality (cf. *TLL* II 656.6–44 [Klotz]), there is no question that Isidore's Latin is clear, indeed as clear as any specimen of Latin of any century. One might be tempted to attribute the clarity to genre, but that does not suffice. Consider the following from an Easter homily by Gregory the Great, keeping in mind that homily of all Christian genres was the one most indebted to ancient rhetorical theory:

Sed Maria, cum fleret, inclinavit se, et prospexit in monumentum. Certe iam monumentum vacuum viderat, iam sublatum Dominum nuntiaverat; quid est quod se iterum inclinat, iterum videre desiderat? Sed amanti semel aspexisse non sufficit, quia vis amoris intentionem multiplicat inquisitionis. Quaesivit ergo prius, et minime invenit; perseveravit ut quaereret, unde et contigit ut inveniret, actumque est ut desideria

⁹⁴ This is also true of Fortunatus; see Roberts 2016.

dilata crescerent, et crescentia caperent quod invenissent. (Greg. Magn. *Hom.* 25.2)

But as Mary [Magdalene] wept, she bent over and looked at the tomb. Certainly she had already seen that the tomb was empty, she had already announced that the Lord had been taken away. Why then did she bend over again, desire again to see? For one who loves, to have seen just once does not suffice, since the power of love multiplies the intention of the one seeking their beloved. Thus she sought first, and did not find. She kept on seeking, and so came to find, and it happened that her desire increased as its fulfilment was delayed, and as it increased it obtained what it sought.

This is more rhetorical than Isidore, to be sure, but no less clear. Indeed, it is precisely its clarity that gives it its power. In this respect, it illustrates precisely what Auerbach found so compelling about the *sermo humilis*.

The following century and a half, widely excoriated as the Dark Age, saw a transformation of Latin style. Just a few years after Isidore's death in 636, the monastic *littérateur* Jonas of Bobbio composed his life of St Columbanus, the Irish founder of Bobbio.⁹⁵ From the preface of the first book, it is very clear that we are worlds away from Gregory or Isidore:

Rutilantem atque eximio fulgore micantem sanctorum praesulum atque monachorum patrum solertia nobilium condidit vitam doctorem, scilicet ut posteris alma redolerent priscorum exempla. Eggit hoc a saeculis rerum sator aeternus, ut suorum famulorum famam commendaret perennem utque praeterita gesta linquerent futuris exempla et de praecedentium meritis vel imitando exemplo vel memoriae commendando ventura sobolis gloriaretur. (I.1)

The skill of renowned learned men has preserved the radiant life, shining with an extraordinary splendour, of the leading saints and noble fathers of monks so that the nourishing examples of these ancient men might emit their perfume to future generations. The Eternal Creator of things did this from the beginning of time, so that He might commend the everlasting fame of His servants and that their past deeds might leave examples to the future, and that by imitating the example of the merits of their predecessors and committing it to memory a future generation might rejoice.⁹⁶

To put it simply, many monks and ecclesiastics have written biographies to give posterity models to follow. God ordained this, so that the

⁹⁵ On Jonas, see O'Hara 2018. ⁹⁶ Trans. O'Hara and Wood 2017: 93.

memory of those who served him would last forever, and for the sake of those who would come after. Jonas undoubtedly believed that his mannered rendering of this fairly simple notion was rhetorically effective. He probably considered it a proper *captatio benivolentiae*, establishing for his readers his scholarly *bona fides*. It may also have been inspired by his subject. We have a number of pieces attributed to St Columba, Columbanus' contemporary and fellow Irish monk, one of them an abecedarian hymn that begins:

Altus prosator, vetustus
dierum et ingenitus
erat absque origine
primordii et crepidine
est et erit in saecula
saeculorum infinita;
cui est unigenitus
Christus et sanctus spiritus
coaeternus in gloria
deitatis perpetua.

(*Altus prosator* 1–10)

Lofty creator, ancient of days, unbegotten, without origin of beginning and foundation, he was and is and will be unto boundless ages of ages, to whom the only-begotten is Christ and the Holy Ghost is coeternal, in the endless glory of godhead.

Here the mannerism extends from the broad level of poetic form – abecedarianism is necessarily mannered; compare the lipogrammatic abecedarianism of Fulgentius' *De aetatibus* – to poetic diction, with words like *prosator* and *crepidine*. Off-putting, perhaps, but at least it is relatively comprehensible. That is not the case with a later Irish composition, the *Hisperica famina*, whose ridiculously mannered title (*hisperica* < *Hibernia*+*Hesperia*) is an accurate guide to the contents. See the opening:

ampla pectoralem suscitatur uernia cauernam
mestum extrico pulmone tonstrum
Sed gaudifluam pectoreis arto procellam arthereis
Cum insignes sophie speculator arcatores
Qui egregiam urbani tenoris propinant faucibus linpham
Vipereos que litteratur plasmant syllogismos

(*Hisperica famina* 1–6)⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Ed. Herren 1974: 64.

Ample jubilation swells the caverns of my breast and scorching grief I pluck from my lungs, and I imprison in the arteries of my chest a beating storm of joy, when I behold the famous lords of wisdom who down their throats swallow the glorious liquor of an urbane culture who weave the viperous syllogisms that men of letters understand.⁹⁸

Translation can transmit the sense of the Latin, but not the exoticism of the words. The roughly contemporary works of the Anglo-Saxon abbot and bishop Aldhelm show many of the same features, if less extreme.⁹⁹

Iamdudum ad pontificale proficiscens conciliabulum, fraternis sodalium catervis comitatus, almitatis vestrae scripta meae mediocritati allata satis libenter suscipiens, erectis ad aethera palmis, immensas Christo pro sospitate vestra gratulabundus impendere grates curavi, quo stylo non solum ecclesiastica promissorum votorum foedera, quae fida pollicitatione spondidistis, ubertim claruerunt, verum etiam melliflua divinarum studia Scripturarum sagacissima sermonum serie patuerunt. (*Prosa de virginitate* ch. 1, p. 229 Ehwald)

Some time ago, while proceeding to an episcopal council accompanied by brotherly throngs of associates, I received most pleasurably what had been written by your Grace to my humble self and, with hands extended to the heavens, I took care joyously to extend immense thanks to Christ on behalf of all your welfare. In your writing, not only were the ecclesiastical compacts of your sworn vows – which you had pledged with a solemn promise – abundantly clear, but also the studies of Sacred Scriptures, which drip with honey, were manifest in the extremely subtle sequence of your discourse.¹⁰⁰

A particular feature of Aldhelm's work is that it demonstrates the applicability of the mannered aesthetic to poetry as well as prose. Consider the opening of his verse *De virginitate*:

Omnipotens genitor, mundum ditione gubernans,
 Lucida stelligeri qui condis culmina coeli,
 Nec non telluris formas fundamina verbo,
 Pallida purpureo pingis qui flore vireta,
 Sic quoque fluctivagi refrenas caerulea ponti,
 Mergere ne valeant terrarum littora lymphis,
 Sed tumidos frangant fluctus obstacula rupis; (*Carmen de virginitate* 1–7)

⁹⁸ Trans. Rand 1931: 137. A more literal translation can be found in Herren 1974: 65.

⁹⁹ The classic study is Orchard 1994.

¹⁰⁰ Trans. Lapidge and Herren 1979: 59, with modifications.

Almighty Progenitor, guiding the world by Your rule, Who are creator of the shining heights of the star-filled heaven, Who also formed the foundations of the earth by Your Word; You Who paint the pale greensward with purple blossom and restrain the azure surface of the wave-wandering sea so that the shores of the land are not submerged by water, but rather that obstacles of rocks may break the swollen waves . . .¹⁰¹

The connection of all these authors to Insular milieux has led scholarship to invent a stylistic category called Hiberno-Latin (not to be confused with Hiberno-Latin as a geographic convenience). It has also been called the ‘hermeneutic style’ on the grounds that its dominant characteristic is the use of obscure diction derived from glossaries called *Hermeneumata*. But the case becomes muddled once one takes a broader look at sixth-, seventh- and eighth-century literature. A contemporary of Columba, Dynamius of Marseilles, wrote Latin prose of much the same flavour as Jonas:

Quantum aestifero solis ardore defesso vel longinqui itineris a vastitate quassato gelida limpha, dum ariditatem temperat, restinguit desideria sitientis, ita mihi vestrarum epistularum elocutio, cum incolomitatis vestrae indicia rettulit, gaudiorum incrementa nutrit; quia, quotiens crebra recordatione dulcia affectionis vestrae vota commemoro, desideria pectoris publicare suspiriis non desisto, pro eo, quod ille corporali fraudatur intuitu, qui de cordis non absentatur arcano. (*Epistolae austrasiacae* 12.1)¹⁰²

Just as when one is wearied by the roasting heat of the sun or shattered by the vastness of a long journey, cold, clear water, as it moderates thirst, extinguishes the desire of the one who thirsts, so too the eloquence of your letters to me, when it brings evidence that you are well, nourishes the growth of my joys, since, as often as I recall with frequent recollection the sweet promise of your affection, I cannot hold back the desires of my heart to burst forth in sighs, for the one who, though deprived from my bodily sight, is not absent from the secret chamber of my heart.

His wife Eucheria composed a charming epigram, a specimen of ‘cultivated precocity’ displaying a ‘delight in mannerism’ (Dronke).¹⁰³ The elegiacs posit a series of adynata, an impeccably classical poetic device, but in a language far removed from Horace or Virgil:

Aurea concordi quae fulgent fila metallo
setarum cumulis consociare uolo.

¹⁰¹ Trans. Lapidge and Rosier 1985: 108.

¹⁰² = *MGH Epist.* 111 435. On Dynamius, see Norberg 1991.

¹⁰³ Dronke 1984: 28. See also Marcovich and Georgiadou 1988.

Sericeum tegmen, gemmantia texta Laconum,
 pellibus hircinis aequiperanda loquor.
 Nobilis horribili iungatur purpura burrae;
 nectatur plumbo fulgida gemma graui . . . (vv. 1–6)

The threads of gold, shining with the glitter of the concordant metal, I want to put together with the heaps of bristles; a silken garment, a Spartan cloak wrought with gems, I want to put on the same level with goatskins. Let a noble purple tunic be attached to an awful shaggy rag. Let a shining gem be affixed to a piece of heavy lead.¹⁰⁴

The snobbery comprehends not just style but content, coming to the devastating conclusion:

Haec monstra incertis mutant sibi tempora fatis:
 rusticus et seruus sic petat Eucheriam! (vv. 31–2)

Let these beasts exchange their way of life for an uncertain fate: then only may a countryman and a serf come to woo Eucheria!¹⁰⁵

Traces of mannerism can be found everywhere. In the third quarter of the seventh century, Chrodobertus (Robert), bishop of Tours, wrote a letter to the Abbess Boba (St Beuve of Reims):

Si futuri temporis cautela, largiente Christi gratia, inhibeat et culpa non iteretur, quatinus multis fletibus diebus et noctibus, publicae et occulte, ieiuniis et orationibus, gemitibus, suspiriis, laboribus, obedientia et taciturnitate, humilitate et caritate preterita deleatur, non sunt querenda aut numeranda annorum tempora ad agendam penitentiam, sed fortitudo cuiuslibet temporis vel momenti conpunctionis, timoris sui et amoris Dei ex toto cordis desiderio.¹⁰⁶

If one is restrained by concern for the time to come, by the gift of Christ's grace, and the fault is not repeated, such that by much weeping through days and nights, both in public and private, by fasting and prayers, by groans, sighs, labours, obedience and silence, by humility and charity, the past fault is blotted out, the duration of the years for doing penance are not to be examined or counted, but only the fortitude of fear of oneself and the love of God at each time and moment of sorrow, from the whole desire of the heart.

¹⁰⁴ Trans. Marcovich and Georgiadou 1988: 166. ¹⁰⁵ Ibid. 167, with modifications.

¹⁰⁶ *Ep. aev. Mer. coll.* 16 = *MGH Epist.* 111 462.

One could equally look at some of the prose of Eugenius of Toledo, such as this period from a letter to Isidore's executor Braulio:

Quid aut taliter signatis remedii, aut his possit pro correctione praeberi, me fateor ignorare; sed a te de his illuminari me postulo, qui divinae sapientiae maiori lumine pollens, et legis sanctae quotidie meditationi deserviens, latebrosas nigrorum cordium factiones et vehementer insequeris, et prudenter invenis, et acute dissolvis. (*Ep.* 1.3, *PL* 87, 403)

I confess that I am ignorant as to what can be offered as a remedy to those who anointed in this way, or for their correction, but I ask to be enlightened by you on these matters, since you are mighty in the greater light of divine wisdom, and daily devote yourself to meditation on the holy law, and you doggedly search out the shadowy factions of black hearts, and cleverly find them, and sharply remove them.

The persistence of mannerism across Europe in the seventh century defies attempts to locate specific cultural conditions which fostered it. Certainly in the South there were still remnants of the machinery of rhetorical education,¹⁰⁷ and certainly in Ireland, scholars approached Latin as a language to be learned from books, a code even. But none of the explanations can comprehend the whole. The fact is simply that throughout the seventh century, and beyond, writers were still drawn to mannerism, readers still enjoyed it, and these readers were found dispersed across the Latin world. Aldhelm, for example, may have known the *Versus Eucheriae*.¹⁰⁸

Understood this way, it makes sense that the important sea-change in Latin style comes not with the Carolingians but with an Insular author who never set foot beyond Britain. The Latinity of Bede has long been praised, and even a cursory glance at the opening of the *Historia ecclesiastica* is enough to understand why:

Historiam gentis Anglorum ecclesiasticam, quam nuper edideram, libentissime tibi desideranti, rex, et prius ad legendum ac probandum transmissi, et nunc ad transcribendum ac plenius ex tempore meditandum retransmitto; satisque studium tuae sinceritatis amplector, quo non solum audiendis scripturae sanctae uerbis aurem sedulus accommodas, uerum etiam noscendis priorum gestis siue dictis, et maxime nostrae gentis uirorum inlustrium, curam uigilanter impendis. (*praef.*)

¹⁰⁷ The classic study is Riché 1976. ¹⁰⁸ Orchard 1994: 207.

The ecclesiastical history of the English, which I recently had set forth, I did both first very gladly send to you at your desire, my king, for you to read and assess first, and now do send it to you again, that you may have it copied and may more fully at your leisure consider it: and I cannot but highly commend your unfeigned zeal, not only to give diligent ear to the words of Holy Scripture, but also exercise a watchful care to know of things done or spoken by worthy men before your time, and specially of our own country.¹⁰⁹

This is not the simple Latin, or *sermo humilis*, of Gregory or Isidore, but it is not mannered. The achievement of Bede was a complex but clear Latinity deploying registers appropriate to his subject.¹¹⁰ The literary florescence of the following period – in the late eighth and ninth centuries – continues on this track. Deliberately, it seems; the leading light of that movement, Alcuin of York, was himself a student of one of Bede's pupils. We have already seen specimens of Carolingian prose and poetry, by Modoin, Paschasius and Einhard. Perhaps they can be criticised, with Auerbach or Des Esseintes, as lifeless, although I confess to knowing no objective measure for linguistic vitality. At the very least, from the perspective of *Stilgeschichte*, they may be understood not merely as classical revivals, but also as reactions against mannerism.

But the tides changed. At the very end of the ninth century, Abbo of St Germain wrote an epic account of the Viking siege of Paris that he had himself witnessed in 885. It is prefaced with a letter to one brother Gozelin which can only be described as highly mannered:¹¹¹

Tuae admodum mihimet acceptissimę germanitatis affectio sibimet dudum destinari crebro poposcit, ut bellorum Parisiacę polıs, precellentissimi quoque principis ab examine regni hucusque Odonis, nostro genitum labore codicellum didicit, tam contigui studiosa ingenioli quam fraterni insuper non inmemor flagri. (*Bella Parisiacę urbis, pr.*)

The love of your kinship, most acceptable to me – your love that is enthusiastic for your kin's little intellect and not unmindful of brotherly love – when it learned that a little book of the wars of the city of Paris and also of Odo, the most outstanding prince up to now since the origin of the kingdom, had been born from our labour, often desired that it be sent.¹¹²

This contrasts with the style of the actual text at least of the first two books, which is mostly very clear and written under the predominant influence of

¹⁰⁹ Trans. King 1930, with substantial modifications.

¹¹⁰ See Hays 2015: 224–7, who analyses another passage of the *Historia ecclesiastica*.

¹¹¹ Ed. von Winterfeld 1899: 77. An English translation is offered by Adams and Rigg 2004.

¹¹² Trans. Adams and Rigg 2004: 18.

ancient epic. Consider, for example the brief speech of the Viking king to Gozelin (Jocelyn, bishop of Paris, not Abbo's addressee):

O Gozline, tibi gregibusque tuis miserere,
 ne pereas; nostris faveas dictis, rogitamus;
 indulge, siquidem tantum transire queamus
 hanc urbem – tangemus eam numquam; sed honores
 conservare tuos conemur, Odonis et omnes. (1.40–4)

O Gozelin, show pity to yourself, your flocks,
 Lest you should die. Obey our words, that's all we ask.
 Indulge our wish; allow us only to pass through
 This town, which we will never touch. We'll do our best
 To save you honours, and all those of Odo too.¹¹³

When, however, we move to the third book, written specifically for a clerical audience (*clericorum decus*) and for students (*tirunculorum effectus*), we are right back into the world of Martianus and the *Hisperica famina*:

Clerice, dipticas lateri ne dempseris umquam.
 Corcula labentis fugias ludi fore, ne te
 laetetur foedus sandapila neque toparcha.
 Machia sit tibi, quo ierarchia, necque cloaca.
 Non enteca nec alogia, verum absida tecum
 conmaneat, mentes, acrimonia, non quia mordet. (3.1–6)

O cleric, never take the diptychs from your side;
 Flee from being the leader of the sliding game, lest
 The filthy bier and the toparch rejoice in you.
 Let your battle be where hierarchy, not the sewer, is.
 Let not the money chest nor banqueting but clear
 Severity stay with you, since it does not bite
 The mind.¹¹⁴

Tellingly, the first two books of Abbo's poem achieved almost no mediaeval circulation. The third book was wildly popular, and particularly so in England. The following century and a half would see the triumphant return of mannerism in both poetry and prose.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Trans. Adams and Rigg 2004: 23. ¹¹⁴ Trans. Adams and Rigg 2004: 63.

¹¹⁵ A counterpart to Abbo from this period would be Atto of Vercelli, in the mid-tenth century, who composed a double version of his prose work, one simple and one mannered. See the analysis in Hays 2015: 227–9, who makes the connection to works like the *Hisperica famina*, without, however, using the term mannerism.

The Latin of tenth-century England has been well studied, particularly in regard to the ‘hermeneutic style’.¹¹⁶ It is well known that virtually the entire Latin literary output of pre-conquest England after the ninth century is written with a tortuous – perhaps torturous – mannerism. But mannerism flourished everywhere in Europe where literary Latin was written. In 981, the monk Walther of Speyer prefaced his verse life of St Christopher (*Vita et passio Sancti Christophori martyris*) with a description of his own education:

At postquam prima scienti fauce saliva
 Imbibit alphabetum notularum docta tenore,
 Syllabicas recta rugas plicuisse rubrica,
 Nuda mihi clausas tribuit psalmodia mammas
 Terpsicoreque suam docuit me texere pallam,
 Donec bis tropicos repetivit Apollo meatus. (12–17)¹¹⁷

And after the first saliva in the thirsty mouth had drunk of the alphabet, learned in the shape of characters to fold the creases of syllables with the right rubric, naked Psalmody offered her still closed-up breasts to me, and Terpsichore taught me to weave her mantle, until Apollo had twice made his wandering journey between the tropics.

In other words, Walther studied chant after grammar for two years. This work has been described as having an ‘artificial and overlaid classicizing style of poetry’ (Jaeger) – an observation that might hold if one thinks of Martianus, Macrobius and Boethius as the real classics.¹¹⁸ In prose, the best example of tenth-century mannerism on the continent can be found in the incomprehensible works of Rather of Verona.¹¹⁹ An irascible ecclesiastic from the territory of Liège, Rather’s career ranged all over Europe. Driven from the sees of Verona (twice) and Liège, he wandered from Provence to Bavaria and the Rhineland. Along the way he composed an extraordinary corpus of Latin works in a highly personal style. One specimen will suffice. On 29 July 966, Rather mounted his pulpit in Verona and delivered an extraordinary sermon:

Cum enim eo quo indignus attollor officio debitorem me utriusque fore non nesciam ritus, id est ut et domino in membris suis, hoc est sanctae matris ecclesiae debeam filiis ministrare, ob hoc tamen a contemplando eo numquam cessare sed in lege eius meditari die ac nocte, et neutrum horum me

¹¹⁶ The *locus classicus* is Lapidge 1975. ¹¹⁷ Ed. Vossen 1962: 36. ¹¹⁸ Jaeger 1994: 63.

¹¹⁹ On Rather and his inimitable style, see Reid 1981.

perspiciam agere, sed econtra non me solum sed et omnes mihi commissos, precipue uere magis necessarios, corrumpendo, eum die noctuque (quamuis in eum nulla cadat passio) ad iracundiam prouocare, quid de me dicere, quid ualeo cogitare (et ut turpia subsidens honesta solum, prohibita licet, depro-mam) si in lege Dei ut debitorem me fore non nescio die <non> meditor et nocte, Catullum numquam antea lectum, Plautum quando iam olim lego neglectum, musicam quando sepe rogatus expono, cum nequeam (primo arithmetico scilicet cassatus auxilio), milites quando meos ad prelium ob Cesaris cogo preceptum, quando illos mitto uenatum? (*Sermo de Maria et Martha* 4)

I am aware that in the office to which I am unworthily raised I am obliged to live both kinds of life, that is, that I should both minister to the Lord in his members (i.e. the sons of the Holy Mother the Church) and yet never cease from contemplating Him, but meditate on His law day and night, and I see that I do neither of these things, but on the contrary, by corrupting not only myself but also all those entrusted to me, and particularly those of my brotherhood, provoke Him day and night to anger, though no passion affects Him. What then can I say, what can I think of myself (to omit the shameful acts and to mention only the honourable, though forbidden, ones), if I do not meditate – as I am well aware that I ought – day and night on the law of God, when I read some Catullus never read before and Plautus long neglected, when I often expound music in response to a request (though quite unable to do so, as I lack the first help of mathematics), when I marshal my soldiers for war following Caesar's orders and send men out hunting?¹²⁰

This is a passage well known to classical scholars, as it is the only secure testimony to the reading of Catullus in the Middle Ages. Many are content to paraphrase it – an unsurprising choice, given the passage's relentless recursiveness and dizzying grammar. One can only imagine the bafflement of the Veronese hearing it delivered orally. He found one appreciative ear, at least, a millennium later, in Auerbach, who described his work with a period not unworthy of Rather himself:

Rather is always expressive, and unquestionably the mannerism of his language is something more than learned ornamentation, namely an authentic reflection of his nature: as far as I know, he is the first author of the Middle Ages in whom mannerism became a genuine style, but it was rooted in his being, which he could not have expressed any other way.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Trans. Kiss 2015: 6. A translation of Rather's works – on which Kiss based his own rendering – can be found in Reid 1991.

¹²¹ Auerbach 1965: 143. Compare the original (1958: 107): 'Doch ausdrucks-voll, wie schon gesagt, ist Rather immer, und es ist ganz unbezweifelbar, daß der Manierismus seiner Sprache nicht nur eine gelehrte Ornamentierung, sondern die eigentliche Form seines Wesens ist: der erste Schriftsteller

Mannerism extends beyond mere lexical and syntactic choices. It can also involve the use of innovative and artificial literary forms, such as the anti-acedarian composition of Fulgentius mentioned earlier. In this period, leonine verse (hexameter with internal rhyme) became widespread – one of the earliest and most influential examples was the *Ecloga Theoduli* (discussed on pp. 286–7). Hucbald of St Amand (d. 930) composed a tautogrammatic poem in praise of bald men of 136 hexameter lines in which every word begins with C, beginning *Carmina, clarisonae, calvis cantate, Camenae* ('Sing, far-sounding Muses, songs for bald men'). This period sees the earliest macaronic poetry, or poetry which freely mixes Latin and the vernacular. A composition from Canterbury in praise of Aldhelm dating from this period contains a bizarre blend of Old English and mannered Latin:¹²²

Etiam nusquam
ne sceal ladigan labor quem tenet
encratea, ac he ealneg sceal
boethia biddan georne
þurh his modes gemind micro in cosmo,
þæt him drihten gyfe dinams on eorðan,
fortis factor . . .

(Aldhelm 12–17)

Never indeed must mastery excuse the one whom work occupies, but ever he must eagerly ask for aid in his mind's thought in the microcosm, that the Lord, the mighty maker, grant him power . . .¹²³

Further examples of macaronic poetry, this time with German, can be found in the *Carmina Cantabrigiensia*.¹²⁴

The eleventh century saw a gradual stylistic change. A little more than a century after Abbo had composed his third book of the *Bella Parisiaca* for students, a schoolmaster of Liège, named Egbert, composed an hexameter medley specifically for students, entitled the *Fecunda ratis*, or *Well-Laden Ship*.¹²⁵ It opens with a couplet ever so slightly tinged by mannerism:

Lintris foeta iocis diversa aplustria portat,
cuius Prora nitet vario distincta colore.

(Fecunda ratis 1.3–4)

des Mittelalters, so viel ich weiß, bei welchem das Manierierte zum eigentlichen Stil wird, weil es aus seinem Dasein entspringt, diesem Dasein entspricht und allein fähig ist, es auszudrücken.'

¹²² See Lapidge 1975: 83. ¹²³ Trans. Orchard 1994: 292, modified. ¹²⁴ Ed. Ziolkowski 1994.

¹²⁵ Ed. and trans. Babcock 2013.

My ship teeming with riddles carries diverse rigging; its 'Embellished Prow' shines with manifold color.¹²⁶

The text, however, immediately sails into monostich proverbs modelled on the *Dicta Catonis*, written in a register of Latin we would recognise as suitable for beginners. In prose too, the change is perceptible. Compare a sermon by Peter Damian (d. 1072) with the sermon by Rather:

Non igitur nobis avaritiae ardor incandeat; non iracundiae nos furor impelat. Non in nobis flamma libidinis aestuet; non turpis cogitatio pulchram animae nostrae coram Deo speciem foedet. Non nos terrenae facultatis abundantia in superbiam erigat; non tenacitas misericordiae viscera pauperibus claudat. Vigeat in nobis perpetua castitas, humilitas, patientia, sobrietas, iustitia cum pietate, severitas cum mansuetudine. (*Serm.* 73, *PL* 144, 866b)

Let not, then, the heat of avarice set us aflame, let not the madness of anger drive us. Let not the flame of lust grow hot within us, let not disgraceful thoughts defile the beauty of our soul in the sight of God. Let not the accumulation of earthly power stiffen us into pride, let not stubbornness choke off the depths of our mercy for the poor. In us may there flourish ceaseless chastity, humility, patience, sobriety, justice with devotion, severity with tenderness.

In Peter Damian, we can recognise both the influence of classical rhetorical theory, and the vigorous Latinity of the vulgate Bible, combining clarity with rhetorical power.¹²⁷ It is for this reason that he has been described as 'one of the best Latinists of his age, and one of the greatest writers of the Latin Middle Ages'.¹²⁸ In poetry, the Loire valley poets – Marbod of Rennes, Baudri of Bourgueil and Hildebert of Lavardin, active around the end of the eleventh century and into the beginning of the twelfth – developed a mature and classical poetic style, which did not avoid the formal innovations of the Middle Ages entire, and made no attempt to avoid common unclassical words. One example will suffice. Baudri wrote a poem describing his own poetry to one Robert, written probably before 1107, in response to a request for a poem:

Carmen inurbanum nulla fornace recoctum
misi mitto iterum, quod tibi rus sapiat.
Rus colimus, mulgemos oves, armenta minamur,

¹²⁶ Trans. Babcock 2013: 9.

¹²⁷ On Peter Damian, see the classic study Leclercq 1960; and his rhetoric, see Schönbeck 1998 and Yolles 2009.

¹²⁸ Leclercq 1960: 172.

urbis rus nobis abstulit officium.
 Nos fora nescimus, nescimus castra subire,
 ruris delicias nos numeramus oves.
 Quicquid in urbe manet, novit quicquid fit in orbe
 urbs prior agnovit quicquid in orbe novum.
 Nos avium varia laetemur garrulitate,
 nos voces ovium novimus atque boum. (vv. 1–10) ¹²⁹

I have sent you and again I send not a city poem, one distilled in no furnace, but one which savours of the country for you. I live in the countryside, I milk my sheep, I drive my herds. The country has exempted me from the city's obligations. I don't know the courts, I don't know how to enter military service. I count my sheep as the countryside's pleasures. Whoever sticks to the city knows whatever is going on in the world – the city knows what's new in the world first. I am delighted by the different chirpings birds make. I know the voices of my sheep and my cows.

There are many ways one could describe this poem; mannered is not one of them. There are quite a few reasons why the twelfth century has been described as a Renaissance, some of them more valid than others. But the most obvious one is because of style. Many twelfth-century writers strove to imitate the Latin classics, both prose and poetry. Norden found the prose of John of Salisbury notable for its imitation of classical style.¹³⁰ John's near contemporary and fellow Englishman, William of Malmesbury, has received similar analysis at the hands of Winterbottom.¹³¹ But focusing just on the most classical authors risks a distortion of perspective. The real genius of the twelfth century was developing a Latin that could express extremely complex ideas in clear terms. In poetry, for example, Adam of St Victor (d. 1146) could encode complex theological ideas into perfectly balanced rhythmic strophes suitable for singing. Take, for example, a bit of a sequence for the feast of Pentecost:

Panes legis primitivi
 sunt sub una adoptivi
 fide duo populi.
 Se duobus interiecit
 sicque duos unum fecit
 lapis, caput anguli. (13.5 p. 53 Gauthier)

¹²⁹ Hilbert 1979: no. 251. See Szövérfy 1992–5: 11 169. ¹³⁰ Norden 1898: 717.

¹³¹ Winterbottom 2017.

The two breads of the old law are the two peoples, joined by adoption, under one faith. He, the cornerstone, joins them both, and so makes the two one.

Any attempt to put this into a language other than Latin must either choose theological fidelity or poetic effect. In Adam's hands, the two are one. In terms of style, then, there is little daylight between Adam and the goliardic poets. The Archpoet achieves a similar complexity in simplicity, such as in his famous 'confession':¹³²

Tercio capitulo memoro tabernam.
illam nullo tempore spreui neque spernam,
donec sanctos angelos venientes cernam
cantantes pro mortuis 'requiem eternam'.

Meum est propositum in taberna mori,
ut sint vina proxima morientis ori.
tunc cantabunt letius angelorum chori:
'Sit deus propitius huic potatori.'

On the third count, I list the tavern. At no time have I spurned it, nor will I, until I see the holy angels coming, singing *requiem aeternam* for the dead. It is my plan to die in the tavern, so wine might be at my lips as I expire. Then the choirs of angels will sing in greater exultation, 'May God have mercy on this drinker!'

Beneath the facile and glittering surface run deep currents of parody of liturgy and sacramental theology, and the Archpoet is no more an easy poet than Adam.

The scholastics were the masters of this art: it is often said that Thomas Aquinas, for example, is easier to read in Latin than in translation, so closely is the structure of the thought wedded to the structure of the language. The stylistic development of the Latin language is at least as important a factor in the tremendous intellectual and philosophical achievements of the later Middle Ages as the translation of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* into Latin. As a language Latin became explosively productive: if one needed to discuss the concepts of 'this' and 'that', *haecceitas* and *illeitas*, 'thisness' and 'thatness', were ready at hand. If one wanted to have a serious ontological discussion – the kind that Seneca wished he could have in Latin (*Ep.* 58) – one could readily distinguish between *ens*,

¹³² On the Archpoet, see Godman 2014.

esse, essentia, essentitas, essentialitas and *entitas*, and that without even bringing in *existentia, subsistentia, essentificatio, quidditas* and *substantia*. One cannot but note a touch of manneristic whimsy in the philosophical vocabulary of the Majorcan theologian Raymond Llull (d. 1315); for example, from *De ascensu*:

Considerat intellectus passiones, quas habet Deus respectu ad nos, secundum quod nos sumus peccatores, sicut: incredibilitas, intimidabilitas, iniustificabilitas, ignorabilitas, inrecolibilitas, inamabilitas, ingratabilitas, inlaudabilitas, blasphemabilitas, inhonorabilitas, periurabilitas; et sic de multis aliis, quas longum esset narrare. (d.6)

The intellect considers the passions which God has with respect to us, insofar as we are sinners, such as: inability-to-be-believed, inability-to-be-feared, inability-to-be-justified, inability-to-be-known, inability-to-be-recalled, inability-to-be-loved, inability-to-be-rejoiced-over, inability-to-be-praised, ability-to-be-blasphemed, inability-to-be-honoured, ability-to-be-perjured, and so too regarding many other qualities, which would take too long to enumerate.

Indeed, as we move from the twelfth into the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it is hard not to notice a sort of recurrence of mannerism. We can do nothing more than present a few gleanings, since in this period the amount of surviving literature becomes so vast and the nature of it so varied that generalisations are far less useful than in the preceding centuries.

Formal innovations and experiments can be found in poetry. Macaronic poetry, for example, takes on new life. Take this example from England:

*Alas, my hart will brek in thre;
Terribilis mors conturbat me.*

Illa iuventus that is so nyse
Me deduxit into vayn devise;
Infirmus sum, I may not rise –
Terribilis mors conturbat me.
Alas, my hart etc.

...

Queso iam the Trynité:
'Duc me from this vanité
In celum, ther is joy with the' –
Terribilis mors conturbat me.
Alas, my hart etc.

(*Illa iuventus* 1–7, 23–7)

Alas my heart will break in three; dreadful death confounds me. That youth which is so foolish has led me into vain device. I am weak, I may not rise – dreadful death confounds me. *Alas, my heart etc.* . . . Now I beg the Trinity: ‘Lead me from this vanity into heaven, there is joy with thee’ – dreadful death confounds me. *Alas, my heart etc.*

Also from England is an extraordinary poem written entirely in a perverse Latinity which deliberately transposes morphology, *Quondam fuit factus festus*:

Abbas dixit: ut senectus
ego bipsi cum affectus.
Vadi queri promtum lectus
ubi sum iacencia.

Dixit abbas serviatis:
Date vinum nostris fratris.
Bene legunt et cantatis
Ad nostra solempnia.

Dixit prior ad abbatis:
bene bibunt, habent satis.
Non est bonum ebriatis;
eant ad claustralia.

Unus cano iuniorum,
bonus lectus et cantorum,
irascatus ad priorum
dixit, ‘Ista folia!’

The Abbot said: ‘As an old man, I have drunk with gusto. Go and look for a bed where I can lie down.’ The Abbot said to the servants: ‘Give wine to our brothers. They have read and sung well at our solemnities.’ The prior said to the Abbot: ‘They have drunk well and had enough. It is not good to get drunk – let them go back to the cloister.’ One of the younger cantors, skilled in reading and singing, grew angry at the prior and said, ‘What folly!’ (translated as if correct Latin forms were employed)

From its first publication, this poem has been described as *Spottlatein*, or mock-Latin, but the fact that every word in it is a valid Latin word, suggests something more is going on.¹³³ Some six centuries earlier the mysterious grammarian Virgilius Maro had described twelve different kinds of Latinity, the eighth of which, called *belsavia*, exhibits all the features found in *Quondam fuit*.¹³⁴

Belsauia, hoc est peruersa, cum casus nominum modusque uerborum transmutat, cuius exempla sunt hec, ut *lex*, hoc est *legibus*, et *legibus*, hoc est *lex*, et *rogo*, hoc est *rogate*, et *rogant*, hoc est *rogo*. (*Epit.* 15)

Belsavia, or perverse, is when the cases of nouns and the moods of verbs are switched around. Examples of this are these: *lex* means *legibus*, and *legibus* means *lex*, and *rogo* means *rogate* and *rogant* means *rogo*.

¹³³ Most recently Rigg 2015: 279.

¹³⁴ The best edition of Virgilius Maro is Löfstedt 2003; the most detailed study is Law 1995.

I do not suggest any genetic relationship between Virgilius and the *Quondam fuit*, even though Virgilius did find at least one appreciative reader in thirteenth-century England.¹³⁵ Both are products, however, of a parallel aesthetic, and the *Quondam fuit* can be appreciated as a specimen of a sort of mannerism. It was not written for those who lacked Latin grammar; on the contrary, it can only be appreciated for its art by readers who understand what the Latin ought to say.

Quondam fuit was only published in 1908, and so there is no way Huysmans could have put it into Des Esseintes' library. It is also not the sort of composition Auerbach was apt to comment on, and we can have little doubt as to what Norden would have thought about it. Nonetheless it stands as a peculiar monument of some of the trends that characterise some of the literature of the whole mediaeval period, bringing together a mannerist aesthetic in a popular and new poetic form shot through with parody and satire. It is a mediaeval composition and, unlike some, could not have been written in any other age.

The Legacy of Mediaeval Latin Style

As an overview of *Stilgeschichte*, I recognise that one could find the foregoing analysis perverse, with its omission or cursory treatment of the canonical texts of mediaeval Latin, such as they are, and its emphasis on mannerism instead of classicism or the *sermo humilis*. Nonetheless, it provides a flexible enough framework into which many mediaeval works of many different ages can be securely placed, and its emphasis on mannerism and the enduring legacy of the late Roman authors tries to respect and understand what mediaeval writers and readers themselves considered to be good Latin.

It also points to the enduring legacy of mediaeval Latin literature. The intellectual complexity of the metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century, such as John Donne and Richard Crashaw, owes much to the way in which style was wedded to thought in mediaeval Latin, particularly scholastic philosophy and hymnody.¹³⁶ A similar aesthetic to mediaeval mannerism marks some of the defining works

¹³⁵ A protégé of Robert Grosseteste, on whom I have a study in preparation.

¹³⁶ On Donne, see Kortemme 1933; Crashaw even translated several famous mediaeval hymns: see Claydon 1960.

of literary modernism – a fact rendered less surprising, perhaps, by Huysmans' evident interest in non-classical modes of Latinity. Eliot's *Waste Land* is a renewal of macaronic and centonic poetics, both types of mannerism. It is a poem written to be *studied* as much as read – witness, after all, Eliot's own explanatory footnotes – just as Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus* was equipped with a full-scale commentary just a few years after his death by his student Ralph of Longchamps, and Boccaccio composed notes for his own (Italian) *Teseida*.¹³⁷ But the most obvious debtor to the traditions of mediaeval mannerism is the (appropriately enough) Irish novelist, James Joyce, who repurposes the eschatologically rich language of the *Altus prosator* for scatological ends in *Finnegans Wake*:

Primum opifex, altus prosator, ad terram viviparam et cunctipotentem sine ullo pudore nec venia, suscepto pluviali atque discinctis perizomatis, natibus nudis uti nati fuissent, sese adpropinquans, flens et gemens, in manum suam evacuavit (highly prosy, crap in his hand, sorry!), postea, animale nigro exoneratus, classicum pulsans, stercus proprium, quod appellavit deiectiones suas, in vas olim honorabile tristitiae posuit, eodem sub invocatione fratrorum geminorum Medardi et Godardi laete ac melliflue minxit, psalmum qui incipit: Lingua mea calamus scribae velociter scribentis: magna voce cantitans (did a piss, says he was dejected, asks to be exonerated), demum ex stercore turpi cum divi Orionis iucunditate mixto, cocto, frigorique exposito, encaustum sibi fecit indelibile (faked O'Ryan's, the indelible ink).¹³⁸

Whatever Joyce's reading consisted of, he has caught the spirit of mannered Latin, not just with the obvious nod to Columba, but with the unsteady syntax, the obscure vocabulary (*vivipara* and *cunctipotens*), the use of a Greek word (*perizoma*) where an obvious Latin word would do (*cingulum*), with the wrong case ending, too, probably to rhyme with *discinctis*, the pun on *nates* – *nati*, the superfluous subjunctive in *fuissent*, the general nonsense of a reflexive object of *adpropinquans*, and so on.

These are mere soundings in deep and unexplored waters – the post-mediaeval reception of mediaeval Latin literature – a subject which, despite its central place in Curtius' *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, is even more obscure and neglected than the

¹³⁷ Ralph: ed. Sulowski 1972; Boccaccio: see Schnapp 1992.

¹³⁸ Joyce 1939: 185. Boyle 1966 offers a translation.

history of mediaeval Latin itself. It is a sea vast beyond all reckoning: Ziolkowski's recent *The Juggler of Notre Dame and the Medievalizing of Modernity* follows the wake of a single mediaeval Latin story across nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature and culture in some 2,500 pages.¹³⁹ But perhaps when that story is written – if ever – it is what is distinctively *mediaeval* about mediaeval Latin – the playfulness and love of language it displays, its unabashed intellectualism, its addiction to formal and verbal experimentation, its parsimonious union of word and thought, in a word, its *oulipisme* – which will be found to have left the richest legacy.¹⁴⁰

'A Rival Aesthetic'

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, or perhaps, more accurately the *Duecento* and the *Trecento*, with which we concluded the survey above, also bring what is conventionally considered the end of mediaeval Latin. At the end of the thirteenth century, a Paduan notary named Lovati Lovato and his circle of friends exchanged with each other poetic epistles which have been dubbed the foundation of humanistic Latin. It is not hard to see why. In one letter he describes visiting a witch, who prepared for him a potion:

Postmodo secreta Circeas aggerat herbas,
 quas dederat Pindos, Othris, Olympus, Athos,
 quas Anthedonii gustarunt intima Glauci.
 Nec desunt monti gramina lecta Rubro,
 nec que te refovent ictam serpente, Galanthi,
 nec Florentini stamina fulva croci.
 Additur his mirre facinus, gummique Sabeum
 et que cum casiis cinnama mittit Arabs. (Ep. 4.83–90)

Afterwards, she secretly piles up the herbs of Circe which Pindos, Othrys, Olympus, and Athos had provided for her, and which the belly of Anthedonian Glaucus had tasted. Nor are the herbs collected from Mount Rubrus lacking, nor those which renew you, Galanthi, struck by the serpent, nor the tawny fibres of the Florentine crocus. To these are added the working of myrrh and Sabaean gum and twigs of cinnamon, which, with cinnamon bark, the Arabs send.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Ziolkowski 2018. ¹⁴⁰ See Hexter 2015 and Uden 2018.

¹⁴¹ Trans. Sisler 1977: 85, with modifications.

The extent of Lovato's knowledge of ancient Latin poetry has been overstated (there is no real evidence he knew Propertius or Statius' *Silvae*, for example). Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that this poetry imitates Ovid and Horace in a way that is more intimate than almost any mediaeval examples. But this can also be understood as a new mannerism, challenging readers to pick out the allusions, sending them scurrying to other books to find the geographic and mythological references. A quick glance at some of Lovato's other poetry confirms this impression, such as this one addressed to Mussato (the Asellus of the poem; Lovato himself is Lupus):

Dulcis Aselle Lupo, virtutis amator ephebe,
 Qua potes, adversis obstantia pectora praebe,
 Te decet esse virum. Seu clamat copia bebe,
 Si quid habes pulcrum chordis impelle, rebebe,
 Si nihil aut nostri carmen tibi displicet, ebe,
 Sive latere velis clipeum collectum in hebe,
 Cum reliquos hebetent turpia, turpis hebe. (*Carm.* 27.12–18, p. 21 Padrin)

Ass sweet to the wolf, young lover of virtue, in which you excel, set your chest athwart adversity – manhood becomes you. Or if your talents cry out bleating, if you have anything fine, play it on the strings, bleat it again, if my poem does not displease you at all, bleat it out, or if you wish to hide the trophy you have gained in your youth, while wantonness dulls your contemporaries, as a wanton man be dulled.¹⁴²

Ebe must be one of the most challenging two-syllable rhymes in Latin – Lovato handles it with aplomb. The conventional explanation that examples like this represent Lovato's degeneration back into 'mediaeval taste', a concession 'to a contemporary and rival aesthetic'.¹⁴³ But how rival is the aesthetic? Witt characterises Lovato's classicising poems as follows:

This is learned poetry, densely interspersed with ancient poetic fragments and mythological and biblical reminiscences . . . The intensely referential verses of Lovato's poems must have delighted his audience, charmed by familiar literary associations set in a new context and intrigued about the origin of some of the expressions and imagery – in fact drawn from rare ancient texts – classical in character but unfamiliar.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Translation mine. I am grateful to Gavin Kelly for a number of suggestions. Witt 2000: 104 wrongly suggests that some of the words are nonsense.

¹⁴³ Witt 2000: 104. ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 97.

What Witt is saying – even though he never uses the term – is that readers would have been attracted to Lovato’s mannerism. I do not see any reason why those same readers would not be delighted by Lovato’s *-ebe* poem. And so from its origins, humanistic, or protohumanistic, poetry looks a lot like yet another manifestation of mannerism. Further evidence can be found in Dante. In the second decade of the fourteenth century, Giovanni de Virgilio sent Dante a poem, gently suggesting that he ought not be writing allegorical poetry in the vernacular but rather Latin epic on contemporary events. The style of Giovanni’s poem is definitely mannered:

Pieridum vox alma, novis qui cantibus orbem
 mulces letifluum, vitali tollere ramo
 dum cupis, evolvens triplicis confinia sortis
 indita pro meritis animarum, sontibus Orcum,
 astripetis Lethen, epiphoebia regna beatis,
 tanta quid heu semper iactabis seria vulgo,
 et nos pallentes nihil ex te vate legemus? (Ecl. 1.1–7)

Sacred voice of the Pierides, which sweetens the world awash in death with new songs, as you long to raise it up with the bough of life, unfurling the boundaries of the triple fate established according to each soul’s deserts, Orcus for the guilty, Lethe for those who sought the stars, and for the blessed, the kingdoms beyond the sun [viz. the three cantos of the *Commedia*], why alas will you throw such weighty and serious matters to the common rabble, while we who are pale with study read nothing of your poetry?¹⁴⁵

Dante responded to this provocative condemnation of his vernacular poetic project in a curious fashion, with a poem *à clef*, in the form of the most authentically Virgilian bucolic the world had seen at least since late antiquity, with himself as Tityrus and Giovanni as Mopsus, in a poem rightly seen as a landmark of protohumanist verse:

Tunc ego sub quercu meus et Meliboeus eramus.
 Ille quidem, cupiebat enim consciscere cantum,
 ‘Tityre; quid Mopsus, quid vult? Edissere,’ dixit.
 Ridebam, Mopse; magis et magis ille premebat.
 Victus amore sui, posito vix denique risu,
 ‘Stulte, quid insanis?’ inquam. ‘Tua cura capellae
 te potius poscunt, quamquam mala cenula turbet . . .’ (Ecl. 2.4–10)

¹⁴⁵ Translation mine, but I benefited from Wicksteed and Garland 1902: 147.

My dear Meliboeus and I were then under an oak tree. He said to me – for he wanted to know my song – ‘Tityrus, what does Mopsus want? Tell me.’ I smiled, Mopsus; he urged me more and more. Overcome at last by my affection for him, with effort at last I hid my smile, and said, ‘Foolish man, why are you raving? The goats in your care are asking for you, although your meagre poor repast is troubling you . . .’.

Dante answered the mannerism of Giovanni – whose verse is redolent most of all of Boethius – with a mannerism of his own, a learned facsimile of Virgil. The kind of readers who would appreciate Giovanni’s poem and Dante’s response are not two different categories of readers and the aesthetics that characterise them are not two different aesthetics, but one. In the same way, both varieties of Lovato’s poetry are united by a single aesthetic which could have been appreciated by the same audience.

Of course, I am only speaking here of the very beginnings of humanistic Latin. There is no doubt that a stylistic and aesthetic revolution would take place over the following decades, and that the literary Latin of the Renaissance is not just another mode of mediaeval Latin. Later humanists would themselves point to Lovato and Dante as precursors to their own movement, but this was conditioned by their own views of the Latinity of the Middle Ages. In their view eloquence died perhaps with Augustine, perhaps with Gregory the Great, and was only reborn in the Italy of the *Trecento*. Hence Witt is not wrong to characterise revivalist Neo-Latin as a ‘rival aesthetic’ to mediaeval Latin, but it was not so at the earliest stages. The Latin poetry of Lovato and Dante has its roots in the very traditions of style their successors attempted to displace.

Nonetheless, it is important to keep a wide perspective, for more than a century after Petrarch, humanistic Latin was not the only kind of literary Latin in use. In many – if not most – corners of the Latin world, what we would instantly recognise as mediaeval Latin remained in full flower. Far from Italy, for example, Piotr Wilhelmi from Grudziądz, a town on the Vistula south of Gdańsk, then part of the Baltic *Deutschordenstaat*, produced a remarkable collection of poetic compositions set to music, in an itinerant career which took him across central Europe over the first half of the fifteenth century.¹⁴⁶ A glance at some of the incipits, or openings, of his compositions is instructive: *Prodigiis eximiis*, *Praeconia etroclita*,

¹⁴⁶ On Piotr, see Gancarczyk 2006. The edition is Černý 1993. Most of the attention paid to Piotr since his rediscovery had been in musicology, but for a recent examination of his compositions as Latin poetry in the context of late mediaeval aesthetics, see Awianowicz 2017.

Problemata enigmatum, Praedulcis eurus turbinis, Praelustri elucentia, Phoebus ecclipsi tumuli, Phonicorum ethicorum. One example:

Psalmodium exileratum
 triphariali resono
 verum stipantes Dei natum
 promemus vite consono

ut per ipsum a scelesti
 liberemur scoria
 et defuncti in celesti
 collocemur gloria.

Gathered round the true son of God, we will offer hymns of joy in threefold harmony befitting his life, that through him we might be freed from the slag of evil and after death come together in the glory of heaven.

The first thing one might note is that this is not the Latin of his humanist contemporaries, like Pier Paolo Decembrio, or Panormita, or Enea Silvio Piccolomini (whom Piotr may well have known). This is instead the Latin of the *Altus prosator*, Abbo of St. Germain, or Walther of Speyer. At the same time, Piotr was alive to new possibilities, particularly those offered by composition for polyphonic settings. For example, a composition about a monk named Andreas Ritter, entitled *Probitate eminentem*, demonstrates the literary and aesthetic potential of polyphonic poetry.¹⁴⁷ One specimen:

Is sanctam vitam comitatur
 et morum rectitudinem
 amplexatur, veneratur
 iustorum sanctitudinem . . .

Et in templo est devotus,
 pro veniaque supplicat;
 quando bibit bonos potus,
 verba non multiplicat.

Non est lentus, sed festinus
 divina ad obsequia; . . .

(vv. 9–12, 17–26)

He pursues a holy life, and embraces uprightness of character, and venerates the holiness of the just . . . And he is devoted in church, and begs God for

¹⁴⁷ On this poem and its interpretation, see Gancarczyk 2016.

pardon. When he quaffs a good drink, he does not multiply his words. He is not slow but swift to God's service; . . .

While the first voice sings these strophes, the second voice corroborates the sentiments:

Hic non advertit mulieres
viventes incomposite,
sed puellas mente meras
diligit theorice . . .

Raro manet in tabernis,
pro se et suis cogitans
lacrimatur, pro eternis
devote deum rogitans.

In bibendo, comedendo
observat temperanciam; . . .

He pays no attention to women who live dissolutely, but he esteems pure-minded girls in a Platonic way . . . He rarely spends time in taverns; he sheds tears when he thinks of himself and his own, devoutly beseeching God for eternal life. In drinking, in eating, he keeps to moderation; . . .

So far, rather unremarkable both in content and poetic quality. The sting in the tail is what the text means when the two parts are read together:

Is sanctam vitam comitatur,
et morum rectitudinem.
amplexatur, veneratur.
iustorum sanctitudinem,

Et in templo est devotus
pro veniaque supplicat
Quando bibit bonos potus,
verba non multiplicat

Non est lentus, sed festinus
Divina ad obsequia

hic non. Advertit mulieres
Viventes incomposite
Sed puellas mente meras,
diligit theorice . . .

raro. Manet in tabernis,
pro se et suis cogitans.
lacrimatur; pro eternis
devote deum rogitans

in bibendo, comedendo.
observat temperanciam . . .

That man pursues a holy life, this one does not. He takes note of women and the uprightness of their characters. He embraces and venerates those who live dissolutely, but esteems girls of pure mind and the holiness of the just – in theory . . . He is rarely devout in church. He spends his time in taverns, and begs for favour, thinking only of himself and his own. When he quaffs a good drink, he weeps. When he is devoutly asking God for eternal life, he does not multiply

his words. He is not slow, but quick to drink and to eat; but when it comes to the worship of God, he keeps to moderation . . .

While the satire and parody on display here is of a piece with late mediaeval aesthetics – consider the *Quondam fuit* or the works of Chaucer or Boccaccio in the two generations preceding – the use of polyphonic layering to provide new and deeper meanings comes from mediaeval liturgical practice, and particularly the use of tropes to the ordinary chants of the Mass to comment on and expand upon the set liturgical texts.¹⁴⁸ It also tells us something about Piotr himself, and his playful approach to text. An alert reader might note as well that the *Psalmodium exileratum*, as well as every one of the incipits mentioned, has the acrostic sequence *P – E – T*. Piotr emerged from the obscurity that surrounds most popular Latin poets of the late Middle Ages due to the marvellous discovery by Černý in 1975 that he indulged in the mannerist game of signing his compositions with the acrostic *Petrus* (and one with a full *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz*), as in the first six words of the *Psalmodium*.¹⁴⁹

The lesson of this brief pilgrimage to fifteenth-century central Europe is that mediaeval Latin sensibilities and mediaeval Latin style persisted long after humanism took root. It is a tragedy, and one whose effects are still felt today, that even when scholars in the sixteenth century began to move away from a rigid aesthetic approach to Latin style and to historicise the language, understanding how it changed and developed over time from old Latin all the way up to ‘Silver Latin’, they were never able to historicise the development of Latin after antiquity.¹⁵⁰ It remained simply Gothic barbarism. And yet the reasons for this pose are not hard to grasp: all the way into the sixteenth century, as Piotr and the continuing manuscript circulation of his poetry for decades after his death testify, mediaeval Latin offered (in Witt’s phrase) ‘a contemporary and rival aesthetic’, a living tradition of a Latin literature that was inspired by, but not subject to, the style of Cicero and Virgil.

Postscript

This is a time of transition in Mediaeval Latin studies. Eight of the scholars whose work appears in this essay, and all of them leading lights in the field, passed away as it was in preparation: A. G. Rigg (1937–2019), Peter

¹⁴⁸ See in general on tropes and liturgical poetry, Iversen 2010. ¹⁴⁹ See Černý 1975.

¹⁵⁰ Stok 2016 offers an excellent overview of one of the first humanist attempts to periodise Latin, that by Perotti, toward the end of the fifteenth century.

Godman (1955–2018), Richard Sharpe (1954–2020), Peter Dronke (1934–2020), Fr Édouard Jeuneau (1924–2019), Peter Stotz (1942–2020), Ronald Witt (1932–2017) and Marvin Colker (1927–2020). *Tantus labor non sit cassus*.

References

- Abrahams, P. (1926) *Les oeuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil (1046–1130)*, Paris.
- Adams, A. and A. G. Rigg. (2004) ‘A verse translation of Abbo of St. Germain’s *Bella Parisiaca urbis*’, *Journal of Medieval Latin* 14: 1–68.
- Adams, J. N. (2017) *An Anthology of Informal Latin*, Cambridge.
- Atwood, E. B. (1937) ‘The *Excidium Troie* and medieval Troy literature’, *Modern Philology* 35: 115–28.
- Auerbach, E. (1958) *Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter*, Bern.
- (1965) *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages* (trans. R. Manheim), London.
- Awianowicz, B. (2017) ‘Texts by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz in the context of the late medieval *Ars poetriae*’, *Muzyka* 2017: 41–54.
- Babcock, R. G. (2013) *The Well-Laden Ship. Egbert of Liège*, Cambridge, MA.
- Barton, M. (2000) *Spätantike Bukolik zwischen paganer Tradition und christlicher Verkündigung: das Carmen de Mortibus Boum des Endelechius*, Trier.
- Bate, K. (1983) ‘Ovid, medieval Latin, and the pastourelle’, *Reading Medieval Studies* 9: 16–33.
- Bayerle, H. (2012) ‘Speech genres in the twelfth-century Latin historical epics of Italy’, in *Donum natalicium digitaliter confectum Gregorio Nagy septuagenario a discipulis collegis familiaribus oblatum* (online at: http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS_Bers_etal_ed.Donum_Natalicium_Gregorio_Nagy.2012.)
- Bernardo, A. (1962) *Petrarch, Scipio and the Africa: The Birth of Humanism’s Dream*, Baltimore.
- Bezner, F. (2005) *Vela Veritatis: Hermeneutik, Wissen und Sprache in der Intellectual History des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Leiden.
- Boutemy, A. (1947) ‘La version parisienne du poème de Simon Chèvre d’Or sur la guerre de Troie’, *Scriptorium* 1: 267–88.
- Boyle, R. (1966) ‘*Finnegans Wake*, page 185: an explication’, *James Joyce Quarterly* 4: 3–16.
- Brunhölzl, F. (1975–2014) *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Munich.
- Caiazza, I. (2002) *Lecture médiévales de Macrobie. Les Glosae Colonienses super Macrobius*, Paris.
- Cardelle de Hartmann, C. (2007) *Lateinische Dialoge 1200–1400: Literaturhistorische Studie und Repertorium*, Leiden.
- Černý, J. (1975) ‘Petrus Wilhelmi of Grudencz – an unknown composer of the “Age of Dufay”’, *Musica antiqua. Acta scientifica* 4: 91–103.

- Černý, J., ed. (1993) *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz Magister Cracoviensis. Opera musica*, Krakow.
- Claydon, M. (1960) *Richard Crashaw's Paraphrases of the Vexilla regis, Stabat mater, Adoro te, Lauda Sion, Dies irae, O gloriosa domina*, Washington, DC.
- Colker, M. L. (1956) 'Heinrici Augustensis *Planctus Evae*', *Traditio* 12: 149–230.
(1978) *Galteri de Castellione Alexandreis*, Padua.
- Conte, G. B. (1994) *Latin Literature: A History* (trans. J. B. Solodow, rev. D. P. Fowler and G. W. Most), Baltimore.
- Contreni, J. (2011) 'Gregorius Turonensis', *CTC* 9 (Washington, DC), 55–72.
- Cooper, H. (1977) *Pastoral: Medieval into Renaissance*, Ipswich.
- Curtius, E. R. (1953) *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (trans. W. Trask), Princeton.
- Darnton, R. (1986) 'First steps towards a history of reading', *Australian Journal of French Studies* 23: 5–30.
- De Angelis, V., ed. (1977–78) *Papiae Elementarium littera A*, Milan.
- De Conca, M. (2009) 'Marcabru. *Lo vers comens cant vei del fau* (BdT 293.33)', *Lecturae tropatorum* 2: 1–38.
- Desmond, M. (2016) 'Trojan itineraries and the matter of Troy', in R. Copeland, ed., *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature: Volume 1: 800–1558* (Oxford), 251–68.
- Deutinger, R. (1999) *Rahewin von Freising: Ein Gelehrter des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Hannover.
- Dinkova-Bruun, G. (2007) 'Biblical versification from late antiquity to the middle of the thirteenth century: history or allegory?', in W. Otten and K. Pollman, *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity: The Encounter between Classical and Christian Strategies of Interpretation* (Leiden), 315–42.
(2008) 'Rewriting Scripture: Latin biblical versification in the later Middle Ages', *Viator* 39: 263–84.
- Dolbeau, F. (1987) 'Les *bucoliques* de Marcus Valerius sont-elles une œuvre médiéval?', *MLatJb* 22: 166–70.
- Dreves, G. M. and C. Blume (1886–1926) *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, 55 vols., Leipzig.
- Dronke, P. (1965–6) *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love Lyric*, 2 vols., Oxford.
(1984) *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua to Marguerite Porete*, Cambridge.
(1986) *Dante and Medieval Latin Traditions*, Cambridge.
(1988) *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, Cambridge.
(1994) *Verse with Prose from Petronius to Dante: The Art and Scope of the Mixed Form*, Cambridge, MA.
(2008) *The Spell of Calcidius: Platonic Concepts and Images in the Medieval West*, Florence.
- Ebbesen, S. (2012) 'Andreas Sunonis', in *Medieval Nordic Literature in Latin* (online at https://wikihost.uib.no/medieval/index.php/Andreas_Sunonis).

- Ebbesen, S., ed. (1985) *Anders Sunesen. Stormand, teolog, administrator, digter*, Copenhagen.
- Ebbesen, S. and L. Mortensen (1985) 'A partial edition of Stephen Langton's *Summa* and *Quaestiones* with parallels from Andrew Sunesen's *Hexaameron*', *CIMAGL* 49: 25–244.
(1985–88) *Andree Sunonis filii Hexaameron*, 2 vols., Copenhagen.
- Engelsing, R. (1974) *Der Bürger als Leser. Lesergeschichte in Deutschland 1500–1800*, Stuttgart.
- Farrell, J. (2003) 'Classical genre in theory and practice', *New Literary History* 34: 383–408.
- Favrier D'Arcier, L. (2006) *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe: la circulation des manuscrits du 'De excidio Troiae' de Darès le Phrygien (VIIIe–XVe siècles)*, Paris.
- Festa, N., ed. (1926) *Petrarca, L'Africa, edizione critica*, Florence.
- Gancarczyk, P. (2006) 'Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz (b. 1392) – a central European composer', *De musica disserenda* 2: 103–12.
(2016) 'Probitate eminentem/Ploditando exarare: Petrus Wilhelmiego de Grudencz – śródkowoeuropejska inkarnacja motetu izorytmicznego', in P. Gancarczyk, ed., *Ars musica and Its Contexts in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Warsaw), 255–70.
- Gärtner, T. (2007) *Albert von Stade. Troilus*, Hildesheim.
- Gaunt, S., R. Harvey and L. Paterson, eds. (2000) *Marcabru: A Critical Edition*, Cambridge.
- Gianola, G. (1999) *Albertini Muxati. De obsidione domini Canis Grandis de Verona ante civitatem Paduanam*, Padua.
- Giles, J. A. (1848) *Joannis Saresberiensis, postea epsicopi Carnotensis, opera omnia*, 5 vols., London.
- Gilleland, B. (1981) *Johannes de Alta Silva, Dolopathos, or the King and the Seven Wise Men*, Birmingham, NY.
- Ginzburg, C. (1993) 'Microhistory: two or three things that I know about it', *Critical Inquiry* 20: 10–35.
- Godman, P. (1985) *Latin Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, Norman, OK.
(1987) *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry*, Oxford.
(2014) *The Archpoet and Medieval Culture*, Oxford.
- Godman, P. et al., eds. (2002) *Am Vorabend der Kaiserkrönung: Das Epos 'Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa' und der Papstbesuch in Paderborn 799*, Paderborn.
- Gompf, L. (1970) *Joseph Iscanus, Werke und Briefe*, Leiden.
- Green, R. P. H. (1982) 'The genesis of a medieval textbook: the models and sources of the *Ecloga Theoduli*', *Viator* 13: 49–106.
(2006) *Latin Epics of the New Testament: Juvenecus, Sedulius, Arator*, Oxford.
- Hamilton, B. (2000) *The Leper King and His Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge.
- Hammer, D. (2014) *Roman Political Thought: From Cicero to Augustine*, Cambridge.
- Harrington, K. (1997) *Medieval Latin* (rev. J. Pucci), Chicago.

- Harrison, S. J. (2017) 'The *Vita Phocae*: literary context and texture', in A. Powell and P. Hardie, eds., *The Ancient Lives of Virgil: Literary and Historical Studies* (Swansea), 73–92.
- Haye, T. (2016) *Verlorenes Mittelalter: Ursachen und Muster der Nichtüberlieferung mittellateinischer Literatur*, Berlin.
- Hays, G. (2015) 'Prose style', in Hexter and Townsend 2015, 217–38.
- Hendrix, G. (1993) 'The *Continuatio mediaevalis* of the *Corpus Christianorum*', *Scriptorium* 47: 95–106.
- Hentze, W. et al., eds. (1999) *De Karolo rege et Leone papa: Der Bericht über die Zusammenkunft Karls des Grossen mit Papst Leo III. in Paderborn 799 in einem Epos für Karl den Kaiser*, Paderborn.
- Herren, M. (1974) *The Hisperica Famina 1: the A-Text*, Toronto.
- Hexter, R. (2015) 'Canonicity', in Hexter and Townsend 2015, 25–47.
- Hexter, R. and D. Townsend, eds. (2015) *The Oxford Handbook to Medieval Latin Literature*, Oxford.
- Hicks, A. (2016) 'Hisdosus Scholasticus, *De anima mundi Platonica*: an edition', *Mediaeval Studies* 78: 1–64.
- Hilbert, K. (1979) *Baldricus Burgulianus. Carmina*, Heidelberg.
- Hoogterp, P.-W. (1933) 'Warnerii Basiliensis Paraclitus et Synodus', *AHMA* 8: 261–433.
- Huemer, J. (1891) 'Zur Geschichte der mittellateinischen Dichtung: Heinrici Augustensis *Planctus Evae*', *Jahresbericht über das k.-k. Staatsgymnasium im II. Bezirke in Wien für das Schuljahr 1890/91*: 1–8.
- Huygens, R. B. C. (1977) *Bernard D'Utrecht. Commentum in Theodolum (1076–1099)*, Spoleto.
- (1984) 'Editing William of Tyre', *SEJG* 27: 461–73.
- (1986) *Willemi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, Turnhout.
- Huysmans, J.-K. (1998) *Against Nature* (trans. M. Mauldon), Oxford.
- Iversen, G. (2010) *Laus angelica: Poetry in the Medieval Mass* (trans. W. Flynn, ed. J. Flynn), Turnhout.
- Jacobsen, P. C. (1965) *Die Quirinalien des Metellus von Tegernsee*, Leiden.
- Jaeger, C. S. (1994) *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*, Philadelphia.
- Joyce, J. (1939) *Finnegans Wake*, London.
- Karakisis, E. (2011) *Song Exchange in Roman Pastoral*, Berlin.
- Kegel-Brinkgrove, E. (1990) *Echoing Woods: Bucolic and Pastoral from Theocritus to Wordsworth*, Amsterdam.
- Kienzle, B. (2000) *The Sermon*, Turnhout.
- King, J. E. (1930) *Bede. Ecclesiastical History*, Cambridge, MA.
- Kiss, D. (2015) 'The lost *Codex Veronensis* and its descendants', in D. Kiss, ed., *What Catullus Wrote: Problems in Textual Criticism, Editing and the Manuscript Tradition* (Swansea), 1–28.
- Klopsch, P. (1985) 'Mittellateinische *Bukolik*', in *Lectures médiévales de Virgile. Actes du colloque de Rome (25–28 octobre 1982)* (Rome), 145–65.

- Knowles, M. D. (1960) 'Presidential address: great historical enterprises III. The *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 10: 129–50.
- Kortemme, J. (1933) *Das Verhältnis John Donnes zur Scholastik und zum Barock*, Münster.
- Kratz, D. (1984) *Waltharius and Ruodlieb*, New York.
- Lafferty, M. K. (1998) *Walter of Châtillon's Alexandreis: Epic and the Problem of Historical Understanding*, Turnhout.
- Lapidge, M. (1975) 'The hermeneutic style in tenth-century Anglo-Latin literature', *Anglo-Saxon England* 4: 67–111.
- Lapidge, M. and M. Herren (1979) *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, Cambridge.
- Lapidge, M. and J. Rosier (1985) *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, Cambridge.
- Law, V. (1995) *Wisdom, Authority and Grammar in the Seventh Century: Decoding Virgilius Maro Grammaticus*, Cambridge.
- Leclercq, J. (1960) *St. Pierre Damien: ermite et homme d'Église*, Rome.
(1982) *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture* (trans. C. Misrahi), New York.
- Leonhardt, J. (2013) *Latin: Story of a World Language* (trans. K. Kronenberg), Cambridge, MA.
- Levi, G. (1991) 'On microhistory', in P. Burke, ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge), 93–113.
- Löfstedt, B. (2003) *Virgilius Maro Grammaticus: opera omnia*, Munich.
- Lohr, C. (1988–2013) *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, 5 vols., Florence.
- Lubac, H. de (1959) *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de L'Écriture*, 2 vols., Paris.
- Magee, J. (2016) *Calcidius: On Plato's Timaeus*, Cambridge, MA.
- Manitius, M. (1911–31) *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols., Munich.
- Mantello, F. M. and A. J. Rigg, eds. (1996) *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, Washington, DC.
- Marcovich, M. and A. Georgiadou (1988) 'Eucheria's *Adynata*', *ICS* 13: 165–74.
- Mayer, R. (2006) 'Latin pastoral after Vergil', in M. Fantuzzi and T. Papanghelis, eds., *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Pastoral* (Leiden), 451–66.
- McBrine, P. (2017) *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity and Anglo-Saxon England: Divina in Laude voluntas*, Toronto.
- McDonough, C. (2010) *The Arundel Lyrics: The Poems of Hugh Primas*, Cambridge, MA.
- McGill, S. (2017) 'Larger than life: the elevation of Virgil in Phocas' *Vita*', in Powell and Hardie 2017, 93–114.
(2018) 'Reading against the grain: late Latin literature in Huysmans' *À rebours*', in S. Schottenius Culhed and M. Nairn, eds., *Reading Late Antiquity* (Heidelberg), 85–104.
- Mosetti Casaretto, F. (1997) *Theodulus. Ecloga. Il canto della verità e della menzogna*, Florence.

- (2001) 'Il genere pastorale e la Bibbia: ambiguità dell'immaginario e ridefinizione cristiana del modulo narrative in epoca carolingia', in *Stella* 2001, 339–58.
- Noble, T. F. X. (2009) *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious: The Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan and the Astronomer*, Philadelphia.
- Norberg, D. L. (1991) 'Dynamis Patrice de Marseilles', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1: 46–51.
- Norden, E. (1898) *Die Antike Kunstprosa vom vi. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, Leipzig.
- O'Hara, A. (2018) *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy of Columbanus*, Oxford.
- O'Hara, A. and I. Wood (2017) *Jonas of Bobbio. Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, and Life of Vedast*, Liverpool.
- O'Hogan, C. (2016) *Prudentius and the Landscapes of Late Antiquity*, Oxford.
- Orchard, A. (1994) *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, Cambridge.
- Pabst, B. (1994) *Prosimetrum: Tradition und Wandel einer Literaturform zwischen Spätantike und Spätmittelalter*, 2 vols., Cologne.
- (2002) *Gregor von Montesacro und die geistige Kultur Südtaliens unter Friederich II. Mit text- und quellenkritischer Erstedition der Vers-Enzyklopädie Peri ton anthropon theopisis (De hominum deificatione)*, Stuttgart.
- Pepin, R. and J. M. Ziolkowski (2011) *Sextus Amarcius, Sermones. Eupolemius*, Cambridge, MA.
- Peyrard, S. (2007) 'L'Ilias de Simon Chèvre d'Or: édition critique et commentaire' Diplôme d'archiviste paléographe, École nationale des chartes, Paris.
- Powell, A. and P. Hardie (2017) *The Ancient Lives of Virgil: Literary and Historical Studies*, Swansea.
- Raby, F. J. E. (1927) *A History of Christian Latin Poetry: From the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*, Oxford.
- (1934) *A History of Secular Latin Poetry*, 2 vols., Oxford.
- Raffa, G. P. (1996). 'Dante's mocking pastoral Muse', *Dante Studies* 114: 271–91.
- Raggio, O. (2013) 'Microstoria e microstorie', in *Il Contributo italiano alla storia del Pensiero – Storia e Politica* (Treccani online), [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/microstoria-e-microstorie_\(altro\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/microstoria-e-microstorie_(altro)/).
- Ramelli, I. (2006) *Tutti i commenti a Marziano Capella. Scoto Eriugena, Remigio di Auxerre, Bernardo Silvestre e anonimi*, Milan.
- Rand, E. K. (1931) 'The Irish flavour of *Hisperica famina*', in W. Stach and H. Walther, eds., *Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters*, Dresden.
- Reid, P. L. D. (1981) *Tenth-Century Latinity: Rather of Verona*, Malibu.
- (1991) *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona*, Binghamton, NY.
- Riché, P. (1976) *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth through Eighth Centuries* (trans. J. J. Contreni), Columbia, SC.
- Rigg, A. G. (2005) *Josephus Iscanus, Daretis Phrygii Ilias*, Toronto.
- (2015) 'Crossing generic boundaries', in Hexter and Townsend 2015, 265–83.
- Roberts, M. (2009) *The Humblest Sparrow: The Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus*, Ann Arbor, MI.

- (2016) 'Venantius Fortunatus and Gregory of Tours: poetry and patronage', in A. C. Murray, ed., *A Companion to Gregory of Tours* (Leiden), 35–59.
- Schaller, D. (1993) 'La poesia epica', in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo, 1: Il Medioevo latino*, 1.11.9–42, Rome.
- Schepelern, H. D. (1985) *Anders Sunesøns Hexaëmeron gengivet på danske vers*, Copenhagen.
- Schnapp, J. (1992) 'A commentary on commentary in Boccaccio', *South Atlantic Quarterly* 91: 813–34.
- Schneyer, J. B. (1969–90) *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, 11 vols., Münster.
- Schönbeck, O. (1998) 'Peter Damian and the rhetoric of an ascetic', in M. W. Herren, C. J. McDonough and R. G. Arthur, eds., *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century*, 2 vols. (Turnhout), vol. 2, 350–70.
- Schönberger, R. (1994) *Repertorium edierter Texte des Mittelalters aus dem Bereich der Philosophie und angrenzender Gebiete*, Berlin.
- Schönfeld, A. et al. (2011) *Repertorium edierter Texte des Mittelalters aus dem Bereich der Philosophie und angrenzender Gebiete*, 2nd edn, Berlin.
- Shanzer, D. (1996) Review of Pabst 1994, *Speculum* 71: 749–52.
- Simpson, J. (1995) *Sciences and the Self in Medieval Poetry: Alan of Lille's Anticlaudianus and John Gower's Confessio amantis*, Cambridge.
- Sisler, W. P. (1977) 'An edition and translation of Lovato Lovati's *Metrical Epistles*', unpublished PhD dissertation, Johns Hopkins University.
- Skaftø Jensen, M. (1997) 'Petrarch's farewell to Avignon: *Bucolicum carmen VIII*', in M. Pade, H. R. Jensen and L. W. Pedersen, eds., *Avignon and Naples: Italy in France, France in Italy in the Fourteenth Century* (Rome), 69–82.
- Stahl, W. H. (1952) *Macrobius: Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, New York.
- Stahl, W. H. and W. Johnson (1977) *Martianus Capella: The Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, New York.
- Stegmüller, F. (1950–80) *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, 11 vols., Madrid.
- Stella, F., ed. (2001) *La scrittura infinita. Bibbia e poesia in età medievale e umanistica*, Florence.
- Stohlmann, J. (1968) *Anonymi historia Troyana Daretis Frigii. Untersuchungen und kritische Ausgabe*, Wuppertal.
- Stok, F. (2016) 'Niccolò Perotti e la costruzione dell'arcaico', in A. Setaioli, ed., *Apis matina. Studi in onore di Carlo Santini* (Trieste), 679–92.
- Stotz, P. (1996–2004) *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*, 5 vols., Munich.
- Stover, J. (2015) 'Olybrius and the *Einsiedeln Eclogues*', *JRS* 105: 288–321.
- (2017) 'The date of the bucolic poet Martius Valerius', *JRS* 107: 301–35.
- (2020) 'Window allusion in Latin bucolic: the case of Martius Valerius', in C. Burrow, S. Harrison, M. McLaughlin and E. Tarantino, eds., *Imitative Series and Clusters from Classical to Early Modern Literature* (Berlin), 121–37.
- Sulowski, J. (1972) *Radulphus de Longocampo. In Anticlaudianum Alani commentum*, Wrocław.
- Szövérfy, J. (1964–65) *Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung*, 2 vols., Berlin.

- (1992–95) *Secular Latin Lyrics and Minor Poetic Forms of the Middle Ages: A Historical Survey and Literary Repertory from the Tenth to the Late Fifteenth Century*, Concord, NH.
- Tilliette, J.-Y. (1989) ‘Les modèles de sainteté du IX^e au XI^e siècle, d’après le témoignage des récits hagiographiques en vers métriques’, in *Santi e demoni nell’alto medioevo occidentale (secoli V–XI)*, 2 vols. (Spoleto), 381–406.
- (1996–2000) *Baudri de Dol, Carmina*, 2 vols., Geneva.
- (2016) ‘Poésie latine et tradition courtoise (. . . ou pas). Note sur la chanson d’amour O 17 (*Declinante frigore*) de Gautier de Châtillon’, in *La rigueur et la passion. Mélanges en l’honneur de Pascale Bourgain* (Turnhout), 329–46.
- Tolan, J. (1996) ‘Anti-hagiography: Embrico of Mainz’s *Vita Mahumeti*’, *Journal of Medieval History* 22: 25–41.
- Townsend, D. (1996) *The Alexandreis of Walter of Châtillon: A Twelfth-Century Epic*, Philadelphia.
- Traill, D. (2018) *Carmina Burana*, 2 vols., Cambridge, MA.
- Treip, M. (2015) *Allegorical Poetics and the Epic: The Renaissance Tradition to Paradise Lost*, Lexington.
- Uden, J. (2018) ‘Nineteenth- and twentieth-century visions of late antique literature’, in S. McGill and E. Watts, eds., *A Companion to Late Antique Literature* (Malden, MA), 627–42.
- Velli, G. (1992) ‘“*Tityrus redivivus*”: the rebirth of Vergilian pastoral from Dante to Sannazaro (and Tasso)’, in C. Lucente, ed., *The Western Pennsylvania Symposium on World Literatures. Selected Proceedings 1974–1991: A Retrospective* (Greensburg, PA), 107–18.
- Vossen, P. (1962) *Der Libellus Scolasticus des Walther von Speyer*, Berlin.
- Walsh, P. G. (1976) ‘Pastor and pastoral in medieval Latin poetry’, *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 1: 157–69.
- Walther, H. (1920) *Der Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Munich.
- Weijers, O. (1994–2012) *Le travail intellectuel à la Faculté des Arts de Paris: textes et maîtres (ca. 1200–1500)*, 9 vols. (vol. 9 with M. Calma), Turnhout.
- Wetherbee, W. (2013) *Alan of Lille: Literary Works*, Cambridge, MA.
- (2015) *Bernardus Silvestris: Poetic Works*, Cambridge, MA.
- Wicksteed, P. H. and E. G. Gardner (1902) *Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio*, Westminster.
- Williams, K. F. (1938) ‘The *Liber de novem scienciis*’, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Chicago.
- Winterbottom, M. (1977) Review of Herren 1974, *CR* 27: 196.
- (2017) ‘Words, words, words . . .’ in R. Thomson, E. Dolman and E. Winkler, eds., *Discovering William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge), 203–18.
- Winterfeld, P. von, ed. (1899) *Abbonis Bella Parisiaca Urbis. MGH Poetae* IV (Berlin), 72–122.
- Witt, R. G. (2000) *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*, Leiden.

- Worstbrock, F. J. (1999) 'Vergil', in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon. Volume 10* (Berlin), coll. 262–4.
- Wright, T. (1841) *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, London.
- Yavuz, N. K. (2015) 'Transmission and adaptation of the Trojan narrative in Frankish history between the sixth and tenth centuries', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Leeds.
- Yolles, J. (2009) 'The rhetoric of simplicity: faith and rhetoric in Peter Damian', unpublished MA thesis, Amsterdam University.
- Ziolkowski, J. M. (1991) 'Eupolemius', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1: 1–45.
- (1993) *Talking Animals: Medieval Latin Beast Poetry, 750–1150*, Philadelphia.
- (1994) *The Cambridge Songs (Carmina Cantabrigiensia)*, New York.
- (1996a) 'Toward a history of medieval Latin literature', in Mantello and Rigg 1996, 503–36.
- (1996b) 'Epic', in Mantello and Rigg 1996, 547–55.
- (2001) 'The highest form of compliment: *imitatio* in medieval Latin culture', in J. Marenbon, ed., *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke* (Leiden), 293–307.
- (2007) *Fairy Tales from Before Fairy Tales: The Medieval Latin Past of Wonderful Lies*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- (2018) *The Juggler of Notre Dame and the Medievalizing of Modernity*, 6 vols., Cambridge.
- Ziolkowski, J. M. and M. C. J. Putnam (2008) *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years*, New Haven.
- Zogg, F. (2017) 'Palaemon and Daphnis in a medieval poem: the Vergilian challenge of the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*', *Vergilius* 63: 125–40.
- Zonta, B. (1960) 'I codici GLPV dell'*Elementarium Papiae*: un primo sondaggio nella tradizione manoscritta ed alcune osservazioni relative', *SCO* 9: 76–99.
- Zuwiyya, D., ed. (2011) *A Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages*, Leiden.