

EXEMPLA

RELATIO PROSAICA DE DUOBUS DUCIBUS

RELATIO METRICA DE DUOBUS DUCIBUS

The *Relatio de duobus ducibus* was a popular medieval exemplum about the benefits of prayers and good works offered for the sake of the dead¹. The narrative is simple: the tyrannical Duke Ostorgius of Sicily captures the chief city of Sardinia from its ruler, the pious Duke Eusebius. Driven from his city, Eusebius cannot sustain his accustomed good works of almsgiving and having masses sung for the dead. As the outnumbered Eusebius marshals a force to retake his town, a host of brilliant white soldiers on white horses suddenly appears to aid him. The miraculous army so terrifies Ostorgius that he withdraws, promising to make restitution for his crimes. The white horsemen reveal to Eusebius that they are the souls whom his provision of masses, prayers, and alms has liberated from their sufferings in Purgatory.

The characters and events in the story are fictitious, but the earliest versions of the exemplum style it as a report (*relatio*) passed down by a historical figure, Maiolus, the fourth abbot of Cluny (954-94), who, the narrative claims, was visiting Sardinian monasteries when Ostorgius invaded. No *uita* of Maiolus mentions such an episode, nor did Cluny ever have dependent houses in Sardinia. How and when the story became associated with Maiolus are therefore a mystery. The Cluniacs certainly promoted commemoration of the faithful departed, but modern historians usually attribute that initiative to Maiolus's successor, Abbot Odilo (994-1049), who instituted the observance of All Souls' Day on 2 November. Even so, the evidence of charters from the abbacy of Maiolus already indicates a notable rise in Cluniac promises of intercession for the dead; an association between him and an exemplum on this theme may therefore have seemed plausible to monks of Cluny in the eleventh and later centuries. In any case, no evidence for a written transmission of the story is known to predate the mid-twelfth century, which suggests that its ties to Maiolus were a pious tradition encouraged at Cluny, perhaps during the abbacy (1122-

1. The present essay summarizes and updates certain information in the introduction to C. A. Jones - S. G. Bruce (edd.), *The Relatio metrica de duobus ducibus: A Twelfth-Century Cluniac Poem on Prayer for the Dead*, Turnhout 2016 (Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 10). My comments here especially augment the brief account there (pp. 9-16) regarding the prose version of the exemplum.

56) of Peter the Venerable, whose dispute with the Petrobrusian heretics touched, among other points of doctrine, the efficacy of prayers and masses for the dead².

The plot of the exemplum belongs to a more widespread story-motif, «the Phantom Host»³. My focus here, however, is limited to the two earliest forms of the *Relatio de duobus ducibus* in prose, and to one anonymous elaboration of it in verse. Analogues will not be considered, even though some of them were probably based directly on the prose versions treated here. For example, the mid-thirteenth-century collection of exempla by the Dominican Thomas of Cantimpré, the *Bonum uniuersale de apibus*, includes much the same story, but it has been revised to alter the identity of the *relator* and the motives of the main characters⁴. To trace the relation of the exemplum to that and other analogues would also require consideration of art historical evidence, such as wall paintings on charnel houses and the two panels completed *ca.* 1510 for an altar dedicated to All Souls in Bern Münster⁵.

Even with these limits in place, the transmission of a pliable, anonymous exemplum poses special challenges. Like other texts in the genre, the *Relatio de duobus ducibus* traveled in a wide variety of manuscript settings. It found a place in some large, thematically organized collections, but copies of it survive just as often in miscellaneous manuscripts, whether as stand-alone items or attached to small runs of other exempla that may or may not

2. On these backgrounds, *cfr.* Jones-Bruce (edd.), pp. 3-9.

3. The exemplum of the two dukes is not catalogued in F. C. Tubach's *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, Helsinki 1969. For the tale-motif of «the Phantom Host», *cfr.* S. Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest Books, and Local Legends*, 6 vols., Bloomington (IN), 1955-8, no. E500, esp. E502 «the Sleeping Army».

4. *Bonum uniuersale de apibus* 2.53.30, Douai [Baltazar Beller] 1627, pp. 509-12; the exemplum there is titled «De Duce, cui exercitus caelestes animarum, a purgatorio per ipsum liberatarum, succurrunt in praelio». In this telling, the *relator* is no longer Maiolus but an unnamed Dominican, and emphasis is on the virtues of the Eusebius-figure as atonement for an earlier life of vice; the conflict arises when his repentance alienates other aristocrats.

5. *Cfr.* Ch. Göttler - P. Jezler, *Doktor Thüring Frickers "Geistermesse": Die Seelgerätskomposition eines spätmittelalterlichen Juristen*, in *Materielle Kultur und religiöse Stiftung im Spätmittelalter*, *cur.* G. Jaritz, Wien 1990 (Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse, 512), pp. 187-231, at pp. 203-5 and 218-24. On the charnel houses, *cfr. ibid.*, p. 204; on the altar for All Souls (now in the Kunstmuseum, Bern), *cfr. ibid.*, p. 206 (with p. 225, plate 10). On the latter, *cfr.* also M. Othenin-Girard, «Helfer» und «Gespenster»: *Die Toten und der Tauschhandel mit den Lebenden*, in *Kulturelle Reformation: Sinnformationen im Umbruch 1400-1600*, *curr.* B. Jussen - C. Koslowsky, Göttingen 1999 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 145), pp. 159-91, at pp. 163-6 and 167 (plates 11A and 11B).

adhere to a common theme. This variability of context makes identifying witnesses and discerning their patterns all the more difficult. The present discussion attempts to take into account both the textual evidence of the exemplum itself and, to some extent, its company in the manuscripts.

Before the end of the twelfth century, the prose exemplum was known in two versions, of which the longer (A) is probably the original, since all copies of the shorter Version B (discussed below), as well as indirect witnesses derived from B, transmit a prominent error of eye skip⁶. Moreover, witnesses to Version A are easily identified by their inclusion of a substantial passage (around 225 words) in which the author interrupts his story to counter an anticipated theological objection: because the souls of the dead are incorporeal, how could they have been visible to the two dukes and their armies? The author answers this challenge with an analogy concerning corporeal objects seen in dreams, and with an appeal to the biblical precedent of Elisha and his servant Gehazi, who received a similar vision of a heavenly army in 4Reg 6, 8-18.

A working edition of Version A was published in 2016, based on just three manuscripts⁷. Further research has increased to twelve the number of direct witnesses to this version. The following conspectus provides updated information about all the known copies, while giving a fair impression of the contexts in which the exemplum circulated:

- Adm** Admont, Bibliothek des Benediktinerstifts 131 (s. XII²), origin Admont (Benedictine). A copy of Honorius's *Speculum ecclesiae*. The exemplum, on ff. 178v-180v, is titled «De uisione quarumdā animarum» and is in the principal hand of the manuscript.
- Ber** Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, theol. lat. 2° 86 (Rose 782) (s. XII), origin and medieval provenance unknown. Principal contents are selections from the *Vitas patrum* and *Verba seniorum*. The exemplum, on ff. 80v-82r, is titled «De duobus ducibus»⁸.

6. The error occurs in the passage corresponding to § 4 of the A Version; cfr. Jones-Bruce (edd.), pp. 12-4 and 174. All references hereafter to the text of the exemplum cite it by section numbers of the working edition by Jones and Bruce (cfr. following note).

7. Jones-Bruce (edd.), pp. 173-80, based on the manuscript (cited by sigla used below) **Val**, with variants from **Do** and **Met**. This was only a provisional edition, for the purpose of comparison between the long prose version and the anonymous poetic *Relatio metrica*.

8. Cfr. V. Rose, *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Bd. 2: Die Handschriften der kurfürstlichen Bibliothek und der kurfürstlichen Lande - Abt. 2*, Berlin 1903 (Die

- Cam** Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 177 (H. 4) (s. XV²), origin unknown⁹. A large miscellany; among its major contents are Iacobus de Cessolis, *Liber de moribus hominum* [...] *super ludo scaccorum*, Petrarch, *Historia Griseldis*, Jerome, *Aduersus Iouinianum*, Walter Map, *Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum*, and many other texts in prose and verse. The exemplum of the two dukes, on ff. 29va-30vb, has no title and many unique variants; it is followed by approximately twenty more exempla (through f. 36vb) drawn mostly from Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*.
- Do** Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, 313 (s. XII), origin Anchin, Saint-Sauveur (Benedictine)¹⁰. The principal text is Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*, followed by patristic extracts on various topics. The exemplum, on ff. 126v-128r, has the title «De duobus ducibus altercantibus et per ammirabilem animarum ostensionem in pace conuenientibus». It is the last item in the book and ends incomplete.
- Gr** Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 173 (s. XII²), origin Seckau (Augustinian)¹¹. A copy of Honorius's *Speculum ecclesiae*. The exemplum, copied as an addition on ff. 184v-186r, has no title.
- Kob** Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 146 (copied in 1465-6); origin Niederwerth, Rheinland-Pfalz (Augustinian)¹². Principal contents are selections from the *Vitas patrum* and *Verba seniorum*. The exemplum, on ff. 151vb-153vb, lacks a title.
- Met** Metz, Médiathèque Verlaine 627 (s. XII *ex.*), origin and medieval provenance unknown. The principal texts are the treatise *De sacramentis* by Ivo of Chartres, along with patristic sermons or extracts on miscellaneous topics. The exemplum, titled «Relatio Maioli abbatis de duobus ducibus», is on ff. 95v-101v and is followed by another, drawn from the *uita* of Odilo of Cluny, about the founding of All Souls' Day¹³.

Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, 13), p. 813. The context in this manuscript is a set of exempla that includes a number of items also occurring in **Met**, below.

9. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of The Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 1, Cambridge 1909, pp. 406-14; updated by the attached descriptions of this manuscript in the *Parker on the Web* database.

10. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (in 4^o), Tome 6: Douai*, Paris 1878, p. 164.

11. Cfr. A. Kern, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz: Band 1*, Leipzig 1942, p. 89.

12. C. Meckelnborg - E. Overgrauw, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften im Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz: Die nichtarchivischen Handschriften der Signaturengruppe Best. 701 Nr. 1-190, ergänzt durch die im Görres-Gymnasium Koblenz aufbewahrten Handschriften A, B und C*, Wiesbaden 1998 (Mittelalterliche Handschriften im Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz, Band 1), pp. 248-53.

13. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (in 4^o), Tome 5: Metz - Verdun - Charleville*, Paris 1879, p. 217. The story about the origin of All Souls' Day (ff. 102v-104r, *incipit* «Religiosus quidam uir») is taken nearly verbatim from Peter Damian's *Vita S. Odilonis* (PL, vol. CXLIV, coll. 935C-937A, based in turn on Iotsald of Cluny's *uita* of the abbot, 2.14, ed. J. Staub, Hannover 1999 [MGH SS. Rer. Germ. 68], pp. 218-20) and is followed by these other exempla: «Visio cuiusdam militis in morte» (ff. 104r-106r, *incipit* «Fuit quidam in prouincia Merciorum», from Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 5.13); an untitled passage (f. 106r-v, *incipit* «Narrauit qui-

- Mons** Mons, Bibliothèque centrale de l'Université de Mons-Hainaut, Fonds anciens 25/118 (s. XIII¹), early modern provenance Saint-Denis-en-Broqueroie (Benedictine)¹⁴. Principal texts are *miracula* of the Virgin and miscellaneous other miracles. The exemplum is the last item in the manuscript, on ff. 90r-94r, with the unusual expanded title «Incipit narratio de duobus ducibus altercantibus et per ammirabilem animarum ostensionem in pacem conuenientibus ex qua etiam occasione ut dicitur post festum omnium sanctorum statuta est sollempnitas omnium fidelium animarum»¹⁵.
- Nür** Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum 34740 (s. XIV *med.*), origin eastern central Germany¹⁶. Principal contents are selections from the *Vitas patrum* and *Verba seniorum*. The exemplum, on ff. 207va-209rb, lacks a title.
- Trev** Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. 550/1538 8° (s. XIV *ex.*), medieval provenance Trier, St. Martin (Benedictine)¹⁷. Miscellaneous, mainly hagiographic contents (esp. about Virgin Mary and St. Matthias), but with numerous exempla. That of the two dukes, on ff. 48r-51v, lacks a title, and all of the prefatory paragraph appears to have been lost except for the last word («animarum»).
- Val** Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 516 (471 D) (s. XII-XIII), medieval provenance Saint-Amand (Benedictine)¹⁸. Miscellaneous contents, including Cistercian authors (Bernard and Aelred) and saints' lives (Thomas Becket, Eustace, Blaise, Simeon, George). The exemplum, on ff. 109rb-110vb, has the title «De duobus ducibus inter se altercantibus et per ammirabilem animarum uisionem in pacem concordantibus». It is immediately followed (as in **Met**, above) by the exemplum about Odilo's institution of All Souls' Day¹⁹. Then follow Pseudo-Calixtus, *Liber S. Iacobi*, and Pseudo-Turpin, *Historia Karoli magni*.
- Woi** Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Aug. 4° 17. 14 (3104), origin unknown, early modern provenance an unidentified monastery in the vicinity of

dam patrum quia erat aliquis solitarius in heremo Nilopoleos»; cfr. *Verba seniorum* 1.13, PL, vol. LXXIII, coll. 995A-B); another untitled passage (ff. 107r-108r «Quid igitur in oriente actum fuerit», from Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum* 10); «Item de corpore domini» (ff. 108r-109v, *incipit* «Quidam presbyter fuit religiosus ualde», from Paschasius Radbertus, *Liber de corpore et sanguine domini* 14); a long, untitled passage that ends incomplete (ff. 109v-114v, *incipit* «Nostris temporibus miraculum mirabile», from Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 5.12).

14. Cfr. P. Faider - G. Feytmans, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque publique de la ville de Mons*, Gand 1931, pp. 36-9, at p. 39 (item 118).

15. The portion of the title from «ex qua» through «fidelium animarum» is unique to this copy.

16. Description by H. Hilg, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften, Teil 2: Hs 22922-198390*, Anhang, Wiesbaden 1986 (Kataloge des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg 2.2), pp. 74-5.

17. G. Kentenich, *Die ascetischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier. Nr. 654-804 des Handschriften-Katalogs und Nachträge*, Trier 1910 (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier, 6), pp. 7-20, at p. 17, item 3.

18. Cfr. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (in 8°)*, Tome 25: Poitiers - Valenciennes, Paris 1894, pp. 416-8.

19. For the passage from Peter Damian's *Vita S. Odilonis*, cfr. n. 14, above.

Düren (Nordrhein-Westfalen)²⁰. The principal texts, in hands of s. X *ex.* - XI *in.*, are *De corpore et sanguine domini* of Paschasius Radbertus and *Disputatio fidei inter Arrium et Athanasium* of Pseudo-Vigilius of Thapsus. The exemplum, titled «De duobus ducibus altercantibus et per ammirabilem animarum ostensionem in pacem conuenientibus», is a twelfth-century addition on ff. 65v-67v.

I expect that other witnesses still await discovery, especially in late medieval miscellaneous manuscripts and in early printed collections of exempla. Based on the present evidence, however, several secure observations can be made. A handful of major separative errors indicate a fundamentally bipartite transmission. For example, when Eusebius attempts to rouse his outnumbered troops (§ 6), the original author apparently wrote «Quin ut pauci cum multis congregiamur uiriliter in nomine domini!» Five witnesses (**Cam**, **Do**, **Mons**, **Val**, **WoI**) have *congregemur* against the more plausible *congregiamur* of **Adm**, **Ber**, **Gr**, **Kob**, **Met**, and **Nür**, as well as the exemplar of **Trev**²¹. An inverse pattern of error sometimes confirms the same grouping: for example, the hyparchetype behind **Adm**, **Ber**, **Gr**, **Kob**, **Met**, **Nür**, and **Trev** lost about seventeen words to eye skip across § 12-13, and also had the corrupt reading *auxilio* (or similar forms) in § 8, whereas **Cam**, **Do**, **Mons**, **Val**, and **WoI** preserve § 12-13 intact, with no eye skip, and have the correct reading *anxio*. Beyond dividing the witnesses into two branches, the textual evidence alone repeatedly indicates closer affiliations among **Do**, **WoI**, and the antecedent of **Cam**, on one side of the stemma, and among (1) **Met**, **Trev**, and **Kob**, (2) **Ber** and **Nür**, and (3) **Adm** and **Gr**, on the other.

These impressions from text-internal evidence receive partial support from a consideration of the manuscript environments. Three (**Ber**, **Nür**, and **Kob**) of the twelve codices listed above transmit the exemplum within anthologies of material drawn from the *Vitas patrum* (e.g., Paul the Hermit, Malchus, Hilarion, Marina, Pelagia, Mary of Egypt, Thais), from the Latin version of the sayings of the Desert Fathers (*Verba seniorum*), and from Rufinus's translation of the *Historia monachorum*. Within that group, **Ber** and **Nür** stand in particularly close relationship, since their copies of the

20. For a description, cfr. O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel, Zweite Abtheilung: Die Augusteischen Handschriften, Bd. 4: Codex Guelpherbytanus 77.4 Augusteus 2° bis 34 Augusteus 4°*, Wolfenbüttel 1900, repr. Frankfurt am Main 1966, pp. 215-6.

21. A subset of the *congregemur* group, namely **Cam**, **Do**, **WoI**, also has *pauperes* instead of correct *pauci*. The relevant text is § 6 in Jones-Bruce (edd.), p. 174.

two dukes exemplum share a substantial (but not total) omission of matter from the theological epilogue. The Berlin manuscript, from the later twelfth century, also provides a *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the revised exemplum into a pre-existing collection of material about the Desert Fathers²². The relation of **Kob** to this subgroup is unclear; the contents of that manuscript also draw some of the same materials from the *Vitas patrum*, but the text of the exemplum itself contains readings that strongly affiliate it with **Met** and especially **Trev**, neither of which is implicated in the transmission of materials about the Desert Fathers.

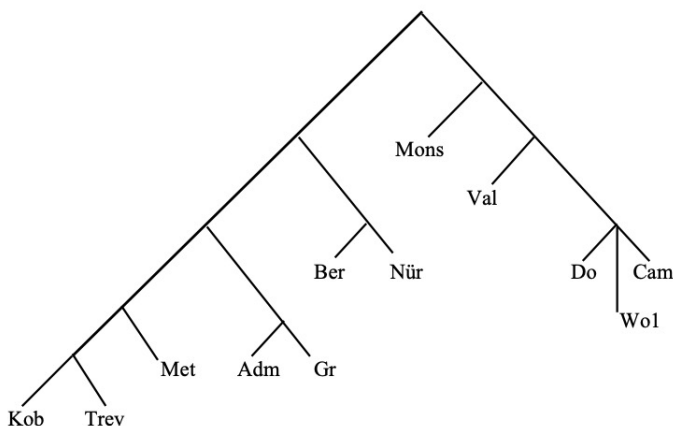
A second distinct subset of witnesses to Version A is the pair **Adm** and **Gr**, two twelfth-century copies of Honorius's *Speculum ecclesiae*, which is a collection of sermons for liturgical and pastoral occasions. **Adm** incorporates the exemplum of the two dukes directly into the treatise of Honorius, along with precise directions that the exemplum was to serve as preaching matter at the funeral of a powerful layperson (*potens*), supplementing the sermon that Honorius had included for such an occasion²³. There is no comparable direction for use in **Gr**: there the exemplum is simply added by a different hand to space originally left blank. (In its present form, moreover, **Gr** does not contain Honorius's primary funeral sermon.) The less polished integration of the Graz copy appears to reflect a formative stage in the adaptation of the exemplum as supplementary preaching material in the *Speculum ecclesiae*, whereas the Admont copy reflects the later outcome of that process²⁴. The copies of the exemplum in **Adm** and **Gr**

22. Some related manuscripts of material from the *Verba seniorum* and *Vitas patrum* lack the exemplum of the two dukes; for example, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 158 (183), of s. XIII ex. has similar selections but lacks, among other things, the prose *Relatio de duobus ducibus* and the exempla from Bede; cfr. K. K. Jażdżewski, *Bibliotheca Universitatis Wratislaviensis: Catalogus manu scriptorum codicum medii aevi latinorum signa 180-260 comprehendens / Katalog łacińskich rękopisów średniowiecznych obejmujący kodeksy 180-260*, Wrocław 1982, pp. 56-64, at p. 61, item 14 (for the section corresponding to that in **Nür**). The relation of the exemplum of the two dukes to the transmission of the *Vitas patrum* is complicated by multiple factors: similar material, for example, accompanies the B rather than A recension of the exemplum in **Wo2** (on which cfr. below). Moreover, some other medieval exempla, mainly from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* 5.12 and 5.13, circulated with the *Relatio de duobus ducibus* both within *Vitas patrum* anthologies like **Ber** and **Nür**, but also elsewhere, as in **Met** (cfr. n. 14, above).

23. For Honorius's sermon cfr. PL, vol. CLXXII, coll. 1081C-6C. In **Adm**, the exemplum is copied before that text, and its heading indicates the intended function (f. 178v): «Post sermonem Beati mortui qui in d. mor. hoc capitulum addatur de uisione quarumdam animarum». Likewise, where Honorius's sermon for a *potens defunctus et sepeliendus* concludes in the manuscript, a rubricated heading states «Hic inseratur prescriptum capitulum de duobus ducibus et uisione animarum».

24. The Admont copy ends cleanly with the last sentence of the narrative proper: «His dictis, postulata ducis remissione, itinere quo uenerant uisi sunt redire» (cfr. § 21 in Jones-Bruce [edd.]

also both omit the prologue and the entire epilogue from the original, leaving only the narrative of the two dukes²⁵. (Collation nevertheless establishes that these two related copies derive from the long Version A instead of the abridged form B, discussed below.) From all the preceding evidence, a provisional stemma for Version A can be constructed:



A few additional sources bear indirect witness to the spread of the A Version. The early thirteenth-century Cistercian collection of exempla in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15912, contains a condensed and partially rewritten form of the text that derives from the A Version²⁶. Version A also underlay three separate efforts to render the exemplum into verse. The two Latin poetic versions, one by Renier of Liège and the other by an anonymous Cluniac poet, belong to the middle or third quarter of the twelfth century and will be discussed separately, below. A third poetic version is an adaptation in Old French octosyllabic couplets to form a section of the *Tombel de Chartrose*, a collection of pious stories in verse composed in the 1330s by an unknown author associated with the Carthusians

p. 178). The Graz copy continues on with the first several words of the following sentence («Tunc uero ille, qui inexpertus tanti lucri tanta») but then stops abruptly near the bottom of f. 186r. The top of the following verso contains wholly unrelated content. Adm cannot, however, have been copied from Gr.

25. I.e., they omit § 1 and 22-7, and most of § 21 in Jones-Bruce (edd.).

26. Cap. 33.2 (exemplum 404, ff. 62vb-63vb) in J. Berlioz - M. A. Polo de Beaulieu (edd.), *Collectio exemplorum Cisterciensis in codice Parisiensi 15912 asseruata*, Turnhout 2012 (CCCM 243), pp. 128-9. On this Cistercian collection, cfr. S. Mula, *Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Exempla Collections: Role, Diffusion, and Evolution*, «History Compass», 8.8 (2010), pp. 903-12, with further bibliography.

of Bourghfontaine (dép. Aisne)²⁷. All three of these poets include material manifestly drawn from the theological digression that is the distinguishing feature of the A Version.

Although Version A underwent sporadic abridgment in the course of transmission, the affected copies remained distinct from a more widespread shortened redaction, here designated Version B. The maker of B excised most of the digressive theological explanation from the closing sections of the A Version, but he did not do so by simply dropping the original epilogue entirely (as did the redactor of the version in **Adm** and **Gr**, linked to Honorius's *Speculum ecclesiae*). Rather, the B Version retains the opening and closing remarks of the epilogue and smooths over the join between them. Version B also introduces many more small substitutions of wording into the original text than are typical of the variance found among copies of the A Version. Consequently, the affiliation of witnesses with Version B can be determined even if the ending of a copy has been lost.

The copy of the A Version from which the original form of B was made must have stood relatively close to the archetype of the former; for example, in § 6 it had the correct reading *congregiamur* found in the A Version family **Adm**, **Ber**, **Gr**, **Kob**, **Met**, **Nür** (and implied by **Trev**), but the error of eye skip affecting § 12-3 in all the manuscripts of that same subgroup had not yet occurred. It is not possible to determine whether the eye skip that affects all copies and derivatives of the B Version at § 4 belonged to the archetype of that version or to the now lost A Version manuscript from which it was first made.

Version B must have emerged before the later years of the twelfth century (based on the dates of **Na1** and **Tro**, below) and spread quickly, since its manuscript settings already show considerable variety by the early thirteenth century. At present, eleven witnesses are known:

Dar Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek 768 (s. XV *med.*), origin Ewig, Nordrhein-Westfalen (Augustinian)²⁸. The principal text is Rufinus's

27. A. Sulpice (ed.), *Tombel de Chartrose* 1.442-57, Paris 2014 (Les classiques français du moyen âge, 173), pp. 167-83, with notes at pp. 649-51. On this work cfr. also S. Sandqvist (ed.), *Trois contes français du XIV^e siècle tirés du recueil intitulé Le tombel de Chartrose*, Stockholm 1982 (Acta Universitatis Lundensis, sectio 1, Theologica Juridica Humaniora, 37), pp. 13-8.

28. K. H. Staub - H. Knaus, *Die Handschriften der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Darmstadt, Band 4: Bibelhandschriften beschrieben von Kurt Hans Staub; Ältere theologische Texte*

- translation of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*. The exemplum is on ff. 175rb-176ra, titled «De duobus ducibus altercantibus et per ammirabilem animarum ostensionem in pace conuenientibus».
- Erl** Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg 316 (s. XIII *in.*), medieval provenance Heilsbronn (Cistercian)²⁹. Principal contents: homilies *per annum* and *uitae* of Otto of Bamberg, Emperor Henry II, and St. Matthias. The exemplum is on ff. 132v-134v, titled «Narratio mirabilis de duobus ducibus».
- Ham** Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, theol. 1725 (copied 1406-7), origin Windesheim, Germany (Augustinian)³⁰. Principal contents: Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Vita Barlaam et Iosaphat*, and hagiographical works (*Vita S. Fursei*, *De exaltatione sanctae crucis*). The exemplum is on pp. 223-7, titled «Relatio de duobus ducibus altercantibus».
- Man** Manchester, John Rylands University Library, lat. 379 (s. XIII), provenance Bredelar, Nordrhein-Westfalen (Cistercian)³¹. Primary contents are *miracula* of the Virgin, *consuetudines* of the Cistercians, sermons, and a versification of the book of Job. The exemplum is on ff. 123r-126v, and has an unusually expanded *explicit*³².
- Mün** München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 11319 (s. XIII), provenance Polling (Augustinian)³³. Principal contents are Pseudo-Calixtus, *Liber S. Iacobi*, Pseudo-Turpin, *Historia Karoli Magni*, Pseudo-Dares, *De excidio Troiae historia*, and miscellaneous *miracula*. The exemplum, lacking a title, is on ff. 54r-57v, between Pseudo-Calixtus and Pseudo-Dares.
- Nam** Namur, Grand Séminaire, 80 (s. XII²), provenance Brogne, Saint-Gérard (Benedictine)³⁴. Contents include *miracula* of the Virgin. The exemplum is on

beschrieben von Hermann Knaus, Wiesbaden 1979, pp. 193-4; the exemplum of the two dukes is there misattributed to the eleventh-century Maiolus Scottus, abbot of the monastery of St. Martin, Köln.

29. H. Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen. 1. Band: Die Lateinischen Pergamenthandschriften*, Erlangen 1928, pp. 371-3.

30. N. Krüger, *Die theologischen Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg. Bd. 2: Quarthandschriften (Cod. theol. 1252-1750)*, Stuttgart 1985 (Katalog der Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, 2.2), pp. 170-1.

31. There is a brief description by A. Schneider, *Deutsche und französische Cistercienser-Handschriften in englischen Bibliotheken*, «Cistercienser Chronik», 69, nos. 61-2 (1962), pp. 43-54, at p. 45.

32. Instead of the usual *explicit* «quod ipsi iusto iudici deo peccauere potius quam mortem carnis illorum deflare [*scil.* debemus]», this copy continues after *deflare*: «ut una cum eis quemadmodum credimus bona domini uidentes in terra uiuentium participes, ipso concedente esse mereamur in eterna felicitate cum eo gaudencium. Amen». Cfr. also **Wo2**, below.

33. K. Halm et al., *Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis IV, pars 2*, München 1876, p. 13. On this manuscript, and the closely related **To** (below), cfr. L. F. D'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe: la circulation des manuscrits du De excidio Troiae de Darès le Phrygien*, Paris 2006 (Mémoires et documents de l'École des Chartes, 82), pp. 89-90 (on **To**) and 59-60 (on **Mün**).

34. P. Faider et al., *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés à Namur (Musée Archéologique, Évêché, Grand Séminaire, Museum Artium S. J. etc.)*, Gembloux 1934 (Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de Belgique, 1), pp. 511-3. Faider notes (at p. 513) that the exempla on 143r-146v are written on palimpsested parchment that constitutes a distinct component within the

- ff. 143r-146v, titled «De quodam duce ab hostium oppresione mirabiliter liberato».
- Na2** Namur, Musée des Arts Anciens du Namurois, Fonds de la ville, 14 (s. XIV), origin Floreffe (Premonstratensian)³⁵. A composite codex with principal contents including Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*, Thomas of Cantimpré's *Bonum uniuersale de apibus*, Julian of Toledo's *Prognosticon*, Guillelmus de Monte Lauduno, *Liber sacramentalis*, and miscellaneous excerpts. The exemplum, on f. 320r and titled «De duobus ducibus altercantibus», ends incomplete at the bottom of the folio.
- Om** Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération Saint-Omer 710 (s. XIV^{2/4}), origin Saint-Bertin (Benedictine)³⁶. A large miscellany; major contents include a *Vita* of Thomas Becket, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum*, the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, Adso, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De amore sponsi ad sponsam*, a poetic anthology, and a *Libellus de diuinis officiiis* (drawn from Joannes Beleh and others). The exemplum is on ff. 109vb-110vb, titled «De duobus ducibus altercantibus et per ostentionem animarum pacificatis».
- To** Tours, Bibliothèque municipale 1040 (s. XIII), origin unknown, provenance Tours, Saint-Gatien Cathedral³⁷. Contents closely parallel those in Mün, above. The exemplum, on ff. 120r-122v, is titled «Miraculum quoddam de duobus ducibus».
- Tro** Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, Fonds ancien 946 (s. XII *ex.*), origin Clairvaux (Cistercian). A large, orderly collection of exempla. That about the two dukes (ff. 116r-118v) is fully integrated into the collection and has the heading «De exercitu animarum defunctorum in specie militum apparentium» (with «Maiolis abbatis» in the margin on 116r).
- W02** Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 322 Helmst., copied 1440-80, origin Clus (Benedictine)³⁸. Principal contents are selections from the *Vitas patrum* and *Verba seniorum*. The exemplum, on ff. 316r-317v, is titled «Relatio de duobus ducibus altercantibus», and has exactly the same unusually expanded *explicit* as in **Man**, above.

manuscript. He gives the date of the whole only as «saec. XII», but note that the contents include a work from the 1140s by Hérیمان of Tournai.

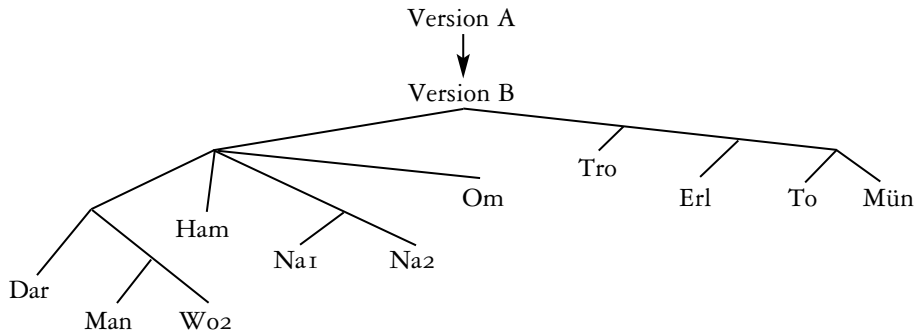
35. Faider et al., *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés à Namur* cit., pp. 60-4. The text ends with the words «quia albatos audierat nichil sinistri» (the B Version text corresponding to § 8 in the edition of the A Version in Jones-Bruce [edd.], p. 175).

36. Cfr. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (in 8°), Tome 3: Saint-Omer*, Paris 1861, pp. 313-4. The contents of the poetic anthology are described in more detail by C. Fierville, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Omer nos. 115 et 710* (Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques, 31), Paris 1884, pp. 146-56.

37. Cfr. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (in 8°), Tome 37: Tours*, Paris 1905, pp. 755-8.

38. Cfr. O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel, Abt. 1: Die Helmstedter Handschriften 1*, Wolfenbüttel 1884, pp. 266-8.

Collation of the witnesses with one another and against the A Version establishes a division between a majority (**Dar**, **Ham**, **Man**, **Na1**, **Na2**, **Om**, and **Wo2**), which stand textually closer to the original form (A) of the exemplum, and the remaining copies (**Erl**, **Mün**, **To**, and **Tro**), which are farther removed from it. The latter all share a significant error of eye skip³⁹, and additional conjunctive errors establish a notable affinity between **To** and **Mün**, then between their lost hyparchetype and **Erl**. In the other group, there is an important agreement between **Man** and **Wo2**, which share an augmented form of the *explicit* that occurs in no other manuscripts of either version; and between the hyparchetype of that pair and **Dar**. Other significant conjunctive errors suggest that **Na1** and **Na2** are textually as well as geographically close. The most important patterns of variants among the witnesses to Version B can be represented in a stemma like the following:



Apart from their copies of the prose exemplum of the two dukes, the contents of the B Version manuscripts show few patterns of similarity. The obvious exception is the strong resemblance between **Mün** and **To**, both containing Pseudo-Turpin's *Historia Karoli Magni* and Pseudo-Calixtus's *Liber S. Iacobi*. Those works frequently traveled together but here, unusually, are also transmitted with Pseudo-Dares on the Trojan War. Scholar-

39. I.e., in the epilogue (§ 26), the complete B Version reads: «Itaque sana et indubitata fide certum tenemus ac fideliter persuademus quicquid boni pro fidelibus defunctis facimus et illis proficere ad eternam requiem et salutem, et nobis qui facimus ad dei gratiam promerendam suorumque fidelium societatem». Eye skip caused by the repetition of *facimus* affects **Erl**, **Mün**, **To**, and **Tro** but not the others (although the relevant portion of text is missing from **Om**). For other examples, cfr. *centuplicatum* (§ 13) and *insidiose* (§ 16) in **Dar**, **Ham**, **Na1**, and **Om** (the relevant portions are missing from **Na2**) as well as in the A Version, against *centuplum* and *dolose*, respectively, in **Erl**, **Mün**, **To**, and **Tro**.

ship on the tradition of Pseudo-Turpin and related texts has long recognized the parallels of content between **Mün** and **To**, going so far as to propose that the former was copied from the latter. Their texts of the exemplum of the two dukes suggest, however, that these two manuscripts are related through a common exemplar⁴⁰. It is remarkable that one copy of the A Version exemplum also appears in a manuscript (**Val**) that likewise contains both Pseudo-Turpin and Pseudo-Calixtus. The copies of those works in **Val**, however, are affiliated with a textual family distinct from that to which the same texts in **Mün** and **To** belong, so the resemblance would seem to be coincidental⁴¹.

There are fewer identifiable indirect witnesses to Version B than to A. Version B was probably the source for a synopsis of the exemplum included in the thirteenth-century *Chronicle* of the Cistercian monk Aubri (Albricus) of Trois-Fontaines († 1256)⁴². B is unquestionably the version incorporated into the late medieval printed collection of exempla known as the *Speculum exemplorum* (1481)⁴³. That popular resource was republished in an expanded form by the Jesuit Jean Major as the *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (1603), which went through many editions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and is probably the chief conduit through which the story resurfaced from time to time during the Counter Reformation⁴⁴.

40. On the perceived dependence of **Mün** on **To**, cfr. A. de Mandach, *Naissance et développement de la chanson de geste en Europe, I: La Geste de Charlemagne et Roland*, Genève-Paris 1961 (Publications Romanes et Françaises, 69), p. 373. The redaction of Pseudo-Turpin in these manuscripts is the «twelfth stage» that de Mandach dates ca. 1139 and attributes to Aymeri Picaud, who had associations with Vézelay (cfr. pp. 114-23). De Mandach labels this textual group «Cluny-Vézelay-Parthenay». Against the theory that the two dukes exemplum in **Mün** is a direct copy from **To**, the former has correct B Version readings that are corrupted in Tours 1040.

41. De Mandach (*Naissance et développement* cit., p. 369, his item A10cx) classifies the Pseudo-Turpin matter in **Val** as a witness to the «Hainault» family of «stage-eleven» manuscripts, which in turn all derive from a tradition emanating from Saint-Denis.

42. Ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, Hannover 1874 (MGH SS in folio 23), pp. 771-2. The material is included in an annal for 976, beginning: «Maiolus abbas Cluniacensis sanctitate et religione claret. Huius fertur esse narratio de duce Sardinie Eusebio et duce Sicilie Ostorgio. Erat Eusebio summum circa defunctos studium» etc. Aubri alternates between paraphrase and direct quotation of the exemplum, but occasionally his word choice appears inspired by Version B rather than A.

43. *Speculum exemplorum*, Deventer [Richard Paefroed] 1481, *dist.* 9, exemplum 184. The exemplum proper has no title, but the prefatory *tabula* to the collection has the heading: «Defunctorum animabus eusebius dux missis et elemosinis subueniens earum adiutorio et ab inimico eripitur et ad perseuerantiam exhortatur».

44. Joannes Maior (Jean Major), *Magnum speculum exemplorum, ex plusquam octoginta autoribus, pietate, doctrina et antiquitate venerandis, variisque historiis, tractatibus et libellis excerptum, ab anonymo quodam, qui circiter annum Domini 1480 vixisse deprehenditur [...]*, Douai [Baltazar Beller] 1603. I cite

The claim by both prose versions that Abbot Maiolus spread the story of the two dukes suggests that the A Version, at least, originated at a monastery under the influence of Cluny, possibly Cluny itself. This is a reasonable hypothesis but cannot not be taken for granted. The exemplum does not figure in the *De miraculis* of Peter the Venerable († 1156), which includes many similar accounts of apparitions of the dead. Certainly, it is possible that Version A and its purported link to Maiolus simply originated after Peter wrote the *De miraculis*, but the distribution of manuscripts of Version A also shows surprisingly weak ties to Cluny. None of the Benedictine houses represented (in connection with A Version manuscripts **Adm**, **Do**, **Mons**, **Trev**, and **Val**) merged formally with the *ecclesia Cluniacensis*. Determining the boundaries of «Cluniac influence» more broadly defined, however, is a less straightforward matter, as illustrated by two abbeys in this group. Saint-Amand, the provenance of **Val**, may have adopted Cluniac customs in the second decade of the twelfth century but did not submit to direct governance by Cluny⁴⁵. The most promising connection may lie in the abbey that produced **Do**, Saint-Sauveur, Anchin, located in the far north of France. This house welcomed liturgical and disciplinary reforms from Cluny in the early twelfth century but resisted becoming a Cluniac dependency⁴⁶. Perhaps more relevant to the present discussion, Anchin demonstrably benefited from access to Cluny's books, receiving, for example, an authoritative collection of Peter the Venerable's letters soon after the abbot's death in 1156⁴⁷. It must also be noted, however, that the text of **Do**, despite its relatively early date, does not seem to have any special authority, and the location of Anchin (like that of Saint-

the edition of 1614 (published after Major's death in 1608), pp. 236-8, where the story is exemplum 25 under the heading «Defuncti». From one or another edition of the *Speculum exemplorum*, the exemplum was cited by numerous other Jesuit authors in the seventeenth century; cfr., e.g., L. Pinelli, *De altera vita et animarum in ea statu libri duo*, Cologne 1610, pp. 235-9; J. Mumford, *A Remembrance for the Living to Pray for the Dead*, Saint-Omer 1641, pp. 126-30.

45. S. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform, Abbatial Leadership and the Instrumentation of Cluniac Discipline in the Early Twelfth-Century Low Countries*, «Revue Mabillon», n. s., 23 (2012), pp. 41-65, at p. 59.

46. J.-P. Gerzaguët, *L'abbaye d'Anchin de sa fondation (1079) au XIV^e siècle: Essor, vie et rayonnement d'une grande communauté bénédictine*, Paris 1997, p. 128, discussing the adoption of Cluniac customs at Anchin during the abbacy of Alvisé (1111-31). On the varied and often contested influence of Cluny in the southern Low Countries, cfr. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform* cit.

47. Cfr. G. Constable (ed.), *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, Cambridge (MA) 1967 (Harvard Historical Studies, 78), II, pp. 48-55; also F. Dolveck (ed.), *Petrus Venerabilis: Carmina, cum Petri Pictaviensis Panegyrico: Pierre le vénérable: Poèmes, avec le Panégyrique de Pierre de Poitiers*, Paris 2014, pp. CIX-CXI.

Amand) just as readily highlights how many manuscripts from *both* the A and B traditions survive from regions outside the areas of strongest Cluniac influence. Thus we find one group of witnesses concentrated in the region to either side of the present-day border between France and Belgium: in addition to **Do**, these are the A Version **Mons** (Saint-Denis-en-Broqueroie, near Mons) and **Val** (SaintAmand provenance), and the B Version **Na1** (Brogne provenance⁴⁷), **Na2** (Floreffe, near Namur), and **Om** (Saint-Bertin). The possible Cluniac ties of **Do** and **Val** have been noted; among the rest of these, only Saint-Bertin (for **Om**) embraced Cluniac customs, but also rejected governance by Cluny⁴⁸. The same is true of a second group of manuscripts that cluster in the Rhineland: the relevant A Version witnesses are **Kob** (from Niederwerth, near Koblenz), **Trev** (from Trier, St. Martin), and **Wo1** (provenance the region of Düren, between Aachen and Cologne), plus the B Version witnesses **Dar** (from Ewig, near Paderborn) and **Ham** (from Windesheim, between Trier and Mainz). It pays to recall, of course, that two twelfth-century witnesses of Version A, **Ber** and **Met**, cannot be localized, and for still others we know only later provenances, not places of origin. But new information on any of these latter counts would not fundamentally alter the geographic picture sketched above⁴⁹.

Other contents in manuscripts of Version A suggest but scarcely prove Cluniac antecedents. As noted above, the story of the two dukes is immediately followed in both **Met** and **Val** by an exemplum drawn from the *uita* of Odilo explaining his foundation of All Souls' Day, a story that flatters the Cluniacs expressly⁵⁰. The coincidence of the prose *Relatio* with Pseudo-Calixtus in **Val** is also suggestive, in so far as the latter's *Liber S. Iacobi* has a preface addressed to the congregation of Cluny (*coetus Cluniacensis*)⁵¹. Finally, the two aforementioned Latin poems that were clearly based on Version A (because they incorporate details of the theological digression near its end) are most easily explained by an early diffusion of the exem-

48. É. Sabbe, *La réforme clunisienne dans le comté de Flandre au début du XII siècle*, «Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire», 9.1 (1930), pp. 121-38, at pp. 122-32.

49. **Ber** has textual affinities with **Nür** and **Kob**, which have Rhenish backgrounds. **Met** offers no codicological evidence of origin or provenance.

50. Cfr. n. 14, above.

51. The authorship of the *Liber S. Iacobi* is disputed, and the question of ties between its various parts and Cluny remains open; cfr., e.g., J. Williams, *Cluny and Spain*, «Gesta», 27.1-2 (1988), pp. 93-101, at pp. 95-6.

plum through Cluniac channels. It is striking that both of those poems were produced at approximately the same date, around the middle decades of the twelfth century, but entirely independently of each other. The first of them is by a known author, the monk Renier (or Reiner) of Liège; his poem is made of several parts in various metres, and the section based on the exemplum of the two dukes consists of 270 dactylic hexameters. Our knowledge of this work depends exclusively on the text printed in 1723 by Bernhard Pez from a now lost copy then preserved at Liège⁵². Renier's abbey, Saint-Laurent, established significant liturgical and cultural ties with Cluny from 1106 but did not submit to its governance⁵³. The second poetic retelling of the exemplum, now known as the *Relatio metrica de duobus ducibus*, is an anonymous work more ambitious than Renier's and bearing more direct indications of Cluniac influence, to which I will return.

Turning to Version B of the prose, we find the evidence of the localized manuscripts argues largely against a Cluniac origin or transmission. One of the two earliest witnesses to Version B, **Tro**, forms part of an important compilation of exempla produced at Clairvaux. Recently edited as the *Collectaneum exemplorum et uisionum Clareuallense*, this work became an important model and source for other collections produced by the Cistercians. Also from Cistercian houses come the thirteenth-century witnesses **Erl** (from Heilsbronn) and **Man** (from Bredelar), although in neither of those cases is the context an organized compilation of exempla. The early reception of the story of the two dukes by the Cistercians has already been noted with reference to the A Version, which served as the basis for a retelling of the tale in another large collection of exempla associated with the Cistercians, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15912⁵⁴. It is therefore possible that, at a relatively early date, Version A reached the Cistercians who both reused it in that form and soon produced from it Version B. The persistent links between the exemplum and Cistercian communities find

52. Bernhard Pez in his *Thesaurus anecdotorum nouissimus* [...] *Tomus 4, pars 3*, Augsburg and Graz 1723, pp. 110-20, with the title «Reineri Monachi S. Laurentii Leodiensis De Conflictu Ducum Ducum et Animarum Mirabili Revelatione ac De Milite Captivo per Salutarem Hostiam Liberato Libelli II». Pez's edition is reprinted in PL, vol. CCIV; cfr. coll. 79C-86C for the exemplum of the two dukes. On the manuscript sources used by Pez, cfr. H. Silvestre, *Concernant la première édition des œuvres de Renier de Saint-Laurent: deux lettres de Dom C. Lombard à Dom B. Pez*, «Revue bénédictine», 60 (1950), pp. 208-13.

53. J.-L. Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale. XI^e-XII^e siècles*, Paris 1981 (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, 128), pp. 362-3.

54. I.e., Berlioz-Polo de Beaulieu, *Collectio exemplorum Cisterciensis* cit. (cfr. *supra* n. 26).

further support in the *Exordium magnum Cisterciense* by Conrad of Eberbach. In the sixth book of the work, which Conrad composed in the early thirteenth century, he incorporated a highly compressed retelling of the exemplum that suppresses its ties to Maiolus⁵⁵. Conrad rewrote the text so extensively that the affiliation of his exemplar to the A or B Version cannot be determined⁵⁶.

An anonymous poet active in the middle or second half of the twelfth century recast the prose in verse while also greatly elaborating its themes. Like Renier of Liège, this poet relied on a copy of the prose in its A Version, but his designs were grander than Renier's. The result, a poem in 827 rhyming dactylic hexameters with the manuscript heading «Ex relatione S. Maioli abbatis de duobus ducibus», was published for the first time only in 2016 as the *Relatio metrica de duobus ducibus*⁵⁷. The anonymous poet embellished the prose with erudite allusions to classical and biblical sources, expanded its dialogue into rhetorically elaborate speeches, and gave Maiolus a more prominent role as narrator of the story. Most impressive of all are the ways in which the poet has clothed Eusebius's virtues in the language and ideals of Christian knighthood that permeated writings associated with the First Crusade (1096-99)⁵⁸.

The poem is known to survive in only one manuscript, Charleville-Mézières, Médiathèque Voyelles 190, a collection of texts copied around the turn of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries⁵⁹. The style of neumes accompanying a hymn on the final folio of the book suggests an origin in eastern

55. B. Griesser (ed.), Conrad of Eberbach, *Exordium magnum Cisterciense, sine Narratio de initio Cisterciensis ordinis* 6.6, Turnhout 1997 (CCCM 138), pp. 356-8.

56. For another example (not Cistercian) of a retelling of the story that could derive from either the long or short version, cfr. the collection of exempla compiled in the first half the thirteenth century by Wiger of Utrecht, edited by D. R. Winter, *The Liber exemplorum of Master Wiger of Utrecht: Study and Text*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto 2000, p. 202 (§ 46.B.2). Wiger (*floruit* 1210-40) had been Provost of St. Peter's Collegiate Church, Utrecht, but became a Franciscan some time before 1228.

57. Jones-Bruce (edd.), pp. 76-119 (edition and translation) and 121-71 (commentary). The poem had attracted almost no earlier attention; cfr. *ibid.*, p. 1, nn. 1-2.

58. For more detail on these aspects of the poem, cfr. Jones-Bruce (edd.), pp. 18-40.

59. The description in *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (in 4^o), Tome 5: Metz - Verdun - Charleville*, Paris 1879, pp. 627-9, has been superseded by C. Jeudy - Y.-F. Riou in *Manuscrits classiques latins des bibliothèques publiques de France, Tome 1: Agen - Évreux*, Paris 1989, pp. 419-22; the poem is their item 7 (at p. 420). Cfr. also J. van der Straeten, *Les manuscrits hagiographiques de Charleville, Verdun et Saint-Mihiel, avec plusieurs textes inédits*, Bruxelles 1974 (*Subsidia hagiographica*, 56), pp. 31-2.

France, and its later provenance is the Cistercian monastery of Notre-Dame-de-Signy (Signy-l'Abbaye, dép. Ardennes). The codex consists of two main parts, of which the first is a series of prose works: Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Vita Barlaam et Iosaphat* (ff. 11r-90r), Pseudo-Calixtus *Liber S. Iacobi* (90v-113v), Pseudo-Turpin, *Historia Karoli Magni* (113v-136r), and Bede, *De locis sanctis* (136v-143v). The second part of the manuscript (ff. 144r-162v) is an anthology of verse, beginning with the *Relatio metrica* (144r-149v) and continuing with a series of texts by (or attributed to) other then-recent poets Hildebert of Lavardin, Peter Riga, Walter of Châtillon, and anonymous authors⁶⁰. The presentation of all the texts in this section of the manuscript has a fairly uniform appearance, suggesting that the poem on the two dukes was received as already part of the anthology containing Hildebert and the rest.

The origin and earlier transmission of the *Relatio metrica de duobus ducibus* are unknown. Because he praises Maiolus and the monks of Cluny so lavishly, the poet's own affiliation with the Cluniacs seems likely. But, as noted in connection with the prose exemplum, Cluny's influence touched many communities in different ways and to differing degrees. The poet's extensive allusions to classical tradition (especially Vergil and the matter of Troy), as well as his familiarity with both early Christian and quite recent medieval verse, reveal an excellent education supported by a good library or libraries. Particularly, his verse betrays many debts to the prolific Bernard of Morlas, who was a monk at the Cluniac priory of Saint-Denis in Nogent-le-Rotrou. Bernard's most famous poem, the *De contemptu mundi*, was dedicated to Peter the Venerable and enjoyed some popularity, but most of his other works do not seem to have circulated widely. For that reason, it is noteworthy that the poet of the *Relatio metrica* was evidently familiar with the entire corpus of works by Bernard of Morlas⁶¹.

Another clue to the origin of the *Relatio metrica* lies in the frequent parallels between that poem and a group of verses composed by an otherwise unknown «Bernardus scriba» to accompany copies of Pseudo-Dares's *De*

60. This part of the manuscript was the focus of A. Wilmart's study, *Poèmes de Gautier de Châtillon dans un manuscrit de Charleville*, «Revue bénédictine», 49 (1937), pp. 121-69 and 322-65, although later scholarship has cast doubt on some of his attributions to Walter; cfr. D. A. Traill (ed.), *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems: Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse*, Oxford 2013, pp. XXII-XXVII.

61. For the many debts of the *Relatio metrica* to poems by Bernard of Morlas (also known as Bernard of Cluny), cfr. Jones-Bruce (edd.), pp. 51-5.

excidio Troiae historia and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*⁶². The details and implications of these similarities have been set out elsewhere⁶³; of principal interest here is the transmission of Bernardus's verses in a manuscript copied at Saint-Sauveur, Anchin, in the second half of the twelfth century: Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore 880⁶⁴. Some of these same poems, plus one other by Bernardus, appear along with copies of Pseudo-Dares and Geoffrey of Monmouth in a related manuscript owned by the nearby monastery of Sainte-Rictrude, Marchiennes (Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore 882)⁶⁵; and a third manuscript, of late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century date and having a provenance in the Premonstratensian abbey of Vicogne-de-Saint-Sébastien (dép. Nord), also contains some of Bernardus's poems alongside Geoffrey's *Historia* (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 792 [589])⁶⁶.

In all, there are thus many points of potential connection between the *Relatio metrica* and the manuscript tradition of the prose exemplum: two of the major prose texts preceding the *Relatio metrica* in its manuscript occur elsewhere in combination with the prose: the *Vita Barlaam et Iosaphat* in **Met** (A Version), and Pseudo-Calixtus in **Val** (A Version) but also **Mün** and **To** (B Version). If the poet of the *Relatio metrica* was either Bernardus the Scribe or an imitator of him, the connections might also include Pseudo-Dares in **Mün** and **To** (B Version), as well as Geoffrey of Monmouth in **Om** (also the B Version). Of course, all the prose texts involved here were widely known, so sheer coincidence may explain some of these points of overlap. But surely the most noticeable implication of these clues about the origin of the *Relatio metrica* is that the unique manuscript of that work (preserved at Signy), and also the manuscripts of the possibly related works of Bernardus the Scribe (from Anchin, Marchiennes, and Vicogne), lie in much the same region, along the present-day border of France and Belgium, that produced or owned copies of the prose exemplum, both in its A Version (**Do**, **Mons**, and **Val**) and B Version (**Na1**, **Na2**, and **Om**). A reasonable hypoth-

62. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (in 4^o), Tome 6: Douai cit.*, pp. 635-6; this manuscript also contains a fragmentary copy of Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *Historia Normannorum*.

63. Jones-Bruce (edd.), pp. 57-70.

64. Cfr. Jeudy-Riou, *Manuscrits classiques latins cit.*, pp. 600-2.

65. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (in 4^o), Tome 6: Douai cit.*, pp. 637-43. The contents of this manuscript are more varied and complex than those of Douai 880.

66. Cfr. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (in 8^o), Tome 25: Poitiers - Valenciennes cit.*, pp. 474-5.

esis for future research to pursue is that, soon after its creation at Cluny or some place strongly under Cluniac influence, the prose Version A traveled north and was well received in religious houses of the southern Low Countries. Those houses included some with a degree of Cluniac association, namely Anchin (the origin of Do), Saint-Laurent in Liège (where Renier used Version A to create his poem), and perhaps the unknown monastery that was home to the author of the *Relatio metrica*. If the latter poet was the same person as «Bernardus scriba», or if the two men were different but one imitated the other's verse directly, then Anchin plausibly suggests itself as a site where the poet(s) met the prose source.

Addendum:

After this entry went to press, Dr. Jérémy Delmulle kindly brought to my attention the existence of a seventeenth-century transcript of lines 1-393 of the anonymous *Relatio metrica de duobus ducibus*. This partial witness, now Melk, Stiftsarchiv, Karton 7 Patres 10, Faszikel 3, Nr. 2, was clearly not transcribed from the Charleville-Mézières manuscript but from another medieval copy of the poem that has since been lost. Dr. Delmulle also calls attention to the existence of another copy of the poem catalogued at the Cistercian abbey of Orval, Belgium, in 1673, but that manuscript, too, cannot be traced. These discoveries touching the transmission of the *Relatio metrica*, which also allow a number of improvements to the Latin text of the poem, will appear in Dr. Delmulle's forthcoming article, *Notes on the Text of the Twelfth-Century Cluniac Relatio metrica de duobus ducibus*, to be published in «The Journal of Medieval Latin» 34 (2024).

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