

William of Malmesbury and the Classics: New Evidence

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The English Benedictine monk William of Malmesbury (c. 1090 – c. 1143) has a well-established reputation as one of England's greatest historians and also as a considerable classicist.¹ Recent research has, if anything, increased his stature as a reader, editor, and interpreter of ancient Latin literature. This paper will present some findings of this research under three heads.

1. Quotations from Unusual texts in unlikely places

I begin with new identifications of unusual Latin classical texts known to him, and used by him in unlikely contexts. The first of these is a long passage in his Commentary on Lamentations,² echoing and adapting a non-Christian writer, Apuleius (AD 125 – 180), in his *De deo Socratis*.

(*Comm. Lam.* 1. 1950-57) Quid est enim in homine suum, quid non alienum? Si dicis quod generosus est, parentes laudas. Diues est: non credo fortunae. Validus est: egritudine fatigabitur. Pernix est: abit in senectutem. Formosus est: expecta paulisper, et non erit. Magis aeternam Dei queramus gratiam, quae nos numquam derelinquat, quae non sit a patre hereditaria nec a casu pendula nec caduca corpore nec mutabilis aetate.

Much of this essay is 'borrowed plumage'. I wish to record my gratitude to Tina Chronopoulos, Robert Kaster, Ermanno Malaspina, Michael Reeve, and Michael Winterbottom, for discussing with me their research as outlined below. Their affable and generous sharing of information has made 'networking' with them a real pleasure. Kaster and Malaspina were also kind enough to read drafts of this paper.

1. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, including the most recent list of authors and works known to William at first hand (202-14). For corrections and modifications, see the Appendix below. Also cited in this article are William's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* and *Gesta Pontificum*

Anglorum (henceforward *GR* and *GP*).

2. *Willelmi Meldunensis monachi Liber super Explanationem Lamentationum Ieremiae Prophetae*, ed. Winterbottom and Thomson, henceforward *Comm. Lam.*

3. Translation by M. Winterbottom.

4. Verbal correspondences with William are signalled by italics.

What is there in a man that is his own, and not another's? If you say that he is well born, you are praising his parents. He is rich: I do not trust fortune. He is strong: he will be worn down by illness. He is swift: he is on the way to old age. He is handsome: wait a little while, and he will not be. Let us instead seek for the eternal grace of God, which never forsakes us, which is not inherited from one's father, not dependent on chance, or fleeting because it is bodily, or mutable because it is subject to ageing.³

(Apuleius, *De deo Socratis* 23)⁴ Similiter igitur et in hominibus contemplantis noli illa aliena aestimare, sed ipsum hominem penitus considera, ipsum ut meum Socratem pauperem specta. Aliena autem voco, quae parentes pepererunt et quae fortuna largita est. Quorum nihil laudibus Socratis mei admisceo, nullam generositatem, nullam prosapiam, nullos longos natales, nullas invidiosas divitias. Haec enim cuncta, ut dico, aliena sunt. Sat Parthaonio gloriae est, qui talis fuit, ut eius nepotem non puderet. Igitur omnia similiter aliena numeres licebit; *'generosus est': parentes laudas. 'Dives est': non credo fortunae. Nec magis ista adnumero: 'validus est': aegritudine fatigabitur. 'Pernix est': stabit in senectute. 'Formosus est': exspecta paulisper et non erit.* 'At enim bonis artibus doctus et adprime est eruditus et, quantum licet homini, sapiens et boni consultus': tandem aliquando ipsum virum laudas. Hoc enim nec a patre hereditarium est nec a casu pendulum nec a suffragio anniculum nec a corpore caducum nec ab aetate mutabile.

My second example is another long passage, expanded from Ausonius (AD c. 310 – 395), *Ephem.* 3, in the epilogue to William's *De miraculis beatae uirginis Mariae*.⁵

Numquam in securitatem resoluar, quod est inertis et negligētis in Deum animi, sed quasi semper in pro-cinctu stantem sensum alta formido de preteritis com-missis exagitet, cautela de instantibus sollicitet; dolor penitentiae tormenta Gehennae anticipet. Nil fatiam, queso, unde iure doleam, nil cupiam unde male gaude-am. Non ipse sim michi causa pudoris, agens quod egisse pigeat, committens quod commisisse peniteat. Sin uero prolapsus fuero, non uolutabrum foueam, sed cito resurgam. Non ledar apud Deum crimine uero, nec apud homines infamer falso. Vtrumque bono uiro cauendum, ne sit uel falso suspectus nec uere reus. Quietis et tranquillis motibus agatur haec materies corporis, nec compago caelestis et terreni dissideant. Nulla umquam sui parte sautius quicquam amissum desideret carnis usus, ut spe liberiore in alta contendat. Sotialem uitam diligens, amicos qui michi fidelitate conquadrent habeam. Nulla eos mea offensa aliquando effuget, sed mutua inter nos et pari lance caritas certet. Quod necesse est et expedit, assequar. Quod superflu-it non ambiam. Nec me angustet inopia nec dissoluat copia. Sed postremo uiuam ut supremæ horæ pres-sus articulo, mente boni conscia, nec propter peccata mori metuam nec propter importunitatem aliquarum erumnarum appetam. Nec mortem expauescam nec uitam erubescam. Munus hoc Dei, sicut sine iussu non abrumpendum, ita cum iusserit non subterfugiendum. Haec pia liba, haec bona uota, sed pro conscientia pec-

5. Henceforward *Mir. BVM*, ed. Canal, *El Libro 'De laudibus et miraculis sanctae Mariae' de Guillermo de Malmesbury*, not identifying the echoes of Ausonius. A new edition and translation by M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson will shortly be published by Boydell & Brewer.

catorum trepida, o domina, o benigna, fer filio tuo, asserere Iudici nostro. Et ut ratae sint orationes, solidae preces, orna me uirtutibus tuis, impertiens michi re cognomina tuae dignitatis quae et sanxit antiquitas et rerum commendat ueritas.

May I never relax into complacency, the sign of a lazy mind negligent towards God, but may my conscious self always be as it were in battle order, harassed by deep fears about past sins, troubled by misgivings about ones to come. May the pains of penitence anticipate the torments of hell. May I do nothing, I beg, to make me grieve for a good reason, desire nothing to make me rejoice for a bad one. May I not be a cause of shame to myself by doing what I regret having done, committing what I repent having committed. But if I do fall, may I not go on wallowing in sin, but rise again swiftly. May I not be arraigned in God's eyes on a true charge, or defamed among men on a false one. Both things must be guarded against by a good man, either to be suspected falsely or to be found guilty on a true charge. May this material that makes up the body be quiet and untroubled in its movements, let there be no dissonance between the material of heavenly and earthly. May the flesh whose services I enjoy be wounded in no part of itself, miss nothing that it has lost, so that it may hasten above with freer hope. I love a life shared with others; may I have friends who are loyal to me as I am to them. May no cause for offence in me ever drive them away, but let the affection between us always compete on equal terms. May I attain what is necessary and expedient. May I not strive for

what is excessive. May I not be straitened by poverty or enervated by abundance. Lastly, may I live in such a way that at the point of death I have a clear conscience, and do not either fear to die because of my sins or seek to die because some importunate misfortune presses upon me. May I not be frightened to die or ashamed to live. This gift from God should not be cut short without an order, but one must not skulk when He does give the order. These pious offerings, these good prayers, though they are timid because I know I have sinned, Lady, kind Lady, bring to your Son, and defend them to our Judge. And so that my prayers may have validity and weight, deck me out with your virtues, granting me the...⁶ of your dignity which antiquity has hallowed and the truth of things commends.⁷

6. The word, *recognomina*, is not otherwise attested.

7. Translation by M. Winterbottom.

8. Verbal correspondences with William are signalled by italics.

(Ausonius, *Ephem.* 3: 54-64)⁸ Tacitum si paenitet *altaque sensus / formido* excruciat *tormenta*que sera *gehen-nae anticipat* patiturque suos mens saucia manes. Da, pater, haec nostro fieri *rata* uota precatu. / nil metuum *cupiamque* nihil; satis hoc rear esse, / quod satis est. nil turpe uelim nec *causa pudoris / sim mihi*. nec uero *crimine laedar / nec* maculer dubio; paulum distare uidetur / *suspectus uereque reus*. ... (66) *sim carus amicis* ... (68-70) non animo doleam, non corpore; cuncta *quietis / fungantur* membra officiis; nec *saucius* ullis / *partibus amissum quicquam desideret usus*. ... (72) *suprema diei cum uenerit hora, nec timeat mortem bene conscia* uita nec optet. ... (79-80) haec pia, sed maesto *trepidantia* uota reatu, nate, apud aeternum placabilis *assere* patrem.

9. *GR* 2. 4 and 3. 3;
Comm. Lam., p. 18.

10. Chronopoulos,
'Brief Lives'. What
follows is largely dependent upon Chronopoulos' discussion.

11. BL, Royal 4 B. iv (c. 1150, Worcester); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 202 (c. 1150–1175, Gloucester); BnF, lat. 5839 (c. 1150–1175, Winchcombe?).

12. BnF, lat. 2781 and lat. 8559.

William was clearly attracted by Ausonius' poem, quoting shorter passages from it in *GR* and *Comm. Lam.*⁹ It is remarkable that these ancient texts should have been used, and to such an extent, in a biblical commentary and a set of *miracula*. Both passages show that William had mastered these texts, to the extent that he could interweave them with his own prose, using or adapting their wording as he thought appropriate.

2. William as Possible Author of Learned Introductions to Some Ancient Texts

I turn next to a set of short bio-bibliographical texts about the lives and works of three late-antique authors, Sidonius Apollinaris (AD 430 – 489), Quintus Aurelius Symmachus (c. 345 – 402) and Fulgentius Mythographus (c. 500), recently edited and attributed to William's authorship.¹⁰ They survive in five copies, three of them twelfth-century and from monastic communities in south-west England: Worcester, Gloucester, and perhaps Winchcombe.¹¹ The other two copies are French, dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹² The notes were clearly meant to preface texts of the relevant authors and most of them still do: all the extant copies contain the text of Symmachus and some of Sidonius as well, though in all but one case the notes are an informal addition. They are in the tradition of Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, a text well known in the twelfth century, giving the author's name, origin and dates, with the titles of his works and short summaries of their content. In addition, dates and names of relevant emperors or consuls are supplied to produce a historical framework. This is supplemented by relevant citations from a wide variety of sources: Sidonius' letters, *carmina* and *panegyrici*, Ambrose's letters, Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, Prudentius' *Contra*

Symmachum, Cassiodorus' *Historia tripartita*, Jordanes' *Romana* and *Getica*, Paul the Deacon's *Historia romana*, Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum*, and something called 'leges romanae'. The note on Fulgentius Mythographus is particularly impressive in listing all his known works, while avoiding confusion with those of the far better-known Christian writer Fulgentius bishop of Ruspe.¹³

William's name does not appear in any of the copies, but there are many pointers suggesting his authorship.¹⁴ The provenance of the earliest manuscripts brings us at once into his *Kulturkreis*. He knew most if not all of the texts involved, including some, like Jordanes, that were scarce. One of the manuscripts copied by William and his assistants, Bodleian, Arch. Seld. B. 16, is of particular relevance.¹⁵ Among its edited and excerpted chronicles of imperial history from Troy until the ninth century we find Paul the Deacon and both works of Jordanes. The 'leges romanae' are at present a mystery, not least because they are quoted as evidence that persons named Symmachus and Probus were joint consuls in the reign of Constantine the Great, which they were not. One suspects that the error lurks in another part of the Selden MS, William's copy of the version of the Theodosian Code known as the *Breviarium Alaricum*, but neither Tina Chronopoulos nor I have been able to find it there. Finally, William definitely wrote notes of similar character as prefaces to his own copies of ancient texts.¹⁶

3. William as Editor of Ancient Texts

In third place, I wish to present some examples of ancient texts thought to have been edited or commented on by William: these comprise Pliny's *Natural History*, Suetonius' *De uita Caesarum*, and Cicero's *Lucullus*, as discussed by

13. They may or may not have been the same person: Chronopoulos, 'Brief Lives', 257-9.

14. Discussed by Chronopoulos, 'Brief Lives', 272-5.

15. Chronopoulos, 'Brief Lives', 272-4; Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 63-4, 66-7, 90-1 etc.

16. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 16-17, 23-4, 51-3, 61, 63, 66-7.

17. William of Malmesbury, *Polyhistor*, 37, line 30-38, line 23.

18. Reeve, 'The Editing of Pliny's Natural History', 133, 155-6; also Borst, *Das Buch der Naturgeschichte*, at 251-4.

Michael Reeve, Robert Kaster, and Ermanno Malaspina respectively.

Michael Reeve has drawn attention to a two-volume copy of Pliny, BAV, Ottob. lat. 1302 + 1459 (English?, thirteenth-century, once containing the text to 37. 199). Textually, it is a representative of a mainly English family descended from BnF, lat. 6795 (850-900). The main scribe wrote gothic bookhand of international type, impossible to particularize geographically. But in the margin of MS 1302, fol. 29, we find the word 'Britannia', and at fol. 79 'Delphinus Anglice mereswin Gallice porpeis'. Reeve drew attention to marginal notes summarizing the contents of each chapter, which break off at bk. 32. 142. They are in the hand of the main text and their errors indicate that they were copied from the exemplar. One marginal note a little more ambitious than the rest is in MS 1302, fol. 42v: '[Nota] quod Cicero dixit hec fecisse Zeusin apud Crotoniatas non apud Agrigentinus' (*De inv.* 2. 103). William cited Cicero's version of the story in his florilegium, the *Polyhistor*.¹⁷ In the same work he copied extracts from Pliny as far as 32. 142.¹⁸ The fact that his extracts and the marginal notes in the Vatican Pliny terminate at the same point seems more than coincidental.

In November 2012 I was contacted by Prof. Robert Kaster, who is editing Suetonius' *De uita Caesarum* for the series Oxford Classical Texts. What he had to say, of two manuscripts never before used by Suetonius' editors, is of enormous interest and significance on several counts:

One pair of 'twins' has been especially interesting – though they have been all but ignored till now – because they clearly bear the imprint of a very distinctive reader in their common background: together they

share some 2000 unique errors (a number completely without parallel in the other MSS), and while some of these are of the run-of-the-mill sort, it is clear that most are the work of someone who had firm and systematic ideas about how the Latin ought to work, and no compunction whatever about changing what Suetonius wrote to make the Latin work that way.... So in that respect the text that these two books preserve is a sorry piece of work, from a modern editor's point of view. But: along with those hundreds upon hundreds of willful and transgressive tinkers, there are fifty corrections that are unquestionably correct, often very learned and even brilliant, and in most cases surfacing in these books centuries before they are otherwise attested. To put the number of these gems in perspective, they come to half a dozen more good emendations than can be credited to Erasmus, Salmasius, Turnebus, Lipsius, Casaubon, and Bentley – combined. One of the manuscripts in question is a thirteenth-century manuscript now in the British Library (BL, Royal 15 C. iv). The other is... Bodleian, Lat. class. d. 39, c. 1175.¹⁹

19. Email of 15 November, 2012. See also Kaster's forthcoming papers, 'Making Sense of Suetonius in the Twelfth Century', and 'The Transmission of Suetonius' *Caesars* in the Middle Ages'.

20. 'William of Malmesbury's Carolingian Sources', revised version in Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 137-53.

What made Kaster think of William? One reason, as with the bio-bibliographical notes, was the provenance of the surviving copies. The original home of BL, Royal 15 C. iv has not been identified, but at least it is known to have come from south-west England. The Bodleian MS, a cento of historical texts focusing upon ninth-century Francia, was probably made and kept at Christ Church Canterbury, but copied from an exemplar put together and annotated by William, as I showed some years ago.²⁰ The copy of Suetonius in it, then, at the very least passed through William's hands. If he did not edit this copy,

21. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, chapter 8.

22. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 51–5.

23. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 52.

24. A group of young scholars under the direction of Ermanno Malaspina is currently working on the other Ciceronian works in St Omer, BM, 652 (*Philippics*, *Tusculans*, *De natura deorum*, *De divinatione*, *De fato*, *Ti-maeus*) and on its text of Apuleius' *Asclepius*, with the aim of producing a systematic overview of the MS, its position in relation to CUL, Mm. 13. 2, and the kind of interventions by William; Malaspina hopes to submit a collective paper for publication before the end of 2014.

25. 'Di fronte a un *modus operandi* così sistematicamente intrusivo e coraggiosamente congetturale, viene da pensare che persino le numerose inversioni di **m**...non siano, come spesso succede, sviste inconse, ma deliberati adattamenti a un *cursus* o a un *ordo verborum* ritenuti più corretti o eleganti'. I quote from Malaspina's forthcoming

then the editing was done by someone at much the same time and in the same region. Another reason is that two of William's quotations from Suetonius in *GR* share unique readings with the common ancestor of Kaster's 'twins'. Yet another is that the kinds of emendation practiced on this ancestor are very similar to the ways in which William edited the text of Alcuin's letters, quoted by him in *GR* and *GP*.²¹

Thirdly, there is the recent discovery, by Ermanno Malaspina of the University of Torino, of a second copy of William's collection of Cicero's philosophical works (a representative of the so-called 'Leiden corpus'). Until this point, the collection had been known only from the fifteenth-century CUL, Mm. 13. 2, copied for William Gray, bishop of Ely, by the Flemish or German scribe Thomas Werken.²² It is famous for the long note in which 'Ego Willelmus Malmesburiensis' attempts to justify his love of the Latin classics.²³ The new discovery, St Omer, BM, 652, also from the fifteenth century, bears the *ex libris* of the abbey of St Bertin, where it was doubtless made. Collation shows that the two MSS are gemelli, that is, copied from the same (lost) exemplar. This exemplar (**m**), was of course William's copy and having two direct descendants of it means that it is now possible to say something about the readings of the texts which they have in common and which derive from **m**. Malaspina has shown that, for the *Lucullus* at least,²⁴ the situation is very similar to that of the Suetonius exemplar: **m** contained aggressive, unauthoritative textual emendations by a master of Latin, among them some excellent readings anticipating guesses made centuries later by respected classical scholars.²⁵

Sections 2 and 3 (above), in neither of which is William's involvement proven to the hilt, leave us with a problem: Should we see William as a one-man-band, or have we

to do with a learned culture involving several individuals and places? I take the liberty of quoting Robert Kaster again, this time with reference to Macrobius' *Saturnalia*:

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 71 (C), written at St. Albans in s. XII med. 3/4, is the earliest source of a couple of dozen emendations that all of Macrobius' modern editors have put in the text, though they've all been attributed to later sources because no editor since Gronovius used the MS. Both the successful emendations and the 'nice tries' are all pretty clearly the product of the same mind, though all we can say about it is that it was active in England sometime before C itself was written and sometime after the writing of the ancestor that C has in common with its twin, a slightly earlier Cambridge manuscript (CUL, Ff. 3. 5, s. XII 2/4, Bury St. Edmunds = A), which shares hundreds of errors with C but lacks these corrections.²⁶

ing article 'La tradizione manoscritta del *Lucullus* di Cicerone'.

26. Email of 20 November, 2012. Detail in Kaster, *Studies on the Text of Macrobius' Saturnalia*, 18-27.

Given the provenance of these manuscripts, there would seem no particular reason to identify this particular corrector with William, unless we are prepared to concede that he was the only Englishman living in the first half of the twelfth century capable of editing to such a standard. This may not be unreasonable. On the other hand, if we have to do with a scenario involving more than one person, what might that scenario have been? The evidence advanced above suggests a milieu focused on the larger Benedictine communities in southern England. This, however, even if true in itself, may not be the whole picture, for similar evidence may yet be sought for and found in other places, northern England or the Continent.

Whatever the case, these achievements, major features of the 'twelfth-century renaissance', represent a high-water

27. As is the practice of all three classicists mentioned above under 3. Another example is the text of Cicero's *De officiis*, ed. Winterbottom, the surviving MSS listed by him in *Classical Quarterly* ser. nov. 43 (1993): 215-42.

28. None of the reminiscences (mainly of patristic sources) identified, mainly by Michael Winterbottom, in *Comm. Lam.* are quoted verbatim or named by William. Whether he was using the identified source at first hand is very much a matter of judgement (mine in this instance), and complete certainty is often not possible.

mark in the editing of classical texts not again attained until the sixteenth century. More generally still, these examples show that medieval scholars could make conjectural emendations to their texts that were just as plausible and intelligent as those made by the 'great names' in classical studies of the sixteenth century and beyond. This is a point still too lightly regarded by modern editors of the same texts; the ability, conferred by digital technology, to identify and access all the surviving manuscripts of a particular text, should correct this situation so long as all of the survivors are adequately collated and their interrelationships established.²⁷

Appendix

Additions and corrections to the list of William's reading in my *William of Malmesbury*, 202-14.

AGOBARD, *Aduersus legem Gundobadi*: *Comm. Lam.*, p. 77.²⁸

AMBROSE, *Apologia David*: *Comm. Lam.*, p. 102; *De fide*: *Comm. Lam.*, p. 257; *In Lucam*: *Comm. Lam.*, pp. 100, 165; *In Ps. XII*: *Comm. Lam.*, pp. 6, 234, 298.

AMBROSIUS AUTPERTUS, *In Apoc.*: *Comm. Lam.*, pp. 150, 195, 226, 313.

ANSELM: delete *Unde Malum*, an extract from letter 97; add *De Casu Diaboli*: in William's collection of Anselmiana, London, Lambeth Palace Library, 224.

APPONIUS, *In Cant.*: *Comm. Lam.*, pp. 44, 45, 53 etc. A very rare work, known to Bede and Angelomus of Luxeuil, but to few others.

APULEIUS, *De deo Socratis*: now certain; see above, p. 169-70.

AUGUSTINE, *De catechizandis rudibus*: *Comm. Lam.*, p. 214; *De musica*: *Comm. Lam.*, p. 30; *Quaestiones in Matt.*: *Comm. Lam.*, p. 49.

Ps.-AUGUSTINE, *De assumptione beatae Mariae* (PL 40. 1141-8). *Mir. BVM*, prol. etc.

Ps.-AURELIUS VICTOR, *Epitome*: *Comm. Lam.*, pp. 260-1.

BEDE, *Homiliae: Comm. Lam.*, p. 57; *In Epist. Catholicas: Comm. Lam.*, p. 111; *In Lucam: Comm. Lam.*, pp. 164, 210; *In Reg. Quaestiones: Comm. Lam.*, p. 282.

Ps.-BEDE, *In Ps.* (PL 93. 477-1098): *Comm. Lam.*, pp. 7, 9, 11, etc.

CAESARIUS OF ARLES, *Serm.* 3. 1, 179. 4: *Comm. Lam.*, pp. 97, 93.

CICERO, *Pro Cluentio*: see also *Comm. Lam.*?, p. 189.

Ps.-CIXILA, *Vita Ildefonsi* (BHL 3919; PL 96. 43-7): *Mir. BVM*, mir. 3.

CURTIUS RUFUS, *Gesta Alexandri: Comm. Lam.*, p. 90. William may have known this rare text in the interpolated form discussed by Smits, 'A medieval supplement to the beginning of Curtius Rufus' *Historia Alexandri*'. He noted (pp. 96-7) that at GR 3. 238 William recalled Suetonius, *Iul.* 59, followed by Justin 11. 6. 1, both quoted, in the same order, in the 'medieval supplement' at lines 315-16, 331-2. The earliest and best witness to the interpolated version of Curtius, Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 82, 1150-1175, has been thought to be French, but is written by an English scribe. Curtius also figures in the mid twelfth-century library catalogue of Bury St Edmunds Abbey.

EUSEBIUS-JEROME, *Chronicon*: Bodleian, Arch. Seld. b. 16, fol. 71r-v.

Ps.-EUTYCHIANUS, *Paenitentia Theophili*, tr. Paul the Deacon (*AASS Feb.* 1. 483-7): *Mir. BVM*, mir. 1.

FULBERT OF CHARTRES, *Homilia 'Approbatæ consuetudinis'*: *Mir. BVM*, prol. etc. This seems to have been the only homily by Fulbert known to William.

GAUDENTIUS, *Tractatus: Comm. Lam.*, p. 199. Fragments of a late eleventh-century English copy are in three printed books: Oxford, All Souls College, SR. 80. g. 8, Merton College, 2 f. 10, and Eton College, Ea. 3. 6: Thomson, *Merton*, p. 262.

GREGORY OF TOURS, *Libri X Historiarum*. The reference cited in my earlier list, *Comm. Lam.*, p. 241 'Leuare – erigere', attrib. Gregory the Great (*Epist. app.*, ed. D. Norberg, p. 1102 lines 19-21), is indeed found in 10, 1 (ed. Krusch, p. 479, 17-8): 'ad Deum quippe

- corda cum manibus leuare est orationis nostrae studium cum merito bonae operationis eregere'. But there is a separate additional tradition for this (see Krusch's note ad loc.). It is *cited* by Gregory of Tours, but as part of an 'oratio ad plebem' by Pope Gregory (who says something very similar in *Moral.* 18, 5). But see above, p. 175.
- HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS, *In Cant.: Comm. Lam.*, p. 263.
- ISIDORE, *Differentiae: Comm. Lam.*?, p. 229; *Sent.: Comm. Lam.*, pp. 41, 208.
- JEROME, *?Hebr. Quaest. in Gen.: Comm. Lam.*, p. 299; *In Ezech.: Comm. Lam.*, p. 300; *Commentarioli in Ps.: Comm. Lam.*, pp. 34, 115; *?Tract. in Ps.: Comm. Lam.*, pp. 23, 34, 190.
- Ps.-JEROME, *Breuiarium in Ps.: Comm. Lam.*, pp. 41, 120 etc.
- Ps.-JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Opus Imperfectum in Mattheum: Comm. Lam.*, p. 299. William is one of the earliest English quoters from the Latin version. It does not seem to have been known in Anglo-Saxon England.
- JOHN OF SALERNO, *Vita S. Odonis (PL 133. 71-2): Mir. BVM*, mir. 19.
- JUSTINIAN, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. It is perhaps not very certain that William knew this. The passage quoted from William in *William of Malmesbury*, p. 63, was lifted by him verbatim from Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Lang.* 1. 25, also used by Sigebert of Gembloux. The only argument for William knowing the Corpus is that he says it was far more extensive than the version of the Theodosian Code that he knew (the *Breviarium Alarici*).
- PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS, *In Matth.: Comm. Lam.*, pp. 132, 148 etc.
- PETER DAMIAN: Letter 132: apparently quoted in *Comm. Lam.*, p. 81.
- PROSPER, *Liber sententiarum: Comm. Lam.*, p. 76.
- PRUDENTIUS, *Cathemerinon*, now certain: *Comm. Lam.*, p. 180; *Hamar-tigenia: Comm. Lam.*, pp. 19, 23.
- RABANUS, *In Ierem.: Comm. Lam.*, p. 7; *In Ecclus: Comm. Lam.*, p. 9.
- ROBERT OF TOMBELAINE, *In Cant.* William's knowledge of this popular work was previously inferred from a brief notice of it in the

margin of Bodleian, Auct. F. 3. 14; in fact he used it extensively (without acknowledgement) as a source for *Comm. Lam.* (e.g. pp. 16, 26, 52).

RUPERT OF DEUTZ, *De Diuinis Officiis: Comm. Lam.*, pp. 92, 217; *De glorificatione Trinitatis: Comm. Lam.*, p. 150; *De Sancta Trinitate: Comm. Lam.*, pp. 93, 165, 246. Rupert's works would never be well known outside Germany. It is remarkable that William knew any of them; he seems to have travelled on the Continent as far as Aachen (*GP*, vol. 2, pp. 213-15) and perhaps found them there.

Ps.-SENECA, *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam* (CPL 191). *Epistola ad Paulum* 11. 6 (ed. Barlow, p. 133) is quoted almost verbatim in *Comm. Lam.*, p. 84 'donec inuicta felicitas malis imponat finem' (Ps.-Seneca 'donec inuicta felicitas finem malis imponat').

SOPHRONIUS, *Vita S. Mariae Aegyptiacae*, tr. Paul the Deacon of Naples (*BHL* 5415; *PL* 73. 671-90): *Mir. BVM*, mir. 40.

SULPICIOUS SEVERUS, *Dialogi* (*BHL* 5614-16): *Mir. BVM*, mir. 39.

SYMMACHUS, *Relationes: Comm. Lam.*, p. 50. And see above, p. 174.

SYMPHOSIUS: *GP* 4. 196. 2 (and comm. ad loc.).

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AASS *Acta Sanctorum*

BHL *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*

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