

**LEGITIMACY THROUGH LITERATURE: POLITICAL CULTURE IN EARLY-  
ELEVENTH-CENTURY ROUEN**

A Dissertation

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This dissertation examines the interplay between early-eleventh-century Norman literature and the Norman ducal family's project of establishing its legitimacy to rule. The dissertation considers Dudo of Saint Quentin's arcane history of the Norman dukes, Warner of Rouen's two esoteric satires, and two further anonymous satires produced in Rouen c. 996-1026 (the reign of Duke Richard II). These works constitute the secular Norman literature during this period. Although the texts' audiences are unknown, it is clear that the ducal family, local clerics, and potentially nobility throughout the region and France were among the works' addressees. Despite their obscurity to modern readers, these texts spoke to the interests of the highest echelons of Norman society. Throughout my dissertation, I show how these texts were understood in their own time and how they spoke to contemporary social and political issues. Common themes emerge throughout the texts, despite their different genres: most importantly, the ducal family's strategic marriages, and the desire for the appearance of a cultured court in order to balance the Normans' reputation of physical might. Reading these Rouennais texts together offers new views of Norman political culture that have not been available without a close look at this literature as a whole.

The literature should also be considered in the context of contemporary monastic and ecclesiastical reforms. The growing interest in ecclesiastical celibacy and other reforms

influenced these texts, especially where they portray religious debates or satirical bawdiness, but the reforms' influence in curtailing the production of secular texts in the late 1020s should not be overstated. Instead, it was political concerns that dictated the writing of the Rouennais literature and also dictated the end of its production.

This dissertation's methodology is to discuss the convergences and divergences in style, theme, and content of the texts in order to discuss the context in which the pieces were written. I combine this approach at times with evidence from diplomatic sources. This dissertation offers more evidence for a recent trend in Norman scholarship that sees the early-eleventh-century as a time of political consolidation for the Norman ducal family.

## **BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH**

Corinna Matlis will receive her PhD from Cornell University in Medieval Studies in May 2017. She received her undergraduate degree from the University of California, Berkeley in 2009, and she received a Master of Studies in Medieval History from Oxford University in 2010. She received her MA in Medieval Studies from Cornell in 2013.

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Finally, I have to thank Chris Wickham, who supervised my master's thesis at Oxford, parts of which made it into this dissertation. He was the one, in late 2009, who asked if I had ever read Dudo of Saint Quentin's history of the Norman dukes. I fell in love with that text, and it is the basis of this dissertation.

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## INTRODUCTION

“You goat! May you completely eat the cunt of your nanny-goat and, in equal measure, her sexual organs and her buttocks, before the wise poems of our Virgil disappear and before (the syllables) ‘fo’ and ‘mo’ have two *tempora*, as well as (the syllable) ‘fex.’”<sup>1</sup>

As Warner of Rouen’s poem, *Moriuht*, includes discursive and obscene laments like this one, it is not surprising that scholars have been slow to integrate this work into the study of early Norman political history. The poem’s sexual explicitness might startle a modern reader, and to be sure, this bawdiness gives us a window into the literary tastes of the poem’s patrons. Furthermore, this poem is one of only a few literary sources that depict the Rouennais ducal family and the people they supposedly interacted with in the early eleventh century. *Moriuht*, which attacks an Irish writer’s poetry while also critiquing his sexual encounters, is one of four satirical poems written in Rouen in the early eleventh century. These poems revel in sexual themes as well as aggressive and obscure language. Nevertheless, these poems were comprehensible to their audiences, and one of the purposes of this dissertation is to discuss how these texts were understood in the early eleventh century. Perhaps as a result of their often salacious and strange content, or perhaps because all but one of these poems survive in only one manuscript compiled in the late eleventh century, these sources have been rarely integrated into the study of early Norman political history. During the same period, a Frankish cleric, Dudo of Saint Quentin, wrote the first history of the Norman dukes – a stylistically esoteric, studiously intellectual, and almost mannerist, piece. Together, these five texts paint a picture of a lively and

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<sup>1</sup> Warner of Rouen, *Moriuht: A Norman Latin Poem from the Early Eleventh Century*, Christopher James McDonough (ed. and trans.) (Toronto, Ont: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1995), pp. 102-103, lines 447-450: “O caper! ante tue manduces gausape capre / Et uuluam pariter funditus atque nates, / Virgilii pereant quam docta poemata nostri, / “Fo” duo “mo” habeant tempora, “fex” habeat...”. The translation, and all translations of this poem, unless otherwise noted, are by Christopher McDonough, here at page 103.

eccentric literary culture in Rouen, and they are also excellent sources for the political culture in Rouen during this period.

Although eleventh-century Norman political institutions is a traditional focus of study for medievalists, the fact that the early eleventh century witnessed a small literary flowering in Rouen has remained largely divorced from the scholarship of Norman political history. With the exception of Dudo of Saint Quentin's history, scholars have ignored or only briefly mentioned the potential value of the Rouennais literature to the study of Norman political culture. The poems, however, offer potential insights into the mindset of the political elite for whom the texts were surely written. When read in conjunction with these poems, Dudo's history also opens up new ways of conceiving of the Norman project of political self-legitimization.

The political commentary that these texts offer can help us to explore what issues were important during that period. At the same time, the stylistic qualities of the texts – for example, explicit sexual satire, esoteric demonstrations of knowledge of Latin language and literature, and aggressive literary sparring – require us to ask why the authors wrote these texts at that particular time in that particular political and cultural context. We must ask: What social and cultural conditions existed that allowed for the creation of this literature? What does this literature tell us about the society and culture that produced it? How do the satires, as well as Dudo's history, contribute to the Norman ducal family's project of political legitimization? In other words, what role did this literature play in the socio-political fabric of early eleventh-century Rouen?

The diversity of genres represented by Dudo's history and the satires both complicates and suggests the pervasiveness of literature at the Rouennais court. Dudo wrote his history at the behest of members of the ducal family explicitly to lionize the history of that family and their reign in Normandy. The satires, while also engaged with politics and, in at least two cases,

directly addressed to members of the ducal family, instead make fun of contemporary figures and issues. All of the authors were writing about and engaged with contemporary politics.

Nevertheless, Dudo's position in politics was more formal than that of the satirists – we know that Dudo held the positions of both chancellor and chaplain for Richard II. Out of the satirists, Warner is the only one whose name we know, and that is all we know about him. It is thus clear that writing about politics occurred in more than one arena in Rouen. Furthermore, across these different works, a number of common themes emerge: a self-referential commentary on the community of authors in Rouen, the importance of facility with language and wit to the ducal family's self-presentation alongside a presentation of physical strength, and the strategic importance of ducal marriages and sexual relations with consorts. As we will see throughout this dissertation, many aspects of the Rouennais authorial community are ill-defined and ill-documented, but it is clear that these authors present themselves as political commentators, and the fact that many of the themes that appear in the satires also appear in Dudo's history solidifies these texts' usefulness as windows into the political concerns of early-eleventh-century Rouen.

My goal throughout this dissertation is to integrate the Rouennais satires into the narrative of political history that has been written largely in their absence, and in doing so, I will read Dudo's history in a new context. A consideration of this Rouennais literature will also further reveal the political reverberations of the eleventh-century Benedictine monastic reform movement in Normandy, as I will discuss in the fourth chapter of this dissertation. The first chapter is a consideration of how the authors portrayed their own literary community and relationships with each other. It is my goal to demonstrate the ways in which the authors show the importance they or their patrons see in the presence of writers and interactions between writers in Rouen. The second chapter deals with the portrayals of men in the ducal family and

Norman men in general. In particular, I show the importance that the writers place on integrating the Norman warriors' physical strength with the men's ability to speak well and be effective leaders through their control of language. The third chapter deals with Norman women, and in particular, it demonstrates the literature's portrayal of two powers that they have: their control of the reproduction of the Norman line and, more importantly, their abilities to speak wittily about their sexuality. In the fourth and final chapter, I consider why the production of Rouennais literature declined after the 1020s. There, I consider both the role of specific figures at the ducal court in encouraging the literature and also whether or not the sexually open Rouennais literature was at odds with the monastic reform.

## I. The Texts and the Ducal Family

This dissertation centers on the Norman ducal family as well as on four authors. The texts at the heart of this dissertation are Dudo of Saint-Quentin's prosimetrum history of the Norman dukes, Warner of Rouen's two satirical poems – the aforementioned *Moriuht*, as well as his "Second Satire," – and two anonymous satirical poems, *Jezebel*, and *Semiramis*. These poems all date from the first few decades of the eleventh century, and they all are either addressed to members of the ducal family or allude to the ducal family.

Dudo's history chronicles the first three Norman dukes – Rollo, William Longsword, and Richard I, along with the Viking, Hasting, who preceded Rollo in his attempts to conquer Normandy. Dudo claims that he began his history at the behest of Richard I and was urged to finish the history by other members of the ducal family after Richard I's death (996). The history itself is remarkable. Dudo incorporates poetry of different meters throughout the history, as well as arcane vocabulary. All in all, his history is a *tour de force* in literary showmanship

that has survived in fifteen manuscripts, four of which date from the eleventh century. Two of those early manuscripts do not include the poetry, which has led to some speculation that Dudo worked the poetry in after having completed the prose part of the history.<sup>2</sup> Dudo himself was a Frankish cleric who came to the Norman court on business of the Count of the Vermandois, Albert I, in the late 980s and remained in Rouen, later holding the positions of chancellor and chaplain to the dukes. At the end of his life, he returned to St. Quentin and became dean.

As we have seen, Warner of Rouen's poem, *Moriuht*, is notable for its obscenity. It is worth pausing for a moment to consider what I mean when I talk about obscenity in these poems. Both *Moriuht* and one of the satirical poems, *Jezebel*, contain frank, exaggerated discussions of bodies, bawdy acts, sex, and sexuality in general. Ziolkowski has suggested that obscene literature may not have seemed so to contemporaries if this was the sort of language that they were used to hearing and expected to hear at court.<sup>3</sup> Or it could be that the unexpectedly rude and court-inappropriate language is exactly what made the poems amusing.<sup>4</sup> When I use the word, "obscene," in this dissertation, I will refer to moments where the literature is particularly

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<sup>2</sup> Gerda Huisman, "Notes on the manuscript tradition of Dudo of St. Quentin's *Gesta Normannorum*," *Anglo-Norman Studies, VI: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1983*, R. Allen Brown (ed.) (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1984), pp. 122-135 at p. 135. Notably, Ben Pohl and Leah Shopkow have argued convincingly that the poems were original (Leah Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1997), p. 184, note 29; Benjamin Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum: Tradition, Innovation and Memory* (York: York Medieval Press, 2015) [Here on cited as *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*], pp. 84-108). See also, Dudo. *History of the Normans*, Eric Christiansen (trans.) (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1998), p. xxxv, note 81; Bernhard Pabst, *Tradition und Wandel einer Literaturform zwischen Spätantike und Spätmittelalter, Ordo: Studien zur Literatur und Gesellschaft des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit 4* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 803-819, esp. pp. 818-819; Benjamin Pohl, "Translatio imperii Constantini ad Normannos: Constantine the Great as a Possible Model for the Depiction of Rollo in Dudo of St. Quentin's *Historia Normannorum*," *Millennium. Yearbook on the Culture and History of the First Millennium* 9, 2012, pp. 297-339, especially at pp. 304-305; Benjamin Pohl, "Pictures, Poems and Purpose: New Perspectives on the Manuscripts of Dudo of St. Quentin's *Historia Normannorum*," *Scriptorium* 67/2 (2013), pp. 229-264.

<sup>3</sup> *Jezebel: A Norman Latin Poem of the Early Eleventh Century*, Jan M. Ziolkowski, (ed. and trans.) (New York: P. Lang, 1989), p. 3. See also, Johan Verberckmoes, "What about Medieval Humour? Some Historiography," in Herman Braet, Guido Latré, and Werner Verbeke, *Risus Mediaevalis: Laughter in Medieval Literature and Art* (Leuven [Belgium]: Leuven University Press, 2003), pp. 1-9.

<sup>4</sup> Leslie Dunton-Dower, "Poetic Language and the Obscene" in Jan Ziolkowski (ed.), *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 19-40 at 34. Hereafter, any articles in this book will be cited as being in "Ziolkowski, *Obscenity*."

explicit about sex, sexuality, or bodies in general – these are moments where the graphic language or forceful imagery might shock a modern reader. A consideration throughout this dissertation will be what the purpose of this obscenity is, and I do not rule out the idea that the open and exaggerated sexuality that appears in the satires would not have shocked their contemporary audiences. Arguably, if the contemporary audiences were not shocked by the language, as Ziolkowski has argued, the language should not be deemed “obscene,” as “obscenity” always implies some sort of offense. Nevertheless, it will be necessary to distinguish semantically, between moments in, for instance, *Semiramis*, where the characters speak openly about the fact that they are having sex, and moments that we may call obscene, in *Moriuht* and *Jezebel*, where the authors revel in the detail and exaggeration that they can bring to their descriptions of the acts. I will refer to the latter as “obscenity.”

*Moriuht*, which survives in only one manuscript (BnF lat. 8121A from the eleventh century), describes the eponymous character’s travels throughout England, Saxony, and Normandy in search of his wife who had been sold into slavery. The end of the poem is Warner’s excoriation of Moriuht, who is also a poet, for the bad quality of his poetry. Warner’s “Second Satire” is not sexually explicit, although it is also a critique of another scholar. It only appears in two eleventh-century manuscripts (BnF lat. 8121A and BnF lat. 8319). This time, Warner criticizes a Monk from Mont Saint-Michel who has come to Saint Ouen, the monastery right outside the Rouen city walls, in order to teach music theory. Both poems are in elegiac couplets, and both contain numerous classical allusions. The “Second Satire” also features numerous allusions to the Benedictine Rule.

*Semiramis* and *Jezebel* are a pair of anonymous satires that also appear in BnF lat. 8121A. Both satires are dialogues between a woman and an interlocutor trying to cajole her into

changing something about herself. In the case of *Semiramis*, a Roman augur tries to convince the Babylonian Queen, who is his sister, to return from the dead. In *Jezebel*, the title character responds to her interlocutor's probing questions concerning her morality with witty assertions of debauchery. Scholars have considered the possibility that Warner wrote *Semiramis* and *Jezebel*, but there is no hard evidence suggesting that he did.<sup>5</sup> These two poems do not directly refer to the ducal family, but as I will discuss throughout this dissertation, *Semiramis* may include veiled references to the ducal family.<sup>6</sup> *Jezebel* is a very complex poem, and Andrew Galloway has argued that the complexities constitute riddles that the reader is meant to work out and may refer to the ducal family through these riddles.<sup>7</sup>

These are the main texts that I will discuss throughout the dissertation.<sup>8</sup> One other text was written in Rouen most likely in the early eleventh-century. A canon at the cathedral wrote a set of *Miracles* for Saint Romanus, the patron saint of the cathedral. The *Miracles* offer some important information about the possible presence of a *magister* at Saint Ouen who taught

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<sup>5</sup> Peter Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000-1150* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 80-81.

<sup>6</sup> Elisabeth van Houts, "A Note on Jezebel and Semiramis, Two Latin Norman Poems from the Early Eleventh Century," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 2/1 (2008), pp. 18-24. From here on, cited as "A Note."

<sup>7</sup> Andrew Galloway, "Word-Play and Political Satire: Solving the Riddle of the Text of Jezebel," *Medium Aevum* 68/2 (1999), pp. 189-208 at pp. 202-205.

<sup>8</sup> Below are the editions that I will use throughout my dissertation. Where I have indicated translations, I will quote from the published translations unless I specifically indicate otherwise. For Dudo's history, Christiansen produced a translation in 1998: Dudo. *History of the Normans*, Eric Christiansen (trans.) (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1998). [From here on, cited simply as "Christiansen," or "Christiansen, *Dudo*" when it is not as clear.] There is no modern edition of the Latin of this text, so I will be referring to Jules Lair's 1865 edition: Dudo, Dean of St. Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, Jules Auguste Lair (ed.) (Caen: Le Blanc-Hardel, 1865). McDonough has produced an edition and translation of *Moriuht*: Warner, *Moriuht: A Norman Latin Poem from the Early Eleventh Century*, Christopher James McDonough (ed. and trans.) (Toronto, Ont: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1995). Warner's "Second Satire" has never had a published translation, and I will be quoting from the edition the McDonough produced in the end of his article, "Warner and the Monk of Mont Saint Michel": Christopher McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk of Mont Saint Michel" *Mittelaltinisches Jahrbuch*, Band 32/2 (1997), pp. 23-51, at 44-51. [From here on cited as "Warner of Rouen and the Monk."] Jan Ziolkowski has produced the only published edition and translation of *Jezebel*: *Jezebel: A Norman Latin Poem of the Early Eleventh Century*, Jan M. Ziolkowski, (ed. and trans.) (New York: P. Lang, 1989). Finally, I will refer to the only published edition and translation of *Semiramis*, which appears in Peter Dronke's *Poetic Individuality: Semiramis* in Peter Dronke (ed. and trans.), *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000-1150* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 66-75. [From here on, cited as "*Jezebel*" and "*Semiramis*."] Throughout the dissertation, I cite translations of poetry in the form that they appear in the published translations. The translations done by Christiansen and Dronke are in poetry, but Ziolkowski and McDonough's translations are in prose.

Archbishop Robert. The subject matter and the tone of the *Miracles* are vastly different from that of the satires and Dudo's history. Although the *Miracles* were likely written with some of the same audience in mind, Lifshitz has shown that the *Miracles* were most likely a part of a competition for power between the Abbey of Saint Ouen and the Cathedral of Rouen, and they thus comment less broadly on Rouennais political society as a whole than do the other texts.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, their production at the same time as Dudo's history and the satires further demonstrates that literary production in early-eleventh-century Rouen was an important part of establishing legitimate power, whether it be secular or ecclesiastic.

The Norman ducal family's family tree itself is also complex (appendix 1). Dudo's history begins with Hasting, a Viking who was not directly related, as Dudo recounts it, to the ducal family. It was not until Richard II's reign (r. 996-1026) that the ducal family started referring to themselves in charters as Dukes of Normandy rather than the Counts of Rouen.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, Dudo does not consistently use the title "Duke," sometimes opting for "Marquis" instead, but he does retroactively call each of them "Duke" at points throughout the text. There seems to be no pattern to Dudo's flipping between the terms – perhaps they were indistinguishable to him, or perhaps he eases the transition to calling them "dukes" by also using the more current title. The second book of the history deals with Rollo (r. 911-932), the first ruler of the Normans. Rollo had two consorts (Gisla of France and Sprota of Bayeux) and at least two children – William Longsword, and his sister, Gerloc. William Longsword (r. 927-942) became the next duke, and he too had two consorts (Leyerda of the Vermandois and Poppa, a Frankish noble), and at least two children – Richard I and Emma. Poppa remarried after

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<sup>9</sup> Felice Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1995), pp. 189-191. [From here on cited as *Pious Neustria*.]

<sup>10</sup> For more on this switch, see Frazer McNair, "The Politics of Being Norman in the Reign of Richard the Fearless, Duke of Normandy (r. 942-996)," *Early Medieval Europe* 23/3 (2015), pp. 308-328 at 312-313.

William's death, and her son by that marriage, Ralf d'Ivry, was a consistent presence at the courts of Richard I and II.

Richard I also married twice – once to Emma of France and later to Gonnor. He had numerous children, both legitimate and illegitimate, many of whom remain unnamed. Importantly, his sons Richard II (r.996-1026) and Archbishop Robert (r. 989-1037) jointly presided over Rouen and Normandy throughout the first few decades of the eleventh century. Their sister, Emma, married Aethelred of England and then married Cnut. Her children by her first marriage, Alfred and Edward, grew up at court in Rouen under the care of their uncle. (It was during this period that Edward [later the Confessor] supposedly promised his cousin, William [later the Conqueror], that he could become king of England.) Two of Richard II's sons – Richard III (r. 1026-1027) and Robert the Magnificent (r. 1027-1035) – became dukes after him. Their brother, Mauger, became the Archbishop of Rouen when Archbishop Robert died.

Throughout this dissertation, I will at times write about the strategies, desires, goals, and interests of the ducal family. As we can see even from the abridged version I have described above, the family included many members whose interests in the duchy may have diverged. During the period I am writing about – mostly during the reign of Richard II – the most powerful members of the family were by far Richard II himself, his mother Gonnor, his uncle Ralf d'Ivry, and his brother Archbishop Robert. It is nearly impossible from the surviving sources to separate the desires and goals of each of these figures from the goals and desires of the others. As a result, I will use “the ducal family” as shorthand for these powerful figures at times when it is not possible to ascertain which figure is the most influential.

## II. Key Terms and Methodology: Literature, Politics, Political Culture

The term, “Political Culture,” which appears in the title of this dissertation has a complicated history.<sup>11</sup> Here, and throughout this dissertation, I will use the term to indicate the sum of cultural factors that determine what made a legitimate and effective ruler in early-eleventh-century Rouen. I use the idea of “culture” broadly to encompass, in the tradition begun by Geertz, all social, intellectual, emotional, and political aspects of society as well as the realms of literature, music, art, and theater.<sup>12</sup> My project considers the early-eleventh-century Rouennais texts as artifacts of their political culture. Methodologically, there is something of the chicken-egg conundrum in this approach – I am using the texts as evidence for the culture that allowed them to be written and that they helped shape. My assumption is that the texts were part of an internal feedback loop – they were written and were able to function effectively because of the political culture in existence, and they contributed to that culture once they were circulating in Rouen. The simplest way to conceive of the enquiry driving my project is in a question: What did the political culture look like in which the Rouennais texts could usefully comment on the legitimacy and efficacy of the Norman ducal family?

The ways in which Dudo’s history comments on the political climate are very different, however, from the ways in which the satires comment. Dudo explicitly set out to write a text

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<sup>11</sup> The term originally appeared in the social sciences after World War II in studies that tried to link certain social attitudes to certain forms of government (e.g. different theories of citizens’ relationship to the state in democracies and dictatorships) (Margaret Somers, “What’s Political or Cultural about Political Culture? Toward an historical Sociology of Concept Formation,” *Sociological Theory* 3.2 (July, 1995), pp. 113-144 at pp. 114-117). In the 1990s, cultural historians took over the term and have generally used it to indicate the attitudes that validate and legitimate a specific regime or form of government at a specific time (See Ronald P. Formisano, “The concept of Political Culture,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XXXI: 3 (Winter, 2001), pp. 393-426 at p. 408; Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class: In the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1984 and 2004), pp. 213-221; ).

<sup>12</sup> In the beginning of *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Geertz writes: “The concept of culture I espouse, and whose utility the essays below attempt to demonstrate, is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical” (Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (London: Fontana Press, 1993), p. 5).

that would be the official record of the ducal family.<sup>13</sup> His audience and patrons were thus explicitly invested in establishing the legitimacy of the ducal family, and by writing this official text, Dudo was actively involved in shaping political history and culture. His comments about the ducal family may not have been fully sanctioned but were most likely not condemned, given that he remained in the service of the ducal family for many years after the suspected dates of his composition. Dudo was actively engaged in shaping the discourse that defined legitimacy in early-eleventh-century Normandy. The satirists, however, do not state that their goals were to write any sort of official documents. It is true that Warner addresses members of the ducal family as though they might be patrons, but his works do not claim to have any special place at court. The satires reveal the mechanisms for legitimation through their cultural assumptions and the objects of their mockery. By its very nature, the genre of satire sets out to undermine and deride, but by so doing, it also draws the readers' attention to people or things worth mocking. In the chapters that follow, I will often draw my own readers' attention to the moments where Dudo's history and the satires deal with similar themes. Often, they will demonstrate and comment on different or even opposite aspects of these topics, and this is to be expected. It is the fact that all of the writers thought these topics worth discussing that reveals their cultural currency in Rouen.

It is also possible that a perceived control of language and cultivation of witty speech and writing were key parts of the ducal family's program to present themselves as legitimate in the eyes of their nobles and other Frankish nobles. Michael H. Gelting has argued that Dudo's portrayal of the dukes suggests that by Richard I and II's reigns, the cultivation of courtliness and schools in Rouen were important to the ducal family's desire to establish a courtly elite

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<sup>13</sup> See Dudo, Prefatory Letter, p. 6; Lair, p. 119; Christiansen, p. 6.

“capable of meeting their opposite numbers in other principalities on an equal footing.”<sup>14</sup> In this sort of project, simply the existence of the satires, alongside Dudo’s history, would have furthered the ducal family’s cause. While the texts themselves do not seek to legitimate, they provide (limited) evidence for a literary culture in Rouen such as the one that Dudo alludes to in his history, and which I will further discuss below. It is thus important to distinguish between Dudo’s text, which explicitly seeks to manipulate political culture and thereby lend legitimacy to the ruling family, and the satires, which may have helped lend legitimacy to the ruling family through their very existence, but do not explicitly seek to do so through their content.

Because I am taking a broad view of the components that make up political culture, I will look at a number of different attitudes that come through in relation to effective and legitimate rulers. In particular, the texts’ focus on the importance of a ruler’s forceful language and dominant relationships with women will come to the fore. In addition, I will look at the role that both the image of an intellectual court and the portrayal of the ruling family’s complicated relationship to monastic and religious reforms played in underpinning their legitimacy and efficacy. Word choice is particularly important here. I use the word “underpin” rather than “promote” because I do not wish to indicate that all of the work that these texts do to legitimate the ducal family was intentional or conscious on the part of the authors. Some of it surely was. The texts also, however, are part of a culture that assumed a “range of acceptable possible alternatives” in which a political leader could be legitimate, and so the texts inadvertently

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<sup>14</sup> Michael H. Gelting, “The Courtly Viking: The Educational Purpose of Dudo of Saint Quentin’s Chronicle,” *Beretning fra toogtredivte tværfaglige vikingesymposium*, Lars Bisgaard, Mette Bruus, Peder Gammeltoft (ed.) (Wormianum, 2013) pp. 7-36 at 18. Unfortunately, I came across this article too late in the process of writing this dissertation (after I had already completed my B exam) to incorporate it into my dissertation fully. Gelting’s overarching argument that education, eloquence, and courtliness were factors that the Norman ducal court used to promote its legitimacy aligns nicely with my parallel conclusion that the Norman ducal family, along with Dudo and the satirists, promoted an image of the court as skilled in the use of fierce language.

disclose the parameters of legitimate power.<sup>15</sup> Legitimacy comes from the acceptance by those being ruled that the rulers have the right to wield their power. These parameters of legitimacy are particularly pertinent in the case of early-eleventh-century Rouen because the ducal family, as a relatively newly arrived ruling class, was trying to both exploit existing parameters and institute their own. The ducal family was concerned about appearing legitimate from the point of view of its own subjects and other European rulers.

The assumption at the base of this enquiry is that the Rouennais texts are inherently political. The argument that both Dudo's and Warner's works are political is fairly straightforward. Dudo explicitly explains that he wrote at the behest of the ducal family and in order to create a legitimate history of that family. Warner both dedicates his poems to the ducal family and addresses political topics – in *Moriuht*, there is a central scene that takes place at the court in Rouen, and in the “Second Satire,” Warner discusses the monastic reforms. These texts, therefore, are imbricated into the political structure in Rouen both explicitly through their dedications and implicitly through their content. The two anonymous satires are not as easily identified as political, but both their potential allusions to contemporary figures and their allusions to other poetry suggest that the poems are politically inflected. All of the Rouennais texts demonstrate extensive borrowings from and allusions to classical works, which is not, in and of itself, evidence of political consciousness. However, the particular types of allusions may demonstrate the interests of the ducal family. Of particular interest are the texts' references to Ovidian poetry, classical satire, and Roman comedy, which were not universally available and referenced texts during this period. The later eleventh-century manuscripts that survive from the Rouen cathedral library as well as a short catalogue from the early twelfth-century suggest that

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<sup>15</sup> The idea that political culture defines a range of options comes from David J. Elkins and Richard E.B. Simeon's article: David J. Elkins and Richard E.B. Simeon, “A Cause in Search of Its Effect, or What Does Political Culture Explain?”, *Comparative Politics* 11: 2 (Jan., 1979), pp. 127-145 at p. 131.

the library housed profane literature, including works by Terrence, Juvenal, and Ovid.<sup>16</sup> Emile Lesne has argued that the library at Rouen is unique because it held relatively few volumes in these early days but a large proportion of them were these pagan classical texts. These texts, Lesne argues, are usually the hallmarks of wealthy cathedrals with a wide variety and large number of texts.<sup>17</sup> Rouen's bawdy and profane classical texts either are an anomaly of history – these are the texts that survived and were recorded – or they suggest that the Rouennais authors learned their bawdy tendencies from classical examples that personnel in Rouen at the cathedral or court particularly liked. Further evidence that the satires were associated with Roman comedy comes from the manuscript in which the four satires were preserved, BnF lat. 8121A, which also includes a pseudo-Plautan play, the *Querolus*. Throughout the manuscript, the scribe also rubricates the speakers' names in the dialogues, and proper names throughout, which further emphasizes a potential theatrical context.<sup>18</sup> This evidence offers the possibility that the satires were associated with a literary movement interested in profane Roman literature. I will argue, however, that even if it were the case that the texts were part of a strictly literary movement, this movement would have been patronized and facilitated by the ducal family.

The procurement and copying of texts was an expensive process, and the fact that there were copies of Roman satires and comedies in the Rouen cathedral library speaks to the interests of at least some members of the ducal family, given that the archbishops came from within the ducal family throughout the eleventh century. Thus, even if the authors of the anonymous satires had no direct contact with the ducal family and had no explicit interest in writing for or commenting on politics in Rouen, simply by participating in a literary movement sponsored by the ducal family, the authors were engaging in a political act.

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<sup>16</sup> Emile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, vol. 4 (Lille: Facultés Catholiques, 1939), p. 581.

<sup>17</sup> Lesne, p. 581.

<sup>18</sup> See below, pp. 229-230.

Nevertheless, the anonymous satires are politically engaged on other levels. The satires can be interpreted within a political context first and foremost because of their subtly political themes. Both texts describe queens and were written at a time when two women – Gonnor and her daughter, Emma – held a great amount of power over the future of the Norman duchy. Scholars such as Elisabeth van Houts and Andrew Galloway have made convincing arguments that the character Semiramis might well be a stand-in for Emma, and Jezebel may be Cnut’s other consort, Aethelgifu.<sup>19</sup> Galloway and van Houts have both shown the ways in which obscure references in these poems can be unraveled to reveal political messages. Even though it is impossible to make definitive arguments for these equations of personnel, it is impossible to ignore the fact that both texts overtly deal with figures who hold political power. Their inclusion in BnF Lat 8121A suggests an affinity to Warner’s texts, and so the anonymous satires were likely written in a context in which political satire was *au courant*. With the anonymous satires’ political characteristics, it is not a stretch to say that they are certainly engaged, at least broadly, with issues of politics, rulership, and even legitimacy.

Many scholars have criticized the term “political culture” for its broad and varied applications, but its broadness is useful here as it allows for an exploration of the whole range of themes that appear in the Rouennais texts. What these themes have in common is that they relate to the positions of those among the ducal family as legitimate and effective rulers. The Rouennais texts address various members of the ducal family, and it is clear that more members of the ducal family than just the duke were legitimated by and helped to create the Rouennais political culture.

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<sup>19</sup> van Houts, “A Note,” pp. 20-23; Galloway, pp. 202-203.

### III. Historiographical Context

Recently, a number of studies have pointed out that it was in the early eleventh century that the descendants of the Scandinavian settlers in Rouen actively tried to consolidate their power over the whole region. Scholars have shown that the Norman ducal family actively expanded its military control over frontier regions, stopped calling themselves “Counts of Rouen” and started calling themselves “Dukes of Normandy,” started behaving like active players in Frankish politics, started emphasizing their Scandinavian connections in order to set themselves apart from other nobles, and manipulated local saints’ cults and the founding of monasteries to galvanize the inhabitants of Normandy.<sup>20</sup> Their patronage of literature, both Dudo’s history and the Rouennais satires, was part of this project of self-legitimation and consolidation of power. As we will see, Dudo’s history has long been considered a testament to the ducal family’s desire to project its prestige and legitimacy, but the satires have not been part of the same conversation.<sup>21</sup> At a time when political culture was shifting rapidly in Rouen and across Normandy, these texts formed part of the political fabric, and they are important artifacts that should be added to the discussion.

Two works are particularly relevant to my dissertation because they consist of discussions of the Norman ducal family’s attitude toward language, literature, and their rule. Jan Ziolkowski’s introduction to *Jezebel*, in particular, provides one of the most complete

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<sup>20</sup> Pierre Bauduin, *La première Normandie, Xe-XIe siècles: sur les frontières de la haute Normandie : identité et construction d'une principauté* (Caen: Pôle Université normand, 2004); Mark Hagger, “Confrontation and Unification: Approaches to the Political History of Normandy, 911-1035,” *History Compass* 11/6 (2013), pp. 429-442; McNair, “The Politics of Being Norman in the Reign of Richard the Fearless, Duke of Normandy (r. 942-996),” pp. 308-328; Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840-1066* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988); Véronique Gazeau, *Normannia monastica: Princes normands et abbés bénédictins (Xe-XIIIe siècle)* (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2007); Cassandra Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1997) [Here on cited as *Monastic Revival*.]; Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*; Samantha Kahn Herrick, *Imagining the Sacred past: Hagiography and Power in Early Normandy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

<sup>21</sup> A Strong statement of Dudo’s history’s relevance to the legitimization of the ducal family comes from Leah Shopkow in *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, pp. 186-187.

discussions (roughly five pages) of the Rouennais literature and court society. He suggests that the satire of *Jezebel* and the other poems, as well as explicit references to the importance of eloquence in Dudo's history, reveal a society obsessed with the power of words as equal to arms in effecting political ends.<sup>22</sup> He further discusses the importance at the Norman court of aggressive and derisive literary exchanges between authors. He characterizes this as a key part of court culture and also probably a reference to the Scandinavian literary form of *flyting* or *senna*.<sup>23</sup> My dissertation builds on these points to argue that the literary court was an important point of prestige for the ducal family, and the authors go out of their way to portray the role of forceful and effective language in legitimate rule. This is an extension of the traditional portrayals of the Normans as physically aggressive Vikings. I also argue that the Rouennais literature ought to be read as part of a secular movement in Normandy parallel to the monastic reforms. My argument thus goes beyond Ziolkowski's to expand the context and implications of the importance of language.

A new article by Michael Gelting demonstrates a different aspect of the importance of language at the ducal court. Gelting argues that Dudo's text represents the dukes as embodying the Germanic ideals of clerical courtliness (as discussed by Stephen Jaeger in *The Origins of Courtliness*) – especially concerning the control of rhetoric and eloquence.<sup>24</sup> I will agree with Gelting throughout this dissertation that having these traits and creating a courtly culture of education would have helped to establish the dukes' legitimacy within Normandy and without.<sup>25</sup> He further argues that this focus makes it likely that Richard I and II were attempting to set up

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<sup>22</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>23</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 46.

<sup>24</sup> Gelting, *passim*, especially pp. 11, 19-21, 27-30; Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), especially pp. 3-15; 195-198.

<sup>25</sup> Gelting argues that their need to establish legitimacy would have caused the ducal family to try to speed their mastery of French eloquence or at least to speed the creation of a reputation of their eloquence (Gelting, p. 35).

schools in Rouen in order to instill these courtly ideals in their nobles, and Dudo's text was intended as a schoolbook that could be read as a lesson for Norman youths in how to behave.<sup>26</sup> I agree with Gelting that Dudo's text places a lot of emphasis on the importance for the dukes of speaking well and eloquently. I also agree that, as Dudo portrays the dukes in this period, an increase in eloquence across generations is a key factor in demonstrating the ducal family's suitability to rule.<sup>27</sup> I believe, however, that the real force as envisioned by Dudo is something more than eloquence and courtliness. As Dudo portrays the dukes, it is not simply their eloquence that grows, but also their ability to win "battles" with words. Rather than simply transitioning the image of the Normans from ferocious Vikings to a pre-packaged courtly ideal, I believe Dudo built on the existing contemporary image of the Normans as barbarous Vikings and translated that ferocity into a more complicated and more civilized form of speaking fiercely and forcefully.<sup>28</sup> (As Ziolkowski has pointed out, many a battle is won with words in Dudo's history, and this maps nicely onto the verbal sparring that appears in the satires.)<sup>29</sup> This presentation of the ducal family as forcefully eloquent would have had the chance of increasing their accepted legitimacy only if there were a general perception that rulers ought to behave this way, and in this, Gelting's interest in the courtly ideal is useful. It is not only the tradition of courtliness, however, that values well-spoken rulers, as I will discuss in chapter two. Gelting convincingly

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<sup>26</sup> Gelting, p. 11, 16-21, 31.

<sup>27</sup> Gelting, p. 29.

<sup>28</sup> Here I have a very subtle disagreement with Gelting, who suggests that Dudo allows the dukes from Rollo through Richard I to slowly become more eloquent and courtly so as not to break to dramatically with contemporary perceptions of the Normans. In Gelting's argument, Dudo allows for the dukes', and especially Rollo's, physical ferocity as part of their progression from Vikings to cultivated Normans (Gelting, pp. 28-29). I too see this progression, but I believe that he continues to cultivate a parallel between fierceness of words and fierceness of force.

<sup>29</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 45; Emily Albu has argued for a parallel dual portrayal of the Dukes: Dudo purposefully alludes to the Normans' Viking past in tandem with their new Christianity in order to warn readers about these fearful warriors and to put readers off potentially challenging the dukes (Emily Albu, *The Normans in Their Histories: Propaganda, Myth and Subversion* (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2001), p. 43). I argue Dudo seeks to develop a complicated picture of the Normans that at once adheres to their fearsome reputation and develops a new, more civilized side that coincides with their aggressiveness. By contrast, Albu argues that Dudo tries to preserve the fearsome aspects of their reputation as part of a different strategy for maintaining power.

argues that the portrayal of the ducal family as interested in language and learning is a calculated attempt to increase the sense that the dukes are legitimate rulers, but I do not believe that this is because of an attempt to make them appear to adhere to the courtly ideal.<sup>30</sup> Dudo tried to make them at once adhere to the stereotype of Normans (very fierce) and demonstrate that that ferocity could express itself through slightly gentler modes, such as speech.

Before this new trend of scholarship that looks at the Norman dukes' process of consolidation gained traction, early eleventh-century Norman political history was not a rare topic in scholarship, and it has been addressed from many angles. In the past century, studies of early-eleventh-century Norman politics mostly appear in two contexts: later Norman political expansion and administrative innovations in England, Italy, and the holy land; or in a discussion of the level of continuity or discontinuity that existed between Normandy under Norman control and the same region, Neustria, under Carolingian control. Although each of these approaches has yielded insights and breakthroughs concerning the structure, efficacy, and even culture of politics in early-eleventh-century Normandy, neither line of inquiry accounts for early-eleventh-century Normandy as anything other than an epilogue or prologue to something greater. These frames have become more flexible over time, and scholars have also gradually become more open to different sources and methodologies. In particular, many studies of Norman institutions have relied on charters, but starting in the 1970s, scholars began to reinterpret Dudo's history and include his attempt to create a legitimate history of the Norman ducal family into the scholarly narrative of Norman political history.

Normandy's later importance to English politics and the development of feudalism in both France and especially England has led many scholars to focus on Dudo's text and other later Norman histories in conjunction with charters for evidence of early legislative, military, and

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<sup>30</sup> Gelting, *passim*.

even feudal practices. Scholars who were more interested in later Norman developments in England and elsewhere have largely taken on the study of early Norman institutions in English.<sup>31</sup> These works, while varying in tone and focus, have a number of traits in common. They argue for a long-view of Norman history, whereby the initial conquest of Neustria/Normandy, the conquest of England, and the conquests in Italy and Sicily are all linked and part of a narrative of Norman expansion and “achievement.”<sup>32</sup> Other studies focus on the mechanisms by which the Normans established their rule and maintained their government, and there is very little focus on cultural developments or what those might have to do with politics. The Normans’ late-eleventh-century and twelfth-century success in spreading throughout Europe by conquering England and Sicily as well as prominently participating in the Crusades has prompted scholarly interest in a narrative of Norman exceptional achievement. This grand theory overshadows the study of the unique political culture of early-eleventh-century Normandy, although, as we will see, more and more scholars have fought back against this reading as overly simplistic and perhaps teleological.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> For example: Thomas Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), esp. at pp. 168-181; John Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976); Charles Homer Haskins, *The Normans in European History* (New York: Ungar, 1959); George Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession and Tenure, 1066-1166* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>32</sup> Charles Homer Haskins is usually given credit for first introducing the ideas of Norman “achievement” in his 1915 lecture series. In the first lecture, “Normandy in History,” he wrote “At home and abroad the history of Normandy is a record of rich and varied achievement – of war and conquest and feats of arms, but also of law and government and religion, of agriculture, industry, trade, and exploration, of literature and science and art” (Charles Homer Haskins, *The Normans in European History*, p. 4). In reality, Jules Lair was already posing the question of why the Normans were so successful at conquering the medieval world in the introduction to his 1865 edition of Dudo’s history (Lair, pp. 96-97). Haskins articulated the concept directly, however, and other scholars followed on these types of inquiry. In 1969, David C. Douglas took up the question again in *The Norman Achievement*, where he argues that the Normans were successful in settling across Europe partially because earlier Scandinavian excursions had forged political and social bonds with people in other parts of the world (David Charles Douglas, *The Norman Achievement, 1050-1100* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 29).

<sup>33</sup> Scholars have challenged and nuanced the view of Norman achievement since the 1970s. R. H. C. Davis’ 1976 book, *The Normans and their Myth*, observes the ways in which the “myth” of Norman exceptionalism began in medieval history and has continued to run through modern scholarship (R. H. C. Davis, *The Normans and Their Myth* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976)). G.A. Loud, in his 1981 article, “How ‘Norman’ was the Norman Conquest of Southern Italy?” reacts to “strained” attempts to find institutions similar to those of Anglo-Norman

Two studies roughly contemporary to each other that deserve special mention are David Bates' *Normandy Before 1066* (1982) and Eleanor Searle's *Predatory Kinship* (1988). Both historians helped lay the groundwork for the present dissertation by focusing on political culture and institutions in early-eleventh-century Normandy outside of the context of other periods of history. *Normandy Before 1066* discusses the historical and documentary evidence for Norman institutions (political and religious) before the Norman Conquest, and thus describes the mechanisms by which both religious and secular power were executed in Normandy.<sup>34</sup> *Predatory Kinship* discusses the political and familial strategy of the early ducal family.<sup>35</sup> This book is an early foray into what will become the norm concerning Dudo's history by interpreting Dudo's history through the lens of the linguistic turn. In this book and her article, "Fact and Pattern in Heroic History: Dudo of Saint-Quentin," Searle illuminates the importance of the literary choices that Dudo made in writing his text – which family members to leave out, for instance, or the choice to model the first Norman duke on Aeneas.<sup>36</sup> For Searle and Bates, as would be true for Emily Albu, Leah Shopkow, and Benjamin Pohl, Dudo's history is a carefully

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England in southern Italy (G.A. Loud, "How 'Norman' was the Norman Conquest of Southern Italy?", *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 25 (1981), pp. 13-34 especially at 15). In her 2002 book, *The Normans*, Marjorie Chibnall grapples with the question of whether there were longstanding ties between Normandy and the regions it had conquered when she sees clear cultural and political divergences between England and Normandy throughout the late eleventh and twelfth centuries (Marjorie Chibnall, *The Normans* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2002)). Most recently, in his new book, David Bates has argued that when we study the Normans, we should see their achievement as "one of all the peoples involved in the history of the empire of the Normans, both victors and vanquished, of all who participated and shaped the new world that emerged out of the crucible of conquest and violence" (David Bates, *The Normans and Empire*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 190). In other words, he argues that the Normans were not so much a monolithic force as a group interacting with and influencing the people and history of everywhere they went.

<sup>34</sup> David Bates, *Normandy Before 1066* (London: Longman, 1982).

<sup>35</sup> Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840-1066*. [Here on cited as *Predatory Kinship*.]

<sup>36</sup> Eleanor Searle, "Fact and Pattern in Heroic History: Dudo of Saint-Quentin," *Viator* 15/1 (2008), pp. 119-138. [Here on cited as "Fact and Pattern."] Benjamin Pohl has also made the argument that Dudo makes the conscious choice to model Rollo on legends of Constantine. This choice, Pohl argues, like allusions to Aeneas, helps provide a legitimate and imperial heritage for the ducal family (Pohl, "Tranlatio Imperii Constantini ad Normannos: Constantine the Great as a Possible Model for the Depiction of Rollo in Dudo of St. Quentin's *Historia Normannorum*", pp. 329-336).

crafted cultural and political document.<sup>37</sup> Even these texts, however, do little more than mention the wider literary context in which Dudo wrote, and I would like to correct this oversight by integrating the satires into my work. These texts provide vital context for the production of Dudo's text within the political context at Rouen.

Scholars approaching the political history of Normandy from the direction of continuity and discontinuity with Carolingian Neustria have generated a number of detailed studies that illuminate the types of social and political structures that developed in Normandy.<sup>38</sup> This line of scholarship has proven less teleological than scholarship treating the eleventh-century as a prelude to later greatness, and this other strain of scholarship has proven more adaptable to inquiries based on political culture as well as literary sources. It was also originally in this line of scholarship, perhaps because of its interest in pre-1066 Normandy, that the importance of the Normans' Scandinavian heritage came into play. Recently, Elisabeth Ridel, among others, has demonstrated the importance of Old Norse in the Norman *patois* and place names.<sup>39</sup> And Pierre

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<sup>37</sup> Albu, *The Normans in Their Histories: Propaganda, Myth and Subversion*; Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*; Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Two examples of shorter works in which the authors read Dudo's history for the political significance that his literary choices make include, Felice Lifshitz, "Translating 'Feudal' Vocabulary: Dudo of Saint Quentin" *The Haskins Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History* 9, C.P. Lewis (ed.) (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1997), pp. 39-56; Robert Helmerichs, "Principes, Comes, Dux Normannorum: Early Rollonid Designators and their Significance" *The Haskins Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History* 9, C.P. Lewis (ed.) (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1997), pp. 57-77.

<sup>38</sup> A useful summary appears in Michel de Bouïard, "De La Neustrie Carolingienne a La Normandie Feodale: Continuité ou Discontinuité?" *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*. XXVIII (1955), pp. 1-14. Particularly famous are the works of Jean Yver, who tended to emphasize the continuities between Norman and Carolingian institutions, and the works of Lucien Musset, whose nuanced works range in emphasis but tend toward the view that the Normans provided continuity (see, for example: Jean Yver, "Les premières institutions du duché de normandie" in *I Normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'alto Medioevo. 18-24 aprile 1968*, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1969), pp. 299-366; Musset, Lucien, "Naissance de la Normandie (Ve XIe siècles)" in *Histoire de la Normandie*, Michel de Bouïard (ed.) (Toulouse: Privat, 1970), pp. 75-130).

<sup>39</sup> Elisabeth Ridel, "L'héritage des Vikings dans le domaine de la pêche en Normandie (du XIe siècle à nos jours)," in *L'Héritage Maritime des Vikings en Europe de l'Ouest*, Elisabeth Ridel (ed.) (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2002), pp. 363-376; Elisabeth Ridel, *Les Viking et les mots: l'apport de l'ancien scandinave à la langue française* (Paris: Editions Errance, 2009); and René Lepelley, "L'héritage maritime viking dans les noms de lieux des côtes du Nord-Cotentin," in *L'Héritage Maritime des Vikings en Europe de l'Ouest*, Elisabeth Ridel (ed.) (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2002), pp. 483-500.

Bauduin has emphasized the importance of continued interaction with Vikings as a key force in both Norman politics and Norman political institutions.<sup>40</sup> The continuity/discontinuity scholarship bears a resemblance to the Anglophone scholarship in its focus on political institutions and its reliance on Dudo's history as well as diplomatic evidence. It was also in the context of continuity and discontinuity that scholarly interest in the Rouennais satires originally came to fruition. In one of the earliest articles dealing with the satires, Elisabeth van Houts suggests that some Scandinavian literary elements are central to the satires as well as to Dudo's history.<sup>41</sup>

Intertwined in this scholarship of early eleventh-century Norman political culture is the tradition of reading Dudo's history. His work – the first narrative of the Norman duchy – has a long and varied tradition from Henry Prentout's analysis of the text as inaccurate and irrelevant to Benjamin Pohl's recent book treating the text as an artifact of Norman political and cultural history.<sup>42</sup> After Prentout condemned Dudo's history, Norman political historians discounted his work in favor of documentary sources and the work of later Norman historians. Dudo's luck began to change in the 1970s after Richard Southern and others suggested that Dudo's history had a purpose other than documenting "what really happened."<sup>43</sup> This view of Dudo's history has opened the door to many studies concerning the history and other Norman histories as texts produced for a political purpose that thus allow us to learn about political culture contemporary to when Dudo wrote. Pohl's book takes to a new level the earlier studies of Leah Shopkow and

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<sup>40</sup> Pierre Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, especially at pp 67-68 and p. 319.

<sup>41</sup> Elisabeth van Houts, "Scandinavian Influence in Norman Literature of the Eleventh Century" in *Anglo-Norman Studies VI: Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1983*, R. Allen Brown (ed.) (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1984), pp. 107-121. [Here on cited as "Scandinavian Influence."]

<sup>42</sup> Henry Prentout, *Étude critique sur Dudon de Saint-Quentin et son histoire des premiers ducs Normands* (Paris : Picard, 1916) ; Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*.

<sup>43</sup> R. W. Southern, "Presidential Address: Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing 1. The Classical Tradition from Einhard to Geoffrey of Monmouth," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 20 (1970), pp. 173-96 at pp. 191-192.

Emily Albu, both of whom used Dudo's history, as well as later Norman histories, as lenses through which to discuss Norman political culture.<sup>44</sup>

Since the 1970s, scholars have integrated Dudo's motivations for writing as well as the motivations of his patrons into the study of Norman political history. The contemporary satires, however, have not been integrated as well into the narrative of Norman political history. A handful of scholars have treated the satires, and these scholars have discussed the political significance and symbolism of many aspects of the satires, yet this area of scholarship remains underdeveloped. Much of the scholarship that exists is excellent and assumes that the satirical authors, as well as Dudo, were politically engaged. Nevertheless, only a handful of authors asked questions regarding the role of the satires at the Norman court, and their work could usefully be expanded. I will argue that the satires are important evidence not only of an active cultural community at the Rouennais court, as has been argued before, but also evidence of a concerted effort on the part of the ducal family to encourage the production of literature to a political end.

The four satires originally came under scholarly scrutiny in French. One of their earliest scholarly treatments is in Lucien Musset's article, "Garnier de Rouen et son Milieu," which postulates for the first time that the literature from Normandy during this period could be evidence of some sort of literary group of individuals who knew each other.<sup>45</sup> Musset generally supports the idea of continuity between Neustria and Normandy, and he thus sees the Scandinavian elements of Norman culture, which appear in the Rouennais literature, as secondary to the French influences. Van Houts' article on Scandinavian influence on Rouennais

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<sup>44</sup> Emily Albu, *The Normans in Their Histories: Propaganda, Myth and Subversion*; Leah Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*.

<sup>45</sup> Lucien Musset, "Le satiriste Garnier de Rouen et son milieu (début du XIe siècle)," *Revue de moyen âge latin* X (1954), pp. 237-266. [Here on cited as "Garner de Rouen."]

literature also brings the satires into dialogue with Dudo's work when she suggests that the satires too show signs of Scandinavian literary forms.<sup>46</sup> Both Musset's and van Houts' work are notable for arguing that the Rouennais literature represents a group of authors that deserves consideration as evidence of Norman cultural institutions and connections.

Since Musset first wrote about the satires, scholars have taken various approaches to the Rouennais texts. Thanks to Musset, scholars who deal with this period have assumed that some sort of personal community of authors and scholars existed at the court or cathedral at Rouen. This issue is politically inflected because of the prominence of the figures thought to be involved – Dudo, Archbishop Robert, other members of the ducal family; however, some scholars have also viewed it as an issue of intellectual communities. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to sketch out the contours of the Rouennais authorial community, largely because of the lack of sources outside of the literature itself. The idea of a group of authors who knew each other and were in the same place at the same time is particularly important for Barbara Vopelius-Holtzendorff, who argues for a Rouennais school with Dudo as the schoolmaster teaching grammar and rhetoric to the ducal family.<sup>47</sup> Recently, Gelting has argued that some sort of school must have existed, especially since two charters include references to Desiderius, a physician and Albert, a grammarian.<sup>48</sup> Musset and Vopelius-Holtzendorff use the same texts, however, to develop a picture of two different types of schools – one with the Archbishop as a patron of the arts at the Cathedral and one with Dudo as a teacher at the court. Ziolkowski has argued that it was the

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<sup>46</sup> van Houts, "Scandinavian Influence," pp. 107-121.

<sup>47</sup> Barbara Vopelius-Holtzendorff, *Dudo von Saint-Quentin, der erste geschichtsschreiber der Normandie (987-1015)* (Munich: Unpublished Thesis, 1970), p. 381. This thesis is both very dense and difficult to acquire. I was lucky to have the chance to borrow it for a short while, but I was not able to work all the way through nor was I able to refer to it during the whole dissertation-writing process. As a result, for some sections of the dissertation, I rely on other scholars' summaries of Vopelius-Holtzendorff's relevant arguments.

<sup>48</sup> Gelting, p. 17; Marie Fauroux (ed.), *Recueil des actes des Ducs de Normandie (911-1066)* (Caen : Université de Caen, 1961), charter 42, pp. 146-148 on p. 148 and Charter 53 pp. 168-173 on p. 172. See also Vopelius-Holtzendorff, p. 368.

ducal family who were the main patrons, and he, like Michel Bouvris and Musset, credit Archbishop Robert for the true impetus behind the schools.<sup>49</sup> These discrepancies cause the difficulty of determining who exactly was part of the literary and scholarly community in Rouen, how formal it was, and who the intended audience was. Throughout this dissertation, I will argue that it is impossible and unnecessary to make a distinction between the ducal and cathedral courts in Rouen because they were interconnected and because personnel moved seamlessly between them. There is evidence to suggest that both Dudo and Archbishop Robert were involved with this group of authors, either as participants or as encouragers, and both men were certainly extremely politically prominent and in close contact with the rest of the ducal family. The texts demonstrate the authors' political engagement, and their creation was a component of the Rouennais ducal family's project of self-legitimation. The texts also offer a window into the political preoccupations of the ducal family during this period.

Ziolkowski, Christiansen, Dronke and McDonough have all made editions of texts along with commentaries and introductions that describe the style of works that were produced at Rouen. In their introduction, Ziolkowski, Christiansen, and McDonough try to imagine what sort of literary community could produce the Rouennais literature. For Ziolkowski, this analysis translates into a deeply competitive literary community where each scholar had to be constantly ready to accept and return an insult from another author. Given the relatively small literary production that survives from the era, there has been a tendency among scholars for centuries to see the Normans as awkward and incomplete imitators of Frankish culture. Ziolkowski draws attention to the fact that literature and learning in eleventh-century Normandy has mainly been

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<sup>49</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, pp. 41-45; Michel Bouvris, "L'école capitulaire de Rouen au XIe siècle," *Études Normandes* (3) 1986, pp. 89-103 at 90;

written off as “standing in the shadows,”<sup>50</sup> and thus he presents *Jezebel*’s literary complexity as an antidote to Norman literature’s bad reputation. Van Houts also combats the view of Norman literature as inferior to Frankish literature when she suggests that the Rouennais authors also took part in Scandinavian literary traditions. She has approached the texts with various aims, including looking for historical context and analogues for characters in *Jezebel* and *Semiramis*, and attempting to discover the cultural, stylistic roots of the texts.<sup>51</sup> (The inclusion of Scandinavian literary traditions also potentially explains some of the more unusual aspects of the Rouennais texts.) The studies concerning the satires recognize and explore their political significance, but as of yet, the work on them has been limited regarding integrating the satires with each other or with Dudo’s history.

The emphasis that van Houts, Ziolkowski, McDonough, Dronke, and Christiansen have placed on the cultural richness of the literature in early Normandy also coincides with a more recent focus of scholarship on the Norman monastic revival as well as eleventh-century Norman saints’ lives. This scholarship further demonstrates the importance of written culture in Normandy in the early eleventh century, and it also emphasizes the ways in which the region was not a backwater and was actively engaged in European-wide religious movements. Because the religious and monastic movements spanned the region of Normandy, this interest in religious movements has contributed to the evidence of ducal consolidation of power in the early eleventh century. Véronique Gazeau has written an exhaustive study of the monastic reform in Normandy that shows its vitality and interconnectedness with movements in France, Italy, Germany, and England. Looking at similar developments from a different angle, Cassandra Potts has shown the role that the growth of monastic foundations, especially those sponsored by the nobility,

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<sup>50</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 38.

<sup>51</sup> van Houts, “A Note,” pp. 18-24.

played in fostering a sense of political and cultural cohesiveness in eleventh-century Normandy. Felice Lifshitz has shown that an ongoing rivalry between the cathedral of Rouen and the monastery of Saint-Ouen, which was originally founded as an episcopal monastery, can be traced through competing *vitae* of Saint Romanus (of the cathedral) and Saint Ouen. Her work, besides showing the complicated political implications of monastic reform in Normandy, demonstrates the importance of literary production to the working out of political issues in early eleventh-century Rouen. Samantha Herrick has further demonstrated the place of literature in the political-religious process of defining Normandy as a political entity throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries by demonstrating the reliance of Norman clerics on reinventing Neustrian saints rather than importing Scandinavian ones. Finally, Lauren Mancina has demonstrated that the ducal family's encouragement of reform and renovation at the ducal monastery in Fécamp led to the development of a unique set of theological beliefs as well as the production of unique theological texts.<sup>52</sup> The Norman monastic reform is an important context for the consideration of literary production in Normandy during the early eleventh century, but the Norman satires do not usually feature in this context. This is due in part to the satires' bawdy language, but even *Jezebel*, the most bawdy of all the satires, alludes to ongoing religious reforms. McDonough has convincingly shown that Warner's "Second Satire," deals with tensions between the Rouen cathedral and Saint Ouen that resulted from the monastic reforms, and Alma Colk Santuosso has argued that the "Second Satire" demonstrates tensions between monastic reformers and writers

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<sup>52</sup> Gazeau, *Normannia monastica: Princes normands et abbés bénédictins (Xe-XIIe siècle)*; Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy*; Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*; Herrick, *Imagining the Sacred past*; Lauren Mancina, "John of Fecamp and Affective Reform in Eleventh-Century Normandy" in *Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference* 37 (2015) pp. 161-179; Lauren Mancina, "Reading Augustine's *Confessions* in Normandy in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries," *Tabularia "Études"* 14 (2014), pp. 195-233.

of secular literature.<sup>53</sup> More scholarship should take into account the interplay between the satires and the reforms. The monastic revival was orchestrated and must have been discussed by the ducal family, and all of the texts from the Rouennais literary revival include allusions to the religious changes. The literary culture that the satires represent was thus intertwined with the religious changes that came out of the early Norman monastic reforms.

My dissertation builds on the work of many scholars and hundreds of years of scholarship concerning the Norman ducal family. I hope that by fully integrating the production of literature at the ducal court into the consideration of the project of Norman political legitimization, I will be able to flesh out the political culture of early Normandy from new angles. Some scholars have studied the Rouennais literature as a whole and even argued, as Ziolkowski has, that it demonstrates a certain interest in eloquence and witty banter at the ducal court. Like Gelting, I will go a step further to argue that this interest in the production of literature and the links between politics and literature that appear in the texts can be a lens through which to view the ducal family's project of self-legitimation and political control. Unlike Gelting, I will argue that through this lens, we are able to see both the authors' interest in translating the ducal family's physical fierceness to verbal fierceness and the family's emphasis on strategic marriages. I also hope to give the Rouennais satires their rightful consideration as rich artifacts of the early Norman duchy and early Norman political culture.

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<sup>53</sup> Christopher J. McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk," pp. 23-51; Alma Colk Santosuosso, "A *Musicus* Versus *Cantor* Debate in An Early Eleventh-Century Norman Poem," in *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, Barbara Hagg (ed.) (Paris and Tours: Minerve, 2001), pp. 1-16.

#### IV. The Rouennais Authors – Dudo and Warner: Who They Were

As I will discuss further in the first chapter, the Rouennais authors present themselves as members of a literary community gathered in Rouen. The diplomatic evidence, however, makes it difficult to determine whether there was any sort of formal gathering of authors. There is very little evidence in any charter of a person at the court, cathedral, or monastery in Rouen with a title that suggests the person was specifically an author or teacher.<sup>54</sup> As far as confirming Dudo and Warner's presence in Rouen, at least two charters refer to Dudo of St. Quentin, and there are possible references to Warner. It is not possible to show that Warner and Dudo were active at the same time nor is it possible to show that they knew each other.<sup>55</sup> Through the diplomatic evidence, it is only possible to confirm that Dudo indeed was a prominent figure at the ducal court and that there were numerous figures in Rouen, among them a monk at Saint-Ouen, named Warner who may have been the poet. From evidence internal to the literature, it is also impossible to demonstrate that these writers worked in Rouen at the same time and knew each other. It is possible to show that both Dudo and Warner were writing with the idea of other authors in mind. Dudo discusses a critical Norman crowd, but his discussion is general, and it is not necessary to assume that he refer to any specific people.<sup>56</sup> It is likely that Warner either knew the other scholars that he mentions in his poetry or that he uses characters to stand in for specific people or imagined rivals who were in Rouen at the time. Nevertheless, despite having no problem addressing and attacking people by name, Warner makes no reference to Dudo. This

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<sup>54</sup> Gelting points out that two charters from the late 1010s or early 1020s include figures named "Desiderius medicus" and "Albert[us] Gramatic[us]" (Gelting, p. 17 ; Faroux charter 42, p. 148 and charter 53, pp. 168-173). These charters deal with land held by these two figures outside of Rouen, so it is not clear that either figure was ever actually associated with any institution in Rouen. Nevertheless, Christiansen, following Vopelius-Holtendorff, has interpreted them as potential rivals to Dudo (Christiansen, p. xii; Vopelius-Holtendorff, pp. 98-9[as cited in Christiansen]).

<sup>55</sup> Musset, "Garnier de Rouen," pp. 247-249.

<sup>56</sup> Musset suggests that the harsh crowd of critics that Dudo invokes is the Rouennais satirists of which Warner was one (Musset, "Garnier de Rouen," p. 248).

suggests that, while he probably knew about Dudo, he either did not consider him a rival or did not feel comfortable directly addressing him.

Although it is impossible to know the exact date when Dudo finished his history, he appears in two ducal charters from the 1010s, which makes it clear that he was prominent in Rouen during that period, and many scholars believe that this is shortly after he presented his text to the ducal family.<sup>57</sup> Felice Lifshitz has argued that Dudo's history was intended to legitimate and ensure Richard II's succession to the dukedom of Normandy, which means that Dudo would have finished the history by 996.<sup>58</sup> Although there is no way to disprove this theory, given that Dudo ends the events of his history in c. 996, the fact that Dudo does not start appearing in charters until nearly fifteen years later than 996 suggests that he may have finished his text closer to 1010. Michel Bouvris has suggested that Dudo wrote between 1015 and 1026, and he thus takes the date of the second charter that Dudo appears in as the possible start date and the end of Richard II's reign as the end date.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, it is extremely likely that Dudo had finished his history by the time he started witnessing charters, given that the 1015 charter, which cedes land to Saint Quentin, could be seen as a payment or gift for Dudo's work.<sup>60</sup>

It is much more difficult to suggest a date range for Warner's presence in Rouen. Based on *Moriuh't's* discussion of deceased children in the ducal family, McDonough and van Houts have advanced two different possible theories about the time that Warner wrote that poem.

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<sup>57</sup> He appears in a charter from 15 September, 1011, which was witnessed in Rouen in which Ralf d'Ivry outlines all of the donations he has made to the monastery, Saint Ouen (Fauroux, pp. 86-89, charter 13). This original charter survives (in Dudo's hand), in the Departmental Archives in Rouen (Arch. Seine-Maritime 14H 915 A). Dudo also appears as the beneficiary of a charter on September 8, 1015, wherein Ralf d'Ivry and Richard II donate land to Saint Quentin (Fauroux, pp. 100-102, charter 18).

<sup>58</sup> Felice Lifshitz, "Dudo's Historical Narrative and the Norman Succession of 996," *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994), pp. 101-120 at 106. [Here on cited as "Succession.?"]

<sup>59</sup> Jean-Michel Bouvris, "L'École Capitulaire de Rouen au XIe Siècle," *Études Normandes* xxxv (1986), pp. 89-103 at p. 91. Bouvris' reading would suggest that Dudo first established himself at the court and, having gained the confidence of the court, was asked to write his history. This reading would also indicate the Dudo's account of Richard I's request that he write the history is either fictitious or Dudo did not acquiesce until much later.

<sup>60</sup> Bauduin, *la première normandie*, p. 63.

Warner praises the two children of Richard and then laments the death of two more: “The two children of Richard are the mainstays of the world. A curse on you, death! I wish I could remain silent! Within our realm four (children) would be alive, had you (death) not carried off two.”<sup>61</sup> Since Warner does not specify whether the Richard he refers to is Richard I or II, he leaves this section ambiguous for a modern reader, as both dukes had children who either died young or are mostly absent from the historical record and thus are likely to have died young. McDonough interprets this portion of the text to be a lament of the deaths of two unnamed children, the full brothers of Richard II and Archbishop Robert.<sup>62</sup> This reading could put the poem’s composition at any time during Richard II’s reign (996-1026) or indeed beyond since there are no details in any sources about when the children died. His reading is compelling since Warner’s “Second Satire” refers to two brothers, the Archbishop and duke, who ruled the Normans, and this reference clearly points toward Richard II’s reign.<sup>63</sup> With this reading, the poem could indeed have been composed when Dudo was also writing. Van Houts has suggested, however, that the Richard whom Warner mentions could be Richard II, if *Moriuht* were written between 1026-1027, either at the very end of Richard II’s reign or during Richard III’s very short reign (1026-1027). If Warner wrote during this later time period, then the two dead children would be Richard II’s children, the monk William (d. 1025) and an unnamed daughter. The two living sons would be Robert the Magnificent (r. 1027-35) and Richard III.<sup>64</sup> Since Gonnor lived until 1031 and Archbishop Robert lived until 1037, both of whom Warner mentions explicitly, either

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<sup>61</sup> McDonough, p. 73. *Moriuht*, lines 11-14; McDonough, p. 72: “Proles Richardi duo sunt retinacula mundi; / Quattor, (o! utinam, ve tibi mors taceam,) / Quattor in regno superessent lumina nostro, / Si duo non ferres...”

<sup>62</sup> McDonough, *Moriuht*, pp. 111-112, note 14.

<sup>63</sup> Warner, “Second Satire,” p. 47, lines 155-157: “Presul, episcopio uigeas in tempore longo, / Optat Warnerius, corpore mente tuus, / Et uincas Francos domino cum fratre superbos...” Translation: Archbishop, may you live a long life as bishop – so desires your Warner, with body and soul. And conquer the proud Franks with your brother, the ruler ...”

<sup>64</sup> Elisabeth van Houts, “[Review of] *Moriuht*: A Norman Latin Poem from the Early Eleventh Century.” *Speculum*. 73 (2), 1998, pp. 621-623 at 622.

reading fits. Ultimately, both van Houts' and McDonough's suggestions are reasonable, and they bound Warner's possible years of activity to sometime between 996 and 1027.<sup>65</sup>

McDonough's suggestion seems more likely, as Warner's reference to two brothers ruling together in the "Second Satire" clearly indicates Richard II and Archbishop Robert, so that text, at least, was written before Richard III's reign.

Again, the charter evidence demonstrates that it is possible that Warner and Dudo worked in Rouen at the same time and knew each other, but it is impossible to find any conclusive evidence. Here, I will go through the evidence so that, in the next chapter, the discrepancy between the literary portrayal of a robust and active literary community contrasts with the inconclusive diplomatic evidence. Unlike Dudo's appearances in charters, where it is very clear that he is the same Dudo who wrote the history based on his full name and titles, it is not so easy to identify Warner the poet. Warner identifies himself as nothing other than "Warnerius" in either of the poems, and this was a fairly common name. A number of ducal charters in the relevant period have witnesses by the name of Warner, but very few include any further identifying characteristics. Furthermore, the charters range in time from 996-1033. Marie Fauroux has edited four ducal charters in the relevant period witnessed by a Warner or Guarner.<sup>66</sup> The witness list for one of the charters – charter 14 bis (1012), which was undertaken at Jumièges – includes a monk named Warnerius and is notable because Richard II, Gonnor, and Archbishop Robert all also witnessed it. Given that the monk seems to be at Jumièges, however,

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<sup>65</sup> Of course, it is impossible to date *Moriuht* and the "Second Satire" relative to one another. Warner's description of Gonnor as flirting with Moriuht, which I will discuss at length in the third chapter, suggests that she was not an old woman when he wrote that poem, and that would thus suggest an early date for *Moriuht*. Nevertheless, Warner may have been simply flattering Gonnor.

<sup>66</sup> Charter 7 (996-1006) (Fauroux, p. 78), Charter 14 bis (1012) (Fauroux, p. 92), Charter 55 (1025-1026) (Fauroux, p. 176), and Charter 66 (1028-1033) (Fauroux, p. 201). Charters 7 and 55 were both carried out at Saint-Wandrille, which suggests that this Warner could be a monk there.

it is unlikely that he is Warner the poet.<sup>67</sup> Of the other charters, only the latest one (Charter 66, 1028-1033) was carried out in Rouen. This charter attests Robert the Magnificent and Archbishop Robert's confirmation of gifts to the Rouen Cathedral. If Warner wrote during the slightly later period, the witness named Warner from this charter could certainly be our poet, but the charter does not offer any identifying information about the man.

The name "Warner" appears again in witness lists for two unpublished charters at the Abbey of Saint Ouen, which was just outside of the Rouen city walls.<sup>68</sup> In another early charter, Arch. Seine-Maritime 14H 255, a man named Warner witnesses land that Saint Ouen acquired during the abbacy of Henry, the first reformed abbot, whose tenure went from 1006-1033. The list identifies this Warner only as the brother (whether monastic or biological is unclear) of another witness. If this Warner was a monk at Saint Ouen, it is possible that he is the poet, especially given the "Second Satire"'s link to Saint Ouen.<sup>69</sup> The possible date range for the charter includes the entire date range that the two poems allow, so the charter does not help us to narrow down when Warner wrote, although it would help us to understand the author's position and circumstances: a monk at Saint Ouen who was thus engaged in study there (as confirmed by the "Second Satire") and wrote poetry for the ducal court (as confirmed by *Moriuht*). The other charter from Saint Ouen that contains a "Warner" is dated between 1037-1054. This charter,

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<sup>67</sup> Alma Colk Santosuosso has somewhat dubiously argued that Warner must have been a monk based on his knowledge of the Benedictine Rule and his references to the monk from Mont-Saint-Michel's having taken an oath of poverty and celibacy (Alma Colk Santosuosso, "A *Musicus* Versus *Cantor* Debate in An Early Eleventh-Century Norman Poem," p. 2). Again with very little evidence, she has suggested that Warner was a monk at Fécamp because we know that there was a school there under the Abbot William of Volpiano (Santosuosso, p. 2). She is correct in suggesting that it is not impossible that Warner was a monk at one of the monasteries that were patronized by the ducal family, but given that Warner only makes references to places in or near Rouen, there is no reason to believe that he worked elsewhere.

<sup>68</sup> The two charters are Arch. Seine-Maritime 14H 189, which is dated 1037-1054, and 14H 255, which can most likely be dated to 1006-1033.

<sup>69</sup> Both Pohl and McDonough have also suggested that the most likely position for the authors and intended audience of the Rouennais works lived within the monastic cloister due to the high level of Latin required to understand the works (Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, p. 159; McDonough, *Moriuht*, pp. 52-53.)

Arch. Seine-Maritime 14H 189, contains a record of a donation of land from William, Count of Arques and his brother, Archbishop Mauger of Rouen. Mauger was actually Archbishop Robert's nephew and successor, and the possible dates of the charter correspond to Mauger's tenure as archbishop. If the charter is from the early part of his tenure, it is possible that this Warner could be the poet. In this reading, Warner would have remained prominent in Rouen well after the likely composition date of his surviving poems, and he may have had a political career akin to Dudo's.

It is unlikely that these Warners are all the same person and that they all correspond with the poet. Rather, there were multiple Warners in and around Rouen in the early eleventh century. It is very possible that one of the men who appear in these charters is the poet, but it is also possible that none of these Warners is the poet, since none is identified as such. Thus, it is not possible to clarify the time period in which he wrote and whether or not he knew Dudo. Even if Warner did not write *Moriuht* until Richard III's reign, it would not be impossible for the monk who wrote poems and witnessed a charter in the late 1020s to have been present in Rouen, perhaps as a student or young monk at Saint Ouen, during the period that Dudo was prominent. Unfortunately, given that the documentary evidence suggests only that they could both have been in Rouen at similar times, it is not possible to determine what sort of relationship they might have had or even to argue convincingly that they had one. If Warner did come into his own poetically in the 1020s, it is possible that he and Dudo, while not unknown to each other, were part of two different generations of Rouennais writers. The charters do confirm, however, that

Dudo led a more prominent career than did Warner. His position as chaplain and later chancellor suggests that he was part of the duke's inner circle.<sup>70</sup>

The only other potential scholar mentioned by name, other than Archbishop Robert himself, is Warner's hated "F," who McDonough has suggested convincingly might stand for "Frotmond." McDonough has made this argument based on evidence that the only monk whose name began with "F" who was at Mont Saint Michel in 991 was called Frotmond.<sup>71</sup> In addition, a monk named Frotmond is attested in the Mont Saint Michel scriptorium between 1040-1055, and McDonough suggests that this Frotmond had returned from Rouen to Mont Saint Michel by then.<sup>72</sup> McDonough admits that there is no independent evidence for a Frotmond in Rouen, and there are only two Frotmonds who can be readily found in documentary evidence from this period. The first was the abbot of Saint-Taurin when he attended the translation of the relics of Saint Ouen in 989.<sup>73</sup> The second is a priest who appears in a charter from 979-989 where this Frotmond, among other priests, witnesses a donation Archbishop Hugh, Robert's predecessor, made to the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.<sup>74</sup> David Spear suggests that the witness list could represent the canons who were in Rouen at that time, and perhaps then this Frotmond could be Warner's enemy, if Warner altered his rival's circumstances for the sake of the poem.<sup>75</sup> These charters are both quite early, and would argue for an earlier dating of Warner's works. But there is no mention of either of these Frotmonds' coming from Mont-Saint-Michel, and the one who

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<sup>70</sup> David Douglas suggests that in the twelfth century, the title of "cancellarius" was a cathedral position often afforded to a "scholasticus" or erudite cleric (David Douglas, "Norman Episcopate Before the Conquest," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 13/2 (1957), pp. 101-115 at p. 113.

<sup>71</sup> McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk," p. 28.

<sup>72</sup> McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk," p. 29.

<sup>73</sup> Gazeau, p. 94.

<sup>74</sup> David S. Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals During the Ducal Period, 911-1204* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2005), p. 205. Also, see R. Poupardin, *Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, des origines au début du XIIIe siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris: Chez Champion, 1909), no. XLIV, pp. 73-74.

<sup>75</sup> Spear, p. 205, note 29. Archbishop Robert also witnessed this charter, although Spear points out that this may be an error since it is odd to have both Hugh and Robert labelled here as Archbishop.

witnessed Hugh's donation does not even seem to be a monk because the charter identifies him as a priest. It is possible, given that McDonough's evidence for Frotmond's presence in Mont-Saint-Michel comes from 991, that this same man witnessed a charter in Rouen sometime between 979-989, then became a monk by 991, and then returned to Rouen at some point. It is also possible that these two men are not the same person and that only one, or even neither of them, is the F against whom Warner inveighs in the "Second Satire." Thus, seeking to definitively determine the nature of the relationship between Warner and Frotmond is another dead end. It is clear that defining the contours of these relationships precisely is impossible; nevertheless, the key point is that the authors were intent on portraying themselves as part of a literary coterie. Even if we cannot identify other authors and intellectuals, the authors clearly sought the intellectual, cultural, and even political capital that would come from being part of an authorial community.

There is a discrepancy between the picture that both Warner and Dudo paint of a very active and competitive literary center and the fact that relatively little literature survives and that there is little charter evidence that these authors were in Rouen at the same time and even less that they actively competed with each other. There is enough evidence not to rule out the possibility that a literary community existed in Rouen in this period and that the community spanned the cloister of Saint-Ouen, the cathedral of Rouen, and the ducal court. Even while this community is colorfully portrayed in the literature, a selective documentary record destroys any chance of corroborating that portrayal. The Rouennais authors glorify this literary community, their participation in it, and the ducal family's participation, and surely these glorified portrayals brought political or cultural prestige to the authors and the ducal family.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> See Gelting, *passim*, for a variation on this argument – that the literary community brought the prestige associated with courtliness.

#### IV. Schools and Courts of Rouen

Where the Rouennais authors came together and what intellectual institutions were in place to support this gathering of authors are complicated questions. The authors themselves are not specific about where they met with other writers and their possible audience, and I will argue that it will ultimately not be necessary to pin down an exact location in order to understand the perceived importance of these gatherings. Nevertheless, considering the possible logistics of these gatherings of authors and interested audiences sets the scene for the rest of the dissertation. I will discuss the nature of the ducal family's presence in Rouen, both as secular and ecclesiastical leaders, and I will discuss the relationship between places where these scholars may have gathered. The most likely candidates for the gathering-points are the monastery of Saint-Ouen, the cathedral court, and the ducal court. In particular, it will become clear throughout this section and indeed the whole dissertation that these institutions were all linked and that characters moved between them freely. As Lifshitz has shown, the relationship between the cathedral and Saint-Ouen was quite fraught, and it is not at all clear to what extent the two institutions formed a single intellectual entity. Nevertheless, even this tension seems to have allowed for intellectual debate. It is the purpose of this section to illuminate what possible conditions were available for the Rouennais authors to work in.

Although there is no incontrovertible evidence of a cathedral or court school in Rouen in the early eleventh century, the existence of such carefully crafted texts as Dudo's history and Warner's satires raise the question of whether some sort of school existed. Scholars such as Musset, Bouvris, Ziolkowski, Gelting, and Vopelius-Holtendorff have argued that there may have been one. Bouvris, Musset, Gelting, and Vopelius-Holtendorff have argued that Rouen

may have housed an early cathedral school in which students gathered around one master, while Ziolkowski has suggested a setting more akin to a circle of poets gathered at the ducal court. Because both Dudo and Warner demonstrate knowledge of music theory, Musset and Vopelius-Holtzendorff have suggested that music was one of the main subjects of study at Rouen.<sup>77</sup> In what follows, given the proximity of the Rouennais Cathedral and the monastery at St. Ouen, as well as the familial connections between the personnel at the cathedral, monastery, and Norman ducal court, I will argue that the Rouennais evidence suggests some sort of amalgamation of court, cathedral, and monastic school setting.<sup>78</sup>

At various places in the Rouennais texts, the authors make direct references to a Norman school and groups of scholars. Dudo famously refers to a Norman *gymnasium* in the first poem of the history, for instance.<sup>79</sup> He then goes on to describe at length a very attentive and critical Norman literary audience. In his second satire, Warner also directly alludes to a school in Rouen when he praises Robert for his many *alumni* or those that he has nourished, i.e. students, pupils, or disciples.<sup>80</sup> In addition, Warner introduces the idea of two further scholars operating at Rouen when he complains that Frotmond (as I will, following McDonough, refer to Warner's F) has

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<sup>77</sup> Musset, "Garnier de Rouen," p. 246; Vopelius-Holtzendorff, pp. 255-269; 371. Shopkow suggests, however, that Dudo's discussion of music theory is so convoluted that he may not have actually understood it well himself (Shopkow, "The Carolingian World of Dudo of Saint-Quentin", p. 25).

<sup>78</sup> Felice Lifshitz has argued in *Pious Neustria* that the Rouen cathedral community and the Cloister of Saint Ouen were at times in competition with each other for regional spiritual supremacy, and she has also shown that one of the mechanisms by which they acted out this competition was dueling *vitae* and miracle collections. Thus, especially given the obvious importance of poetic competition in the Rouennais literature, it does not seem impossible that scholars and authors could have moved between and interacted across two competing institutions.

<sup>79</sup> Dudo, *Allocutio ad Librum*, line 11. Lair, p. 120; Christiansen, p.7. Christiansen's translation is "academy," but Vopelius-Holtzendorff has argued that Dudo used this word rather than *schola*, which he uses elsewhere, simply for variety (Vopelius-Holtzendorff, p. 363). In her online translation, Felice Lifshitz also translates the word as "school." (Felice Lifshitz (ed. and trans.), "Viking Normandy: Dudo of Saint Quentin's *Gesta Normannorum*, *An English Translation*," *Orb Online Library*. Internet. [http://the-orb.arlima.net/orb\\_done/dudo/dudindex.html](http://the-orb.arlima.net/orb_done/dudo/dudindex.html). Last Accessed November 14, 2016, Chapter 1.) This website is not currently fully running, but should eventually contain a transcription of Dudo's history and a new translation. I have included the URL for the main page throughout this dissertation, and the chapter number, which would allow readers to choose the correct page to click on in order to find the translation I cite here.

<sup>80</sup> "Roberto doctis fulgenti semper alumniis" (McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk," p. 44, line 1).

come to Saint Ouen and has been insulting Warner's friend, the former master. McDonough suggests that Warner addresses the poem to Archbishop Robert because Robert was the Archbishop who had jurisdiction over Saint-Ouen, but given the proximity of the cathedral and monastery, it seems just as likely that Warner addresses Robert because he is another figure of authority within the same scholarly community who could help to settle this contest between scholars.<sup>81</sup> Warner's second satire thus raises the possibility of two interconnected scholarly communities at Rouen and Saint Ouen, and he also either directly or obliquely identifies four poets, scholars, or patrons: Robert, Frotmond, Warner himself, and Warner's friend.<sup>82</sup> Warner's other poem, *Moriuht*, then adds another possible poet, Moriuht himself, to this list. And, the Rouennais cathedral *Miracles of St. Romain* make reference to a *magister* of liberal arts who was based at Saint Ouen and taught Archbishop Robert.<sup>83</sup>

It may be significant that Archbishop Robert appears in all of the Rouennais texts except the two anonymous satires (and van Houts has argued very convincingly that *Semiramis* references him).<sup>84</sup> His role among the authors in Rouen – whether as patron, fellow scholar, or even instructor – is not clear, however. As will be discussed at length in later chapters, Dudo addresses Robert in at least one poem in the history that includes erudite language and Greek words, and he includes at least two other poems that refer to Robert as a possible corrector or

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<sup>81</sup> McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk from Mont Saint Michel," p. 31. Warner sets up the context for the poem with the lines, "Carmina F<rotmundo>, presul, committo proteruo, / Carmina vaniloquo mitt[o], nec inmerito. / His defendo meum quem blasphemavit amicum, / Audoene, tua nuper in ecclesia" (McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk," p. 44, lines 3-6). Translation: "Archbishop, I am waging poetry against the offensive Frotmond. I send poems to the vain-speaking one, and it is not unmerited. With these poems, I defend my friend whom he blasphemed in your church, St. Ouen."

<sup>82</sup> Since Warner does not give his friend a name, it is possible that the friend is Warner himself, the *magister* that the cathedral miracles refer to, or even Archbishop Robert.

<sup>83</sup> "Hoc in loco prefatus presul aliquandiu hestians, his qui astabant, et precipue cuidam seniori quem in disciplinis liberalibus magistrum habuerat, sic ait..." (Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 268). Translation: "In this place, the aforementioned Archbishop after hesitating for a little while, to those who were standing nearby and especially to a certain old man whom Robert had as a teacher in the liberal arts, Robert said..."

<sup>84</sup> See van Houts, "A Note," p. 21.

mediator of his history.<sup>85</sup> In addition, the Rouen cathedral miracles name Robert's desire for the text as the impetus for its composition. As we have seen, the miracles even describe Robert specifically as educated in the liberal arts. Musset's suggestion of Robert's role as a patron or protector of the liberal arts seems reasonable, especially in light of Warner's reference to Robert's having many "alumni." His use of this word, rather than *discipuli*, for instance, may suggest that Robert bestowed some sort of support or guidance to these followers but not necessarily academic guidance. Warner may reference Robert's position as a patron of Rouennais students or poets or Warner may reference Robert's spiritual guidance. The word is reminiscent of Stephen Jaeger's "charismatic" master of early eleventh-century cathedral schools – a teacher whose important expertise could be in good moral conduct rather than any academic discipline. Indeed, McDonough has seen the loyalty between student and teacher that this sort of teaching might engender in Warner's loyalty to his friend over Frothmond.<sup>86</sup> A reading of Robert as this sort of master would not exclude him from the list of "masters" operating in Rouen during this period, but it would suggest that, although he was educated in the liberal arts and thus appreciative of the poets and scholars in Rouen, he was not engaged in strictly academic pursuits himself. Another possibility for a master at the cathedral or ducal court is, as Vopelius-Holtendorff has argued, Dudo, given his erudition and high position.<sup>87</sup> Nevertheless, there is no evidence that Dudo had any students.

Along with specific references to schools and masters, modern scholars have conjectured the existence of a school in Rouen based on the scholarly content of both Dudo and Warner's works. For instance, Vopelius-Holtendorff, Musset, and Christiansen have noted the parallel between Dudo's brief discussion of musical theory and Warner's discussion in his "Second

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<sup>85</sup> See below, pp. 82-83; 189-192.

<sup>86</sup> McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk," p. 27.

<sup>87</sup> Vopelius-Holtendorff, p. 381.

Satire.” As a result, they argue, music may have been one of the subjects that were actually taught at Rouen.<sup>88</sup> The basics of grammar may also have been a key subject in Rouen. Warner’s extended discussion of Moriuh’s violations of Latin grammar and quantity suggest that he was well-versed in these rules himself and that he may have expected parts of his audience to take an interest in his discussion.

The internal literary evidence creates a compelling case for some sort of gathering of poetic competitors and patrons in Rouen. It is not clear whether they were specifically linked to Saint-Ouen, the cathedral, or the ducal court. Warner’s second satire alludes to a rather scholarly setting, and Dudo’s reference to a *gymnasium* suggests some sort of school, but it is not clear who attended this school – whether it was aspiring scholars, monks, or aristocratic youths. Thus the authors convey a sense that Rouen was a center for composition, but the sort of setting that these authors worked in is very amorphous. The one attribute of this community that is clear is the force of competition between the authors. Ziolkowski has suggested that the ducal court, whose members enjoyed watching these poetic duels, encouraged this attitude of competition.<sup>89</sup> This is possible, and the records of these competitions may be the remnants of something akin to what William of Malmsbury describes at Queen Mathilda II’s court in England when he states that nearly 100 years later poets came from across Europe to perform for her and try to win her favor.<sup>90</sup>

It is clear that the ducal family played a central role in the literary flowering because of the family’s prominence as dedicatees and patrons in three of the five texts. Dudo’s history explicitly references Richard I, his half-brother Ralf d’Ivry, and Richard II as his patrons and

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<sup>88</sup> Vopelius-Holtzendorff, p. 257; Musset, “Garnier de Rouen,” p. 247; See Warner, “Second Satire,” lines 101-126, pp. 46-47; See Dudo, II.xiii, lines 39-54, Lair, p. 139, Christiansen, pp. 23-24.

<sup>89</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 46.

<sup>90</sup> William of Malmsbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom (ed. and trans.), vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 756-757.

encouragers. In addition, numerous poems in Dudo's history dedicated to Archbishop Robert, who was Richard I's son and Richard II's brother, suggest that he may have been a literary patron. Finally, Dudo's praise for Gonnor's memory has led some scholars to suspect that she too may have had a hand in providing material for Dudo's history.<sup>91</sup> Warner's two poems are both addressed to Archbishop Robert, and *Moriuht* also addresses Gonnor while the "Second Satire" also addresses Richard II. In addition, as we will see in chapters two and three, it is possible that both *Semiramis* and *Jezebel* satirize the ducal family. Because of the authors' assertion of the ducal family's role in the literature, it is natural to assume that the authors were supported by and gathered at either the ducal court in Rouen or the episcopal court. During the early eleventh century, both courts were located on the eastern edge of the city. The ducal palace was located on the southeastern edge of the city wall, and the palace compound backed up onto the Seine.<sup>92</sup> This castle was, presumably, where the dukes held audiences and where they and their households lived. Archbishop Robert was a frequent presence at the ducal court and a prominent member of the ducal entourage.

The Archbishop also had his own episcopal court and canons who lived in the cathedral close. The two courts were physically only about five hundred meters apart. The cathedral was also only about 500 meters in the opposite direction from the monastery of Saint-Ouen, which was directly outside the town walls in the early eleventh-century. The Abbey had been founded as an episcopal institution, but Richard II and Archbishop Robert allowed it to undergo reforms in c. 1000, which meant separating the Abbey from the cathedral and giving the Abbey monastic

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<sup>91</sup> Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, p. 63; Elisabeth van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900 – 1200* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 72. Van Houts makes this assertion based on the fact that Gonnor was powerful and Dudo praises her for her memory. Dudo writes, "...capacisque memoriae et recordationis thesauro profusius locupletatae..." (Dudo IV.125, Lair, p. 289). Christiansen translates: "abundantly enriched 'by a hoard of capacious memory and recollection'" (p. 163-164).

<sup>92</sup> Bernard Gauthiez, "The Urban Development of Rouen, 989-1345" in *Society and Culture in Medieval Rouen, 911-1300*, Leonie V. Hicks and Elma Brenner (ed.) (Turnholt: Brepols, 2103), pp. 17-64 at 21.

exemption from episcopal authority.<sup>93</sup> Until that point, the archbishop of Rouen had been the main authority at St. Ouen, and, Lucien Musset has shown that there were long periods where the archbishop effectively governed the Abbey as one with the cathedral.<sup>94</sup> Thus, at the turn of the millennium, suddenly the ducal family effected a separation between the community of cathedral canons and the monks of Saint-Ouen. This separation created three possible centers for learning and literature in Rouen. As I will discuss further below and in chapter four, the extent to which the religious communities of the cathedral and the cloister truly separated is unclear, as Warner's "Second Satire," for instance, suggests that he expected his work to be read in both communities. Nevertheless, Lifshitz has shown that in the middle of the eleventh century, relations were quite strained between cathedral and cloister. And she has even convincingly speculated that the impetus for Robert's rebuilding of the Rouennais cathedral in the early part of the century came from the monks' denial of his continued use of their church.<sup>95</sup>

The relative proximity of these three possible centers of literature and learning in Rouen is significant because it demonstrates how easy it would have been for people to circulate between them. Both the cathedral with its canons and Saint-Ouen with its monks would have had a ready-made store of educated clerics and monks who could have written poetry. The five figures most prominently linked to literature in Rouen are: Archbishop Robert, Dudo, Warner, Frotmond, and the *magister* at Saint-Ouen who educated the Archbishop. Dudo can be directly linked to the ducal court and Archbishop Robert to both the ducal court and especially the cathedral. This *magister* was present at Saint Ouen before it separated from the cathedral, but

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<sup>93</sup> Felice Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 188.

<sup>94</sup> See Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 188, note 27; Lucien Musset, "Ce qu'enseigne l'histoire d'un patrimoine monastique: St. Ouen de Rouen du IXe au XIe siècle" in *Aspects de la société et de l'économie dans la Normandie médiévale (Xe-XIIIe siècles)* (Cahier des Annales de Normandie 22: Caen, 1988), pp. 114-129, especially at 122; Samantha Kahn Herrick, *Imagining the Sacred past*, p. 48.

<sup>95</sup> Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 191; Richard Allen, *The Norman Episcopate, 989-1110 (2 vols.)* (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2009), p. 296.

Frotmond, according to Warner, was a *magister* at Saint-Ouen. We thus can link prominent literary figures to each of the three centers. The impossibility of locating the group of writers at just one place makes it all the more difficult to imagine that the literature in Rouen came out of a formal school. Instead, it is only sensible to understand that there were scholars and writers working at each of these three centers and that it may have been possible to receive patronage from the ducal family or circulate work in any of the three centers whether the author was a monk, canon, or bureaucrat.

#### V. Why Rouen? Why not Fécamp?

Rouen was indeed, as Ziolkowski has argued, a “cosmopolitan” city full of literature, culture, and politically powerful people.<sup>96</sup> Like most eleventh-century nobility with a large territory of land to rule over, the ducal family, and the dukes in particular, did not spend all of their time in Rouen. Charter evidence shows that Richard II and other members of his entourage, including his wife, mother, sons, and brothers traveled throughout the duchy. The dukes themselves held a number of castles throughout the duchy, and they could also impose upon their counts and *viscounts*, as well as monasteries, to house them and their entourage. One of the dukes’ main residences was in Rouen, but they also had another main seat, Fécamp. This town, which sits on the Northern coast of the duchy (and was the first town to be liberated at the Invasion of Normandy in 1044), is roughly sixty-five kilometers from Rouen. To this day the remains of a palace built by William the Conqueror and Mathilda sit on the site where the first ducal palace sat. Directly opposite the palace was the monastery of Fécamp; the first monastery

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<sup>96</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 42.

that the ducal family actively reformed at the turn of the millennium.<sup>97</sup> Rouen thus was not the only capital city in Normandy, and differences in character between the two may account for the reason that the literature is associated with Rouen rather than Fécamp.

As the archiepiscopal see, Rouen was a prominent city before the Vikings arrived in Normandy, and it remained prominent through the French re-conquest in 1204. Dudo makes it clear that conquering Rouen was the first priority and the first step toward the dukes' eventual control over the whole duchy. Claude Carozzi has argued that Dudo purposefully portrays Rouen's population as composed entirely of merchants and clerics when Rollo first arrives in the beginning of the tenth century in order to make obvious the opportunity for the Vikings to invade and fill a social void.<sup>98</sup> Dudo's description demonstrates both the Rouennais need for Rollo and his warriors but also that, having travelled a long way, Rollo stops in Rouen and essentially makes it his base:

And when the poor people and the needy merchants who lived at Rouen, and the inhabitants of that region, heard that a mighty throng of Northmen was present at Jumièges, they all came as one to Franco, the bishop of Rouen, to discuss what to do. And Franco sent at once to Rollo for a guarantee of his own security and of those who dwelt in the district. And when he found that no one was living in the city or within its boundaries other than weaponless commoners, Rollo gave the bishop a safeguard on his own good faith; and continuing a stage from here on his profitable voyage, he came to Rouen, and made fast his ships, pregnant with many warriors, in the harbour to which the church of St. Martin is attached.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Before the French Revolution, it was the monks of Fécamp who developed the recipe for Bénédictine, which was later mixed with brandy in the U.S. to form B&B. Both Bénédictine and B&B are manufactured in Fécamp to this day.

<sup>98</sup> Claude Carozzi, "Des Daces aux Normands. Le mythe et l'identification d'un peuple chez Dudon de Saint-Quentin," in *Peuples du Moyen Age: Problèmes d'identification. Séminaire Sociétés, Idéologies et Croyances au Moyen Age*, Claude Carozzi and Huguette Taviani-Carozzi (ed.) (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1996) pp. 7-26 at 17.

<sup>99</sup> Christiansen, p. 35. Dudo, II.11; Lair, pp. 152-153: "Audientes igitur pauperes homines inopesque mercatores Rotomocommorantes illiusque regionis habitatores copiosam multitudinem Normannorum adesse Gimegias, venerunt unanimes ad Franconem, episcopum Rotomagensem, consulturi quid agerent. Franco vero statim misit ad Rollonem ut daret sibi pagoque manentibus securitatem. Rollo vero, comperiens quod in urbe nec in finibus ejus moraretur nisi inerme vulgus, dedit episcopo suae fidei tenore securitatem; hincque gressum profuturae sibi navigationis agitans, Rotomo venit, portaeque, cui innexa est ecclesia S. Martini, naves plurimo milite fecundas adhaesit."

Carrozi's argument is that this description leaves out the warrior class, making it not only possible for Rollo and his men to form that class but also a social necessity. This passage also marks the first successful conquest that Rollo and his men make in Normandy.

Archaeological evidence suggests, however, that Fécamp was an earlier Norman settlement than Rouen.<sup>100</sup> In addition, Fécamp features frequently in Dudo's history – it is at Fécamp that Richard I was born, for instance – and Dudo includes a poem in praise of Fécamp at the very end of the history.<sup>101</sup> The ducal family's investment in the monastery at Fécamp further demonstrates the prominence of this ducal residence; Richard II, with the consent of Archbishop Robert, invited the Italian reformer, William of Volpiano, to Fécamp in order to reform the monastery also in c. 1000, just before the reform of Saint-Ouen.<sup>102</sup> Radulphus Glaber's mid-eleventh-century hagiographical account of William of Volpiano's life recounts that the abbot established two formal schools at the monastery – one for the monks and one that was open to all.<sup>103</sup> Glaber suggests that William of Volpiano's educational efforts were aimed at allowing the monks and the people of Normandy to correctly perform the liturgy and attend to other religious tasks, such as prayer and participation in the psalms. Glaber's description of the schools resembles the formal school that seems to be missing in Rouen – one teacher, students, and a curriculum aimed at teaching literacy – and indeed, there is evidence that Fécamp was rife with intellectual and theological innovation.

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<sup>100</sup> See Pierre Bouet, "Dudon de Saint-Queintin et Fecamp" in *Tabularia: Sources ecrites de la Normandie medieval*, Études 2 (2002), pp. 57-70 at 62.

<sup>101</sup> Dudo, iv.129; Lair, p. 299; Christiansen, p. 173.

<sup>102</sup> There is speculation that William of Volpiano facilitated and encouraged the reform at Saint Ouen (Potts, *Monastic Revival*, p. 29).

<sup>103</sup> "Interea cernens vigilantissimus pater quoniam non solum illo in loco sed etiam per totam provinciam illam necnon per totam Galliam in plebeiis maxime scientiam legendi ac pasallendi deficere et annullari, clericis instituit scolas sacri ministerii, quibus pro Dei amore assidui instarent fratres huius officii docti, ubi siquidem gratis largiretur cunctis doctrine beneficium ad coenobia sibi commissa confluentibus, nullusque qui ad hoc vellet procedere prohiberetur quin potius tam servis quam liberis, divitibus cum egenis uniforme caritatis impenderetur documentum" (Ralph Glaber, *Eiusdem auctoris Vita Domni Willelmi Abbatis*, edited by Neithard Bulst ; translated by John France and Paul Reynolds in *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum libri quinque*, John France (trans. and ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1989), p. 272, book vii).

William of Volpiano had a considerable religious legacy in Normandy. The first reformist abbot of Jumièges, Mont-Saint-Michel, and Saint Wandrille were all disciples of his.<sup>104</sup> In addition, the next abbot of Fécamp, John of Ravenna, who became abbot in 1028, was William of Volpiano's nephew and continued and strengthened the reforms of his predecessor. Glaber intimates that William of Volpiano himself wrote hymns that were incorporated into the official Fécamp liturgy.<sup>105</sup> John of Ravenna engaged in full-scale composition. His works include a confession in the style of Saint Augustine, various theological opera, religious poetry, and letters to various anonymous and prominent people, including the Holy Roman Empress Agnes. Lauren Mancía has recently shown that John of Ravenna developed an unique brand of theology which she has termed "harming to help" whereby he rigorously disciplined his monks for any transgressions of thought or belief as well as behavior.<sup>106</sup> Mancía has also shown that Fécamp had an active *scriptorium* under John of Ravenna, and the monastery was thus an intellectual center throughout the early eleventh century and into the 1030s and 1040s, well past Rouen's prime. After both the rise of the monastery at Bec and William the Conqueror's shifting of his main residences in Normandy from Rouen and Fécamp to Caen and Bayeux, Fécamp did fade in prominence. Nevertheless, charter evidence shows that both Henry II and Richard the Lionhearted patronized the monastery and even visited multiple times.<sup>107</sup>

The prominence of Fécamp as both a ducal seat and an intellectual center raises two important questions. The first is why the Rouennais authors gathered in Rouen rather than Fécamp, and the second is why there is no evidence for a similar type of literature to what came

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<sup>104</sup> Véronique Gazeau and Monique Goullet, *Guillaume de Volpiano: un réformateur en son temps (962-1031)* (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2008), p. 103.

<sup>105</sup> Glaber, *Eiusdem auctoris Vita Domni Willelmi Abbatis*, p. 288; Gazeau and Goullet pp. 113-114.

<sup>106</sup> See Lauren Mancía, "John of Fecamp" pp. 161-179.

<sup>107</sup> For a consolidation of the vast charter evidence that supports this claim, see Judith Ann Green, "Fecamp et les rois anglo-normands" *Tabularia: Sources écrites de la Normandie médiévale*, Etudes 2 (2002), pp. 9-18.

out of Rouen being produced in Fécamp. Regarding the first question, the most important issue is Archbishop Robert's prominence in the dedications of the Rouennais literature. Although Archbishop Robert witnessed many charters drawn up and executed in Fécamp, his influence there was significantly curtailed after the monastery's reform. References to him in both of Warner's texts (even in *Moriuht*, where Warner does not mention a ruling duke), as well as Dudo's four poems dedicated to him, and the oblique references to him in *Semiramis* make Robert the most ubiquitous figure in Rouennais literature. If we accept Robert as a likely literary patron, as Musset has suggested, it only makes sense that the Rouennais literature was written and circulated in Rouen where his power was strongest.<sup>108</sup>

As for the second question, if, as archaeological and charter evidence suggest, the dukes and their entourage spent a significant amount of time in Fécamp, where, thanks to William of Volpiano, there was a significant population of educated monks if not others, we must wonder why there is no evidence for literature written specifically for the ducal family from authors in Fécamp. Depending on the extent of the Archbishop's influence in the production of the literature, his relative lack of influence in Fécamp may explain the lack of Rouennais-style literature. Nevertheless, the prominence of other members of the ducal family, like Richard II, Gonnor, and Ralf d'Ivry, in the literature suggests that there was a market for poetry among the rest of the ducal family. Thus, we must look to the obvious influence of William of Volpiano and then John of Ravenna on the intellectual production in Fécamp. It is clear from charter evidence and contemporary accounts that both men rigorously controlled their monks' behavior. William of Volpiano may not have encouraged or indeed allowed the production of such secular and bawdy poetry as was produced by the Rouennais authors. By contrast, the abbot of the

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<sup>108</sup> Vopelius-Holtendorff suggests that Robert was not particularly interested in the contemplative life and was disengaged from the reforms in Fécamp (Vopelius-Holtendorff, p. 390).

reformed Saint-Ouen from 1001–1028, Hugh, hardly left a mark in the documentary or literary record and does not seem to have objected to the bawdy poetry, at least in any recorded manner. It was John of Ravenna's disciple, Nicholas, who became abbot of Saint-Ouen in 1028, who appears continually in the historical record as a defender of monastic purity and monastic rights in the face of territorial spats with the archbishop of Rouen.<sup>109</sup>

The ducal court at Fécamp seems to have been in the shadow of the intellectual tone set by the reforming monks, in particular William and John. At the same time, Archbishop Robert's prominence in Rouen arguably allowed for a less tight-laced intellectual climate. In the final chapter of this dissertation, I will fully explore the intricacies of Archbishop Robert's position, both as a secular and religious official. Here, it should suffice to point out that the period in question had not yet seen the wide-ranging ecclesiastical reforms of the latter half of the century, and this thus left the secular church free from some of the religious and behavioral rigors implemented by the monastics. The monastic reform in Normandy was certainly the precursor to the wider-reaching reforms of the end of the century, and we do see in the Rouennais literature that the authors, Warner in particular, were beginning to react to changes within the church. While I will argue in the final chapter that the increased strength of the church reforms are not to blame for the decline in Rouennais poetic production, nevertheless the dominance of reform-minded intellectuals in Fécamp at least made less likely the possibility of a flowering of secular, irreverent, and bawdy poetry.

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<sup>109</sup> Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 193.

### Conclusion: The Literary Setting of Rouen

The Rouennais poetry benefits from consideration both in relation to the political context of Rouen and also the intellectual and religious innovation going on in Fécamp. The monastic reforms and revivals happening nearby bring into further relief the qualities of the Rouennais literary revival. Not only must we draw attention to the fact that poetry relevant to the Norman political context was written in early eleventh-century Rouen, we must also note that it diverged significantly from what was produced in Fécamp.

As we have seen, it is nearly impossible to pin down the actual location or make-up of the community of writers in Rouen. The fluidity that existed between the cathedral, court, and abbey community combines with the lack of documentary evidence to make such an undertaking futile. What is clear is that politically-minded authors wrote in Rouen and both reacted and contributed to the Rouennais political culture. The next chapter will consider the self-conscious literary portrayal of the authors and the self-conscious portrayal of their centrality to Rouennais culture. That chapter will provide an opportunity to consider the importance of the discrepancy between the documentary evidence for a community and the evidence internal to the literary sources.

Ultimately, this dissertation shows the importance of literature to understanding Rouennais political culture. As Ziolkowski has argued, that political culture encompasses an emphasis on the power that comes from the control of language as well as armies. In a corollary to his argument, I will show that the Rouennais authors understood that control of language was a key factor in the establishment and legitimation of the Norman ducal family.

## THE LITERARY AND AUTHORIAL COMMUNITY IN ROUEN:

### STYLE, COMPETITION, AND COHESION

This chapter deals with the writers' portrayals of their own writing, their portrayals of the writing of other authors, and their portrayals of the literary community in Rouen. The lack of concrete diplomatic evidence for the community leaves us with the musings of the authors themselves as the best guides concerning how the authors interacted with each other, their audience, and their patrons. The authors' own portrayals of the literary community in Rouen emphasize the value that the authors saw in drawing attention to the community. Whether it was for their own prestige or the prestige of their ducal patrons, the authors clearly demonstrate the perceived significance of demonstrating that Rouen housed educated and literary people. As I will discuss at the end of the chapter, the process of writing itself was important for the authors as a indication of participation in certain types of culture and cultural practices that spanned beyond Rouen.

The first section of the chapter discusses the authors' literary portrayals of their relationships with other authors and their audience. The second section of the chapter discusses two stylistic characteristics of the Rouennais writers: their interest in obscure language and the frequent allusions to school texts in terms of style and content. The last section of this chapter deals with the ways in which the authors – Dudo and Warner in particular – describe the process of writing. I will argue that for Dudo and Warner, the act of writing itself and how one undertook it was a cultural statement separate from the finished product.

It will become clear that the Rouennais authors conceived of themselves as writing for an engaged and interested audience that included, but was not limited to, other authors. What I will be able to show is that the idea of having a school or active literary community appealed to the

writers enough that they alluded to this community constantly in their works. And thus surely the idea of this literary community appealed to the ducal patrons of the authors. Although it is impossible to determine the actual contours of the relationships between the Rouennais authors, it is clear that their references to other authors, mutual thematic preoccupations, and shared elements of style created a community of writers. In addition, the specific allusions to certain types of texts and styles that were popular in contemporary cathedral schools – the “hermeneutic style” and colloquies – also demonstrate that the authors were tuned into intellectual developments outside of Rouen and thus were interested in participating in widely established intellectual culture. As the patrons and the audience for this literature, the ducal family too was clearly interested in emulating the literary and scholarly practices of Normandy’s neighbors, as well as the political and cultural practices.<sup>110</sup>

The self-depictions and stylistic similarities between the authors give the impression of a self-conscious group who were invested in presenting themselves as witty and engaged with intellectual trends from both inside and outside of Normandy. They also make it very clear that their audience is the ducal family, and their subjects are more often than not political. Orderic Vitalis famously claimed that there was no intellectual life in Normandy before the arrival of Lanfranc, but the early Rouennais authors certainly show that they did not see it that way.<sup>111</sup> For the Rouennais authors, the existence of an active literary culture is clearly an issue of pride as well as a way to put Rouen on the map culturally.

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<sup>110</sup> Gelting, p. 35.

<sup>111</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Marjorie Chibnall (ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980) Book II, p. 250. See Musset, “Garnier de Rouen,” p. 237; p. 258.

## I. Literary Portrayals of a Competitive Literary Community

As we saw in the introduction, there is only inconclusive evidence that Dudo and Warner worked in Rouen at the same time. From charter evidence, it is clear that Dudo was an important political actor in Rouen in the 1010s, and, while it is possible that Warner wrote during that time period, it is not possible to determine exactly when he wrote, and it could even have been ten or twenty years after Dudo. It is clear that Archbishop Robert was an influential figure while both men were writing, which suggests that some continuity within the literary community existed. There is no documentary evidence concerning the anonymous authors. The diplomatic and documentary evidence essentially proves that it was possible that Dudo and Warner lived and worked in Rouen at the same time. Nevertheless, the authors' own depictions of their competitions with other authors and their fear of harsh audience members depict an active community. Their depictions may demonstrate widespread literary zeal in early-eleventh-century Rouen, but even more importantly, they demonstrate the authors' desire to depict Rouen as a literary and educated place perhaps for the benefit of Norman nobles or for an outside audience.

Rouen is not alone among eleventh- and twelfth-century literary centers in its amorphous documentation. Scholarly debate concerning centers like Chartres, Laon, Rheims, and Tours at once show that Rouen is not strange in being difficult to delineate, but the different sorts of scholarly questions that have surrounded the other centers also illuminates some of the unique aspects of Rouen. Much of the controversy surrounding the school of Chartres, for instance, rests on the question of whether or not the twelfth-century scholars traditionally associated with the school actually taught in Chartres or elsewhere and in how cohesive the school was both

institutionally and intellectually.<sup>112</sup> The first question is not particularly relevant to Rouen because both Dudo's work and Warner's are clearly associated with Rouen through internal references to the city and to the ducal family. The association of the two anonymous satires with Rouen is sketchier, but their stylistic affinities with Warner's satires along with their inclusion in the same manuscript suggests that they were almost certainly written for a Rouennais audience. Thus, it seems very clear that there were at least two or three authors present in Rouen in the early eleventh century, even if it is not clear that they knew each other or interacted. The issue of cohesion at Rouen is more complicated. As we will see, there are similarities of theme and style across the works that survive from Rouen, and this does help to substantiate the authors' claims that they were part of a literary community.

In his study of eleventh-century cathedral schools, *The Envy of Angels*, Stephen Jaeger's focus lies on identifying a charismatic *magister* whose teaching was the focal point of his school. This is an approach that he is able to take successfully with early eleventh-century Chartres, for

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<sup>112</sup> For a summary of the main debate, see John Marenbon, "Humanism, Scholasticism, and the School of Chartres," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 6 (2000), pp. 569–77 at pp. 572-573. Emblematically, Raymond Kiblsansky has argued that Chartres was a unified institution that greatly forwarded the twelfth-century study of literature, philosophy, and theology, and Richard Southern argued that the importance of the School of Chartres to French intellectual history had been greatly exaggerated (Raymond Kiblsansky, "The School of Chartres" in *Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, Marshall Clagett, Gaines Post, and Robert Reynolds (ed.) (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1966), pp. 3-14; Richard Southern, "Humanism and the School of Chartres" in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970). Peter Dronke and N.M. Häring challenged Southern's critique of Chartres arguing that the twelfth century scholarship that came out of Chartres was influential across France. In particular, Häring singles out Ivo of Chartres, who was as an inspiration for Gratian, and Gilbert of Poitiers, as exceptional scholars (Peter Dronke, "New Approaches to the School of Chartres," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 6 (1969), pp. 117-140, especially at 117-128; N.M. Häring "Chartres and Paris Revisited" in *Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis*, J. Reginald O'Donnell (ed.) (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1974), pp. 268-329). Southern responded by arguing that Chartres housed exceptional scholars over the years but that there was little intellectual or institutional cohesion (Richard Southern, *Platonism, Scholastic Method, and the School of Chartres* (Reading: University of Reading Press, 1979)). Winthrop Wetherbee and Édouard Jeuneau have both taken middle ground interpretations whereby Wetherbee argues that the School of Chartres may not have been a coherent institution, but its students embraced similar ideals of poeticism, and Jeuneau has argued that there were scholars studying in Chartres continuously throughout the twelfth century but their ideas and the institution that housed them may not have been consistent (Winthrop Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), especially at 19-28; Édouard Jeuneau, *Rethinking the School of Chartres* (Claude Paul Desmarais, trans.) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), especially at 26-27).

instance, with the prominence of Fulbert.<sup>113</sup> Justin Lake has shown similarly that the tenth-century school of Rheims revolved around the teaching and personality of Gerbert of Aurillac.<sup>114</sup> Rheims is a cathedral school with which Dudo, at least may have been familiar, as Vopelius-Holtzendorff has suggested that he may have been educated there.<sup>115</sup> Vopelius-Holtzendorff took the approach of looking for a central master at Rouen in her dissertation, in which she argues that Dudo was that master. Despite the evidence for Dudo's high place in the court and literary prominence, there is no evidence that he had any students or followers. It is thus difficult to interpret Rouen through Jaeger's model.

Scholarship concerning the twelfth-century scholarly centers at Tours and Laon deals with some similar questions to those that I hope to address regarding Rouen. Tours was a prominent Carolingian bishopric and the seat of Alcuin, but during the eleventh-century, while it is clear that some scholars, like Bernard Silvestris, spent time there, scholars do not usually envision a unified intellectual program for Tours.<sup>116</sup> For Laon, Valerie Flint, who distinguished between a school at Laon and a school of Laon, best summarizes the debate. For Flint, it is undeniable that scholars worked at Laon producing biblical glosses throughout the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. What is not clear, she argues, is that there was any kind of coherent methodology or ideology that lay behind those glosses.<sup>117</sup> Since, like Tours and Laon, the

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<sup>113</sup> Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 62.

<sup>114</sup> Justin Lake, "Gerbert of Aurillac and the Study of Rhetoric in Tenth-Century Rheims," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 23 (2013), pp. 49-85; Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 59-62.

<sup>115</sup> Vopelius-Holtzendorff, pp. 251-256. Leah Shopkow has argued that Dudo was educated at Liège instead (Leah Shopkow, "The Carolingian World of Dudo of Saint Quentin," *Journal of Medieval History* 15/1 (1989) 19-37 especially at pp. 21-27.

<sup>116</sup> See Mark Kauntze, *Authority and Imitation: A Study of the Cosmographia of Bernard Silvestris* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), p. 16. Peter Godman has also argued that it is difficult to find evidence either for a continuous line of masters or for literary affinities among the works produced at Tours (Peter Godman, "Ambiguity in the *Mathematicus* of Bernardus Silvestris," *Studi Medievali* 31/3 (1990), pp. 583-648 at p. 589).

<sup>117</sup> Valerie Flint, "The 'School of Laon': A Reconsideration," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 43 (1976), pp. 89-110, especially at 96-99. John Contreni has argued that there was a cathedral school at Laon during the Carolingian period, and Adalbero of Laon was a prominent figure (John J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of*

presence of writers in Rouen is easily established, it is their cohesion, both social and intellectual that must be proven. In this section, I will demonstrate the ways in which the authors portray a view of themselves as a cohesive group. In the next section of the chapter, I will demonstrate some of the thematic and stylistic traits that run through all of the literature and thus suggest intellectual cohesion in Rouen.

Dudo's and Warner's depictions of the Rouennais literary public demonstrate a mixture of aggressiveness and literary engagement. Musset has also argued that one of the ways in which it is possible to see that there was a school at Rouen in the early eleventh century is to look at the similarities in style between Dudo and Warner's works.<sup>118</sup> The importance of invective to the Rouennais works, especially when it deals with other authors' writing, is indisputable. The obvious importance of competition in this sort of poetic exchange has led Ziolkowski to conjecture that Norman poets of the early eleventh century thrived on professional rivalries.<sup>119</sup> If Ziolkowski is right, *Moriuht* represents an example of this sort of verbal jousting and Dudo's work both alludes to the verbal sparring and describes it. The fact that the competition between authors features prominently as subject matter in both Warner and Dudo's texts lends credence to the possibility that these debates actually occurred and were a dominant feature in the Rouennais literary community. The similarity of types of criticism – both Dudo

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*Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Bei der Argeo-Gesellschaft: Munich, 1978)). The school's heyday, nevertheless, was in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Beryl Smalley originally attributed large sections of the *Glossa Ordinaria* to Laon, thus solidifying the school's position among the great cathedral schools of the eleventh- and twelfth-centuries (Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), pp. 33-35; 40-42). Valerie Flint complicates the school of Laon by suggesting that there was little cohesion between the glosses and thus little pedagogical cohesion. Marcia Colish seconded this opinion in 1987, arguing that the school demonstrates attention to many relevant theological questions of the day but no unified theology (Marcia Colish, "Another Look at the School of Laon" *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 53 (1987), pp. 7-22). Recently, Cédric Giraud has argued that the sources are too varied to determine for sure whether or not there was a unified school and that Anselm's fame and the influence of the glosses on other scholars solidifies the intellectual importance of the school, no matter whether it was an ideological school or not (Cédric Giraud, *Per verba magistri: Anselme de Laon et son école au xiiie siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 18-28).

<sup>118</sup> Musset, "Garnier de Rouen," p. 247.

<sup>119</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 46.

and Warner accuse their literary rivals of vulgarity – further supports the reality of some sort of community of authors who knew each other, interacted, and shared a discourse of imagery. The authors’ emphasis on the literary nature of life in Rouen would also have brought both themselves and the ducal family prestige, however, and it is thus also quite likely that they exaggerate the level of literary engagement of the Rouennais public in general. McDonough refers to this exaggeration as the “distinction between an actual and an authorial audience.” The actual audience may have struggled to understand the texts or been indifferent to them, but as we will see throughout this section, Dudo and Warner allude to an audience that they imagined was actively engaged.<sup>120</sup>

The entirety of *Moriuht* is the enactment of Warner’s competition with the namesake of the poem. His “Second Satire” also, as McDonough has argued, demonstrates a scholarly rivalry between a new master and an old master.<sup>121</sup> Warner thus describes and enacts rivalries with other Rouennais literary figures. He makes these rivalries the center of his poetry as we will see further in the next two sections of the chapter. And, as will be discussed further in the next section, the dialogue format of *Semiramis* and *Jezebel* emphasizes tensions between interlocutors. These poems take part in an authorial community of poetic and intellectual jousting, and Dudo’s history even alludes to a wide and non-descript audience with literary interest. From his first address to the book, of which I have already discussed sections, Dudo worries about a crowd (*vulgus*<sup>122</sup> and *tumultus*<sup>123</sup>) that will deride him. He worries that his book will travel through French schools and a Norman “gymnasium” where it might not fare well.<sup>124</sup> The references to *scholae* and a *gymnasium*, as other scholars have argued before, emphasize the

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<sup>120</sup> McDonough, *Moriuht*, pp. 51-54.

<sup>121</sup> McDonough, “Warner of Rouen and the Monk,” p. 27.

<sup>122</sup> Dudo, *Allocutio Ad Librum*, line 4, Lair p. 120.

<sup>123</sup> Dudo, *Allocutio Ad Librum*, line 6, Lair, p. 120.

<sup>124</sup> Dudo, *Allocutio Ad Librum*, line 11, Lair p. 120.

possibility that Dudo describes formal institutions, and perhaps even the cathedral schools of northern France. Alma Colk Santosuosso has even suggested that Dudo is referring to the monks at Fécamp and those who had been educated at William of Volpiano's school.<sup>125</sup> But he does not elaborate on these possible institutions, and he seems much more concerned with the specific insults that the rabble might hurl at him; Dudo embarks on a long description of the possible reactions that the Norman crowd will have to his work:

Here's one will push out his lips, spewing abominations therefrom,  
While another, O shame, chimes in through the nostrils he draws back,  
While this one here will applaud, with exceedingly coarse hands  
And this one here will lift feet from the ground and give three stamps.  
Nosing about for small faults, here's another who'll vent his critique...<sup>126</sup>

The reactions that Dudo anticipates range from aggressive heckling to ignorant praise to subtle faultfinding. The reactions that Dudo describes are not particularly erudite, but the lack of erudition mixed with the obvious engagement with literature only serves to emphasize Dudo's portrayal of an active and widespread interest in literature in Rouen. Dudo's first description of the man who "spews abominable things from his lips" emphasizes the vulgar aspects of the critic's appearance and manner, and Dudo seems to both disdain the man and fear his response. This is the passage that Ziolkowski has taken to be evidence of the strength and prevalence of the Norman interest in verbal jousting and *flyting*.

As we will see, the focus on the man's physical vulgarity is reminiscent of Warner's attacks against Moriht. For instance, Warner abuses Moriht in an effort to insult the man's poetry: "Observe now a goat crammed with the principles of words. Tell me, who has seen a scholar-goat? In our days many wonders return. Look! an ass speaks as a poet in verse. Though

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<sup>125</sup> Santosuosso, "A *Musicus* Versus *Cantor* Debate," p. 13.

<sup>126</sup> Christiansen, p. 7; "Hic foedum spuet aggestis labris labisque, / Succinet, infandum! retracta nare aliusque, / Et plausum manibus nimium dabit hicce profanis: / Elatis terram pedibus ter succiet hicce; / Verrucas alius disquirens ore notabit..." (Dudo, *Allocutio ad Librum*, lines 19-23; Lair, p. 121).

nature has granted him always to bray, he regards his trappings as inferior and he wants to write verse.”<sup>127</sup> These lines could be an example of the sort of insults that Dudo fears will come from his readers at the same time that they accuse Moriut of being vulgar. This particular vulgarity of Warner’s, that is to say the reference to Moriut as an “ass,” has classical roots. Danuta Shanzer has argued that the tradition of calling an unskilled poet or musician an “ass” comes from Varro’s *Onos Lyras*. She also argues that this text likens the “professional” world to the barnyard.<sup>128</sup> With this reading, Warner’s attack on Moriut could be a complaint that he has a “day job” and thus does not have the right skills or mentality to write poetry. This passage also emphasizes Warner’s knowledge of classical texts, especially various satires, and he both adapts his sources and shows off that knowledge as part of the literary give-and-take.<sup>129</sup> The discourse among authors seems to have been one of personal attack. The similarities between Dudo’s description and the attacks that Warner makes on Moriut, raise the possibility that Dudo does not describe a literary rabble but rather a crowd of poets and scholars whose existence is lost to us.<sup>130</sup> In either case, Dudo paints the picture of a Rouen filled with many more people invested in literature and language than the documentary record readily shows.

The unspecified nature of Dudo’s judgmental audience suggests that, at least when he was writing in Rouen, he did not expect his audience to be close authorial colleagues. Instead, he fears a mob of angry Normans who are waiting to tear his work apart:

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<sup>127</sup> McDonough, pp. 99-101; “Cernite nunc <caprum> verborum dogmate plenum. / Quis vidit caprum, dicite, grammaticum? / Temporibus nostris redeunt spectacula multa; / Ecce poeta asinus versifice loquitur. / Cum natura sibi concedit rudere semper, / Posthabitis phaleris versificare cupit” (Warner, *Moriut*, lines 399-404, p. 98).

<sup>128</sup> Danuta Shanzer, “The Late Antique Tradition of Varro’s *Onos Lyras*,” *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge*, 129. Bd., H. 3/4 (1986), pp. 272-285, especially at pp. 276-279.

<sup>129</sup> For a detailed discussion of what classical texts Warner likely had read, see McDonough’s introduction to the poem (McDonough, *Moriut*, pp. 7-15). Their own citations and the later holdings of the Rouen cathedral suggest that profane texts, like Juvenal’s satires, Horace’s *Ars Poetica*, Ovid’s *De amatoria arte*, Terence’s plays, and the *Aeneid* were among the texts that Warner and Dudo had access to (McDonough, *Moriut*, p. 9). For a discussion of the manuscript holdings of Rouen cathedral and Saint-Ouen, see Lesne, pp. 580-581.

<sup>130</sup> Ziolkowski suggests that the language in *Moriut* is an indication of the sorts of insults that could have been exchanged between authors in Rouen (*Jezebel*, p. 46).

Seeing that you'll be deemed to contain too meagre a main theme,  
 No rhetorical order at all, or trace of refinement,  
 O book, when I scrutinise you with my own little mind's eye,  
 Painful it seems to me, that you long to expose to the vulgar  
 Artful conceits badly thrown together by the plume in our own hand,  
 Asking to be derided, and booed, by a loud-mouthed, sharp-witted outcry.<sup>131</sup>

This passage is the first reference to the rabble whose reactions Dudo later describes. Here, the crowd are not vulgarians but instead are able to discern what Dudo claims, surely only as a humility topos, to be a lack of rhetorical style.<sup>132</sup> The actual language of Dudo's statement also bears further scrutiny. The word that Christiansen translates as "loud-mouthed" – "tumidus" – is an adjective that can refer to bloated oration styles, and Dudo thus presents his audience once again as unlearned but also concerned with language.<sup>133</sup> And the description of the crowd as "vafer" ("sharp-witted") suggests that the crowd is caustic and also capable of refined perception. Here, he refers to his audience's "outcry" ("tumultus"), but a few lines later, he refers to the audience as a "crowd", "rabble", or "herd" ("vulgus"), thereby creating the image of an aggressive crowd – one that is looking to find faults – but that is, nevertheless, subtly-minded.<sup>134</sup> Dudo includes enough allusions to language and writing to suggest that he portrays other authors, either imagined or real, as the people of this uncouth crowd. By originally introducing his audience with language that suggests that its members are subtle-minded and

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<sup>131</sup> Christiansen, p. 7; "Themate pertenui quoniam digestus haberis, / Rhetorica ratione carens dulcaminis omni, / Liber, et interno quum te perscrutor ocello, / Aegre fert animus quod vulgo ducere gestis / Quae digesta stylo nequicquam schemata nostro, / Et subsanneris tumido vafroque tumultu" (Dudo, *Allocutio Ad Librum*, lines 1-6; Lair p. 120).

<sup>132</sup> Shopkow has drawn attention to the fact that these trepidations of Dudo's mirror those expressed in one of his sources – Heiric of Auxerre's *Vita St. Germani*, and it thus may not be possible to take his fears as anything more than a trope (Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 216). Nevertheless, Dudo was a careful writer, and he does not slavishly copy Heiric.

<sup>133</sup> In the pseudo-Ciceronian style manual, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the author warns against writing in a style that is *sufflata*, and characterized by *tumores* (*Ad C. Herennium de ratione dicendi (Rhetorica ad Herennium)*, Harry Caplan (trans. and ed.) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), Book IV.10.15, pp. 262-265. These words are reminiscent of Dudo's word, *tumidus*, and his critique of his attackers' style further emphasizes that this is a literary engagement.

<sup>134</sup> See Christiansen, p. 7; Dudo, *Allocutio ad Librem*, line 17; Lair, p. 120.

then describing their potential reactions to his literature as vulgar and primarily physical rather than cerebral, Dudo describes a whole town of poets the way Warner describes Moriut. By not explicitly identifying his audience, Dudo creates the vague sense that there are innumerable potential literary critics in Rouen, and he thus further confounds the documentary blank regarding these literary figures.

The simplest way to reconcile the documentary lacuna with the authors' obsession with their own literary community is through the likelihood that the authors exaggerated the extent of the literary community either to increase the prestige of their ducal patrons or to increase their own prestige. The poem at the beginning of Book II of Dudo's history makes narrative use of an exaggerated base of engaged and invested readers. This poem further develops the theme of hypercritical readers through an analysis of Rollo's project of subduing Neustria and creating Normandy. The poem spends nearly thirty lines retelling the story of Daedalus and Icarus before it makes any attempt to relate the poem to the subject at hand. Eventually, Dudo equates Icarus' futile attempt to fly close to the sun with the book's account of Rollo's (successful, by Dudo's account) attempt to create a Norman duchy: "These wonders wound you [Icarus], and that fable hits the mark / With jeering mockery and ridicule. / High deeds of Rollo, chief of chiefs, I undertake, / And of the Dacian boys, 'down to half-way'; / You leave the lowest lands, take up too hard a task..."<sup>135</sup> Dudo suggests that the account of Rollo and his men had the chance of failing and thus incurring mockery, just as Dudo earlier worries his writing might incur laughter. Here it is the events themselves that mock and ridicule the book. Following on this moment,

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<sup>135</sup> Christiansen, p. 23; "Haec te monstra petunt, et fabula contigit ista; / Ludicris sannis ridiculisque tibi. / Praeducis incoepto Rollonis grandia facta / Dacorumque simul pube tenus juvenum, / Infima terrarum linquis, nimis ardua captans..." (Dudo, Praefatio Heroico Metro Decursa, lines 29-33; Lair, p. 139). The reference to the Dacian boys' upper body's youthfulness ("down to halfway") is an allusion to *Aeneid* 3, 427 (Christiansen, note 102, p. 186).

Dudo calls on God to help counteract the ridicule of his rendition of Rollo's deeds.<sup>136</sup> Then suddenly, Dudo switches topics without signaling to the reader that anything is changing. The poem becomes an ode to rhetoric, music, and the laying down of words on paper. Dudo ends the exhortation with "Supply the unattempted with a fluent pen, / I'll briefly, in prose narrative, tell what I may..."<sup>137</sup> Dudo has managed to move seamlessly between a mythological story, Rollo's establishment of the duchy, and his own recounting of those events. This move helps to explain the idea that both Dudo and Rollo should have the same fear about the fates of their works (laughter). But in failing to separate the writing process from the process of the creation of a political entity, Dudo both makes his own job – recording the founding of the duchy in an official capacity – an organic and necessary part of the creation of the duchy, and he incorporates the whole of the duchy into the writing and reading process. The wide literary audience then becomes necessary to witness both Dudo's accomplishment and Rollo's. This non-specific audience that Dudo describes thus functions both as the witnesses and legitimators of the success of Norman history. It is for their favor and acceptance that both Dudo and Rollo must strive.

The exaggeration of the Rouennais audience adds to the ducal family's prestige as well. We will see in the next chapter that Dudo flatters Richard I by emphasizing his integration of brains and brawn, and he also flatters the ducal family by suggesting that they rule over an intellectual court.<sup>138</sup> The idea that Dudo wrote for an intellectual court also would have helped his own reputation, and it is worth considering that part of the authors' goal in emphasizing their literary competition and surroundings was to aggrandize their own positions.<sup>139</sup> They were writing in the age of early cathedral schools, after-all. The centers of Laon and Chartres were

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<sup>136</sup> Dudo, *Praefatio Heroico Metro Decrusa*, lines 61-62; Lair, p. 140; Christiansen, p. 24.

<sup>137</sup> Christiansen, p. 25; "Intemptata stylo suggere largifluro / Prosaico referam breviter quaecunque relatu" (Dudo, *Praefatio Heroico Metro Decrusa*, lines 90-92; Lair, p. 140).

<sup>138</sup> Gelting, pp. 9-12; Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 185-187.

<sup>139</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 187-185.

well within the world-view and knowledge of the poets. Archbishop Robert exchanged letters with Fulbert of Chartres and, as I will discuss further below, Dudo included a dedication letter to Adalbero of Laon at the beginning of the history. Thus, the authors may very well have been concerned with their own reputations across northern France. Their own self-interests therefore aligned with those of the ducal family in simultaneously increasing the reputations of the authors and their benefactors through the literature.

The literary audience that Dudo describes may have reflected reality or an enhanced reality, but more importantly, his emphasis on a community of people who will be interested in literature suggests that the ducal family was interested in increasing its prestige through rumors of and perhaps the reality of a literary court. Dudo and the other authors' emphasis on a literate and literary community actually goes beyond just the ducal family to remake the image of all of Rouen into a place populated by quasi-intellectuals. This depiction of Rouen would further enhance the reputations of both the authors and the members of the ducal family by presenting Rouen as a center of culture. Both Dudo and Warner present other authors and audience members as vulgar as well as literary, and the efforts to mix the two different portrayals mirrors Dudo's efforts to mix both physical and intellectual prowess in the dukes, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Rather than fully deny the reputation of the Normans and the Rouennais, Dudo exaggerates the reports of uncouth people at court while also showing those people to have intellectual interests. This line of presentation worked well as it surely helped to present the ducal family and Rouennais poets favorably outside of Rouen and Normandy while also playing with the seemingly pervasive and persistent interest in verbal jousting and *flyting*, which I will discuss further in the next section.

Brian Stock, John Cotts, and Mia Münster-Swendsen have argued for other types of medieval intellectual communities, and their scholarship provides context for my suggestions. Stock also speaks of “textual communities” whose interest in the same texts and exchange of texts builds a space in which to work through certain religious debates and issues outside of the confines of the church.<sup>140</sup> Cotts has argued that the letters that Peter of Blois exchanged with his colleagues and men with whom he studied in France built a remote community of clerics working in secular courts even though they were not physically together.<sup>141</sup> He argues that the exchanges as well as the style in which these men communicated consciously crafted a communal identity for the correspondents as educated government workers.<sup>142</sup> Münster-Swendsen has argued that Danish nobles who went abroad to be educated in the early eleventh century met new people and forged an international scholarly identity through shared knowledge of texts.<sup>143</sup> These scholars are not dealing with directly analogous situations to what existed in Rouen, as the Rouennais authors were presumably all in one place. Nevertheless, the insight that a group of people may identify with each other through the types of writing that they read and create may be transferred to Rouen in the sense that those authors too may have manipulated their portrayals of their relationships with others in order to create the appearance of a vibrant community.

The question of how exactly the school of Rouen was structured obscures the real point that the extant texts are not preoccupied with the structures of the school – whether or not it existed – as much as they are interested in the relationships between readers and writers and the

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<sup>140</sup> Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983).

<sup>141</sup> John D. Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009).

<sup>142</sup> Cotts, p. 50.

<sup>143</sup> Mia Münster-Swendsen, “Educating the Danes: Anglo-Danish Connections in the Formulative Period of the Danish Church, c. 1000-1150,” in *Friendship and Social Networks in Scandinavia, c.1000-1800*, Jon Vidar Sigurdsson and Thomas Smaberg (ed.) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 153-174.

process of writing itself. To this latter point, Ziolkowski's most recent short description of the literary community in Rouen comes close to the mark. He focuses on a potential ducal ideological influence on the production of certain types of literature and on the way the authors write about their own work and that of other authors. He suggests that the ducal family dictated the competitive climate that both Warner and Dudo describe.<sup>144</sup> He thus suggests that there could have been an external pressure from the ducal family to create a sense of a scholarly community and perhaps to present the pretense of one to outside observers whether or not this community had grown up organically.

The Rouennais authors would not be the first set of court poets to develop rivalries and camaraderie over writing that were not backed up through in-person interactions. For instance, the poets of Charlemagne's court wrote poems describing the literary community at court, rivalries with each other, and court gossip. These poems describe a lively school setting where different masters were in charge of instructing Charlemagne's children by day and competing with each other for the king's literary favor the rest of the time. Many of these poems are in epistolary form – the poets address their poems to absent members of the court or write the poems when they are absent themselves.<sup>145</sup> Nevertheless, the poets were rarely at court at the same time. By the time Charlemagne's court had settled at Aachen, many of the poets held positions elsewhere. Because of the authors' portrayal of their intellectual and literary relationships, Charlemagne's court was known during his reign and after as a center of

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<sup>144</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 46.

<sup>145</sup> For examples, see the exchange of poems between Paul the Deacon and Peter of Pisa, Angilbert's poem, "To Charlemagne and his entourage," Alcuin's "On the Court," or Theodulf of Orléans' "On the Court" (Peter Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London: Duckworth Publishers, 1985), pp. 82-89; 112-119; 118-121; 150-163). Each of these poems was part of Charlemagne's circle, but the palace school only really gathered together after Charlemagne's court settled at Aachen in 794, and even then the poets still travelled (See Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, pp. 6-9). Paul the Deacon, Peter of Pisa, Alcuin, and Theodulf of Orléans were all members of Charlemagne's court before 794. Of these poets who described the lively interactions between poets at Charlemagne's court, only Angilbert spent much time at Aachen.

intellectual development. The Rouennais authors were not as successful in disseminating their work and glorifying their patrons, if that was indeed their goal, but their texts do demonstrate a valiant effort.

## II. The Hermeneutic Style, Invective, Simulated School Texts, and their Importance as a Marker of an Intellectual Community

Three different styles – the “hermeneutic style”, invective, and dialogue – often appear in Rouennais literature and in scholarly discussions of Rouennais literature.<sup>146</sup> These styles are not mutually exclusive, and a consideration of the influences on Rouennais poetry that each style reveals helps to indicate the sorts of literary and intellectual communities that the scholars hoped to travel in. The interest in invective comes through in the authors’ literary competitions, and some have suggested that the particular style that the authors use to express these competitions may be related to persistent Scandinavian literary traditions. The authors’ use of techniques and language that are often associated with the “hermeneutic style” signal the authors’ desire to be a part of a group of scholars that goes beyond Rouen. The hermeneutic style is a term used by modern scholars of literature, and Dudo, Warner, and the other authors would not have recognized the “hermeneutic style” as such but rather would have seen themselves as emulating the styles of other learned authors. The hermeneutic style is difficult to define and has come to encompass works from Anglo-Saxon England, Ireland, and France. The uniting characteristics of the style are an interest in explicitly erudite and obscure language, and strange vocabulary.<sup>147</sup>

Allusions to the hermeneutic style appear in Dudo’s propensity for arcane vocabulary and Greek

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<sup>146</sup> For Dudo’s work and the hermeneutic style, see Jan Ziolkowski, "Theories of Obscurity in the Latin Tradition," *Mediaevalia* 19 (1996), pp. 101–170. For a discussion of the Rouennais writing and invective and dialogue, see Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, pp. 47-51.

<sup>147</sup> Michael Lapidge, "The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature," *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), pp. 67-111 at p. 67.

words and less-obviously in Warner and the anonymous satirists' obscure references. The "hermeneutic style" is thus a helpful term by which to demonstrate some of the unifying features of style among the Rouennais authors and to show their affinities for texts written by their contemporaries outside of Rouen. Another important aspect of the Rouennais authors' pointed association with non-Rouennais scholars and authors is the prevalence of types of texts that can be associated with schools: dialogues and texts that invite commentaries. Again, these stylistic similarities, which were first pointed out by Lucien Musset and later elaborated on by McDonough and Ziolkowski, suggest that the authors knew each other.<sup>148</sup> Furthermore, these similarities suggest that the authors were invested in participating in northern European intellectual culture and were invested in including Rouen on the map of intellectual centers.

Scholars have disagreed concerning just how obscure a text like Dudo's would have been for a moderately well read or well-educated court, but no scholar who has read Dudo's text in the past two-hundred years has doubted that he meant to show-off his learning and rhetoric, perhaps even beyond the circle of courtiers at the Rouennais courts.<sup>149</sup> Dudo's interest in Greek mythology and Greek words is in particular what has led scholars to suggest that Dudo's work is related to the hermeneutic style. In the first poem, his address to his book, Dudo includes the sentence, "So, willing or no, you will endure these {antilegonta}, / Finally brought to a laughing-stock open to jeering of all sorts, / Sliced up to try and sell {myrokopoi} out of a low sort of drug-shop ..."<sup>150</sup> The brackets are my own, and they indicate the words that were

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<sup>148</sup> Musset, "Garnier de Rouen," p. 247; McDonough, *Moriuht*, pp. 51-54; Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, pp. 42-46.

<sup>149</sup> For a summary, see McDonough, *Moriuht*, pp. 51-54. For an argument that Dudo's text was too simple to offer entertainment to monks, see Lars Mortensen, "Stylistic Choice in a Reborn Genre: The National Histories of Widukind of Corvey and Dudo of St. Quentin," in P. Gatti and A. Degl'Innocenti (eds), *Dudone di San Quintino, Labirinti* 16 (Trent, 1995), pp. 77-102 at p. 100.

<sup>150</sup> Christiansen, p. 7. "Antilegonta" indicates a spoken resistance to something, and "myrokopoi" is a sweet cordial. Christiansen refers to Lair's edition of the Latin for his translation (which is what is quoted throughout my text), but he also uses manuscripts that Lair did not use (Christiansen, p. xxxv). For this passage, Lair's text reads, "Haec nolensque volens sic ἀντί et ὄντα subibis, / Ludibrio tandem sannae sub<jec>tus et omni, / Συροκοπῶ scissus

originally written in Greek. This passage, as well as many other sections of this poem, borrows from Heiric of Auxerre's *Life of St. Germanus*, and thus Dudo's inclusion of the Greek could potentially both impress his readers and demonstrate his knowledge of and affinity for Carolingian texts.<sup>151</sup> Understanding the Greek words is necessary for comprehension of the sentence; thus Dudo either expected his readers to know Greek or to marvel at his knowledge rather than understand what he wrote. It may be significant that the Greek words that Dudo uses either represent the complex idea of "verbal resistance" (antilegonta) or are part of an odd metaphor in which a failed text is being used to wrap up a bottle of unguent (myrokopoi) and sell it from a stall. In the first case, the Greek is required for the main point of the sentence to be comprehensible. In his second use of Greek, the word is the foundation for a colorful metaphor.<sup>152</sup> They do not play the same parts in the text, but both words help to make the text more complex. Although the hermeneutic style is ill defined, an interest in foreign vocabulary is one of its hallmarks. Dudo's affinity for some of the style's main features suggests that he may have been familiar with other hermeneutic works, either Frankish or Anglo-Saxon ones.

The Rouennais interest in *flyting* and invective returns in connection to possible Anglo-Saxon – Norman literary exchanges. Michael Lapidge has identified some similarities of style and content between *Moriuht* and poetry written in the tenth-century Winchester Cathedral under

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frustra trudere taberna ..." (Dudo, I. prologue; Allocutio Ad Librum lines 28-30; Lair p. 121). In this text, the Greek words are not the same as those Christiansen has translated. Lair's text takes "antilegonta" to be two different words "anti et onta," and a transliteration of the second Greek word here would be "Surokopoi." Christiansen strayed from Lair's text here in order to make sense of the Greek, which is nonsensical in Lair's text, and also in order to stay close to a passage from Heiric of Auxerre's *Life of St. Germanus* (Christiansen, p. 179, note 41). Christiansen takes his reading from the late eleventh-century manuscripts Rouen BM MS Y11 (northern France) and Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 276 (Canterbury cathedral) (Christiansen, p. 179, note 41). For the translations and transliterations of the Greek, I thank Maxim Polyakov, which he gave to me on December 8, 2012.

<sup>151</sup> Christiansen, *Dudo*, pp. 179-180, notes 38-47.

<sup>152</sup> The idea of using a bad text for shop wrapping comes from antiquity, Christiansen, p. 179, note 42.

the leadership of Aethelwold.<sup>153</sup> In the first of three Winchester poems, the poet wrote a faux dialogue between a student and master full of invective language: “The cunning and unsavory rascal bears a resemblance to such a monstrosity, the monster, a foolish slanderer, the crazy buffoon if not foul bag of bones, the sot, [? the horse herd], idiotic and mad, the garrulous wretch, a howler as well as a whiner...”<sup>154</sup> This line takes part in the hermeneutic style interest in vocabulary by effectively being a word-list of insulting terms. Here we see a student satirically insulting his teacher concerning similar subjects to those about which Dudo is afraid his crowd in the *gymnasium* will insult him. These similarities suggest that the Rouennais poetry may be part of the same or a similar tradition as the Winchester poetry. No matter what the relation to vernacular poetry, the similarities in theme of the Winchester poetry indicate not only a possible origin for the Rouennais style, as McDonough has argued, but also the Rouennais authors’ either deliberate or accidental association with European intellectual trends.

The resemblance between the Winchester poetry and the Rouennais poetry also reinforces the idea that the Rouennais authors wrote as though they belonged to a local community of writers. The needling and mocking modes of discourse that characterize the Rouennais poetry are characteristic of a physical school, like the Winchester school, where students, teachers, scholars, and poets would have interacted and shared work in person. Even if Dudo and Warner never did meet each other, the similarities of style and interest in the reactions of their audience suggest the desire to portray this sort of bustling literary community. Cotts’ discussion of epistolary exchanges between late twelfth-century and early thirteenth-century bureaucrats, including Peter of Blois, suggests that correspondents who were educated together

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<sup>153</sup> Michael Lapidge, “Three Latin Poems from Æthelwold's School at Winchester,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1972), pp. 85-137 at pp. 101-102.

<sup>154</sup> Lapidge, “Three Latin Poems,” p. 111; “portento simile paradigma gerit vafer atque/ furcifer insipidus, mostrum, sicophanta baburus / cerritus balatro, spurcus si non silicernus, / babbiger, agaffons, epilepticus ac furibundus, / garrulus ac nebulo, barritor necne latrator...” (Lapidge, p. 108-110).

or in similar settings could create a remote community by cultivating a discourse based on their joint education and experiences. The situation is not analogous both because Cotts describes men who were born of the new twelfth-century schools and also in that there is no evidence that Dudo and Warner shared an education. Nevertheless, Cotts demonstrates that a strong literary community could be built on shared discourse, and a similar form of shared discourse appears among the Rouennais writers. Although Warner and Dudo's works do not directly address each other, they do both directly address other authors. And their shared styles of discourse suggest a shared participation in a perceived community of authors.

In addition to being rife with invective, the Winchester poems play with a well-established genre of philosophical and school dialogues that often became "hermeneutic" in their interest in teaching new vocabulary.<sup>155</sup> Warner's "Second Satire" and the anonymous poem *Jezebel* also play with the form of a dialogue. This form goes back to the ancient Greeks, but late ancient philosophers and early Christian writers continued using this format in order to discuss both philosophical and religious issues. In particular, the dialogue was well suited for staged debates between Christians and Jews as well as between various sects of Christianity. During the late eighth and early ninth centuries, Alcuin wrote a number of instructional dialogues at Charlemagne's court, and a number of Anglo-Saxon school dialogues, or colloquies, survive.<sup>156</sup> The colloquies in particular have been associated with the hermeneutic style because

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<sup>155</sup> For more on the Winchester poems as pedagogical texts, see Joyce Hill, "Winchester Pedagogy and the Colloquy of Aelfric," *Leeds Studies in English* 29 (1998), pp. 137-152.

<sup>156</sup> For a short summary of the history of the dialogue genre, see Lapidge, "Three Latin Poems," pp. 96-99. In a recent study, Alex Novikoff has shown that the dialogue was the central genre for religious and political debate until this period (Alex J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013)). Simon Goldhill has argued, however, that the dialogue changed with the rise of Christianity because of the Christian imperative to assert intellectual and religious hierarchies (Simon Goldhill, "Why Don't Christians Do Dialogue?" in *The End of Dialogue in Antiquity*, Simon Goldhill (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 1-12). The Anglo-Saxon colloquies in particular, of which the Winchester poems are satirical examples, have been studied as related to the hermeneutic style because of their frequent inclusion of word-lists and as examples of pedagogical tools that helped students to

they provide a platform for discussions of arcane words. Thus, the dialogue was a well-established scholarly and pedagogical genre by the early eleventh century, and by engaging in this genre, Warner and the anonymous satirists called on long pedagogical, philosophical, and literary traditions.

Some aspects of Warner's dialogue in his second satire adhere to the conventions that earlier writers had set up; for instance, the desire by one character to adjust the morals of another looks a lot like moral and religious instruction. As Musset and McDonough have shown, Warner clearly uses the dialogue as an excuse to expound his own political and religious beliefs concerning monastic prayer, study, and reform. He thus embraces both the pedagogical and philosophical traditions of the dialogue genre. He also, however, uses this dialogue as a platform on which to display his anger, either real or literary, against the monk from Mont Saint-Michel. He thus combines the philosophical dialogue with the dialogical aspects of verbal sparring. And this combination further integrates Rouennais poetic traditions with scholarly literary traditions elsewhere in Europe. What follows is a discussion of the ways in which the Rouennais satirical dialogues demonstrate their pedagogical foundations.

In the Winchester dialogues, the teacher abuses the student for his lack of knowledge. It is *Moriuh't*'s similarity to that kind of abuse that causes McDonough to see the poem as one side of this kind of dialogue. The second satire functions slightly differently, however. The first

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learn to speak Latin (David Porter, "The Latin Syllabus in Anglo-Saxon Monastic Schools," *Neophilologus* 93/3 (1994), pp. 463-482; Joyce Hill, "Learning Latin in Anglo-Saxon England: Traditions, Texts and Techniques" in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, Sarah Rees Jones (ed.) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 7-30; Michael Lapidge, "Colloquial Latin in the Insular Latin Scholastic *Colloquia*?" in *Colloquial and Literary Latin*, E. Dickey and A. Chahoud (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 406-418). The colloquies, especially the colloquies of Aelfric and Aelfric Bata, which include disobedient students and corporal punishment, have been read as literary texts that help work out issues like the proper uses of corporal punishment and how to achieve the ideals of the Benedictine Reform (Rebecca Stephenson, "Scapegoating the Secular Clergy: the Hermeneutic Style as a Form of Monastic Self Definition," *Anglo Saxon England* 38 (2009), pp 101-135; Irina A Dumitrescu, "Violence, Performance, and Pedagogy in Ælfric Bata's Colloquies," *Exemplaria* 23/1 (2011), pp. 67-91).

speaker in the dialogue (Warner) chastises Frotmond, apparently partially because this monk has publically maligned Warner's own master. Nevertheless, the dialogue sets up an impromptu teacher-student relationship between Warner and this monk as each one tries to instruct the other in his own agenda. (Admittedly, Warner allows his own character many more lines of instruction than he affords the monk.) McDonough has argued that this pedagogical exchange is either a reflection of a school at Saint Ouen or a reference to the pedagogical metaphors that pervade the Benedictine Rule, the text that Warner, both the author and the character, depends on most in this dialogue.<sup>157</sup> It is thus very difficult to tell whether the poem reflects a pedagogical setting and pedagogical relationships between scholars at Rouen, but it certainly represents the literary presentation of one.

Both speakers in this poem demonstrate knowledge of different sorts. Warner allows the monk a long discourse on music-theory from line 103 through line 126.<sup>158</sup> The monk explains the composition of various intervals as well as rhythmical forms. Warner thus does not deny the monk technical knowledge, but the first speaker insults the monk's ability to play (rather than understand) music, the monk's knowledge of grammar, and his lack of concern for the Benedictine Rule.<sup>159</sup> McDonough has shed some light on the relationship between the two speakers by following Musset in identifying the first speaker as Warner himself and identifying the monk, F, as a certain Frotmond, who was a monk at Mont Saint-Michel and was later invited to Saint Ouen.<sup>160</sup> McDonough has identified two strands of conflict within the poem. The first is the anger that Warner felt toward this monk based on the monk's denunciation of Warner's own teacher. The second strand he alludes to will help to explain the insults that Warner levels

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<sup>157</sup> McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk," p. 28.

<sup>158</sup> The monk espouses a reduced version of Boethius' musical theory (Musset, "Garnier de Rouen, p. 257).

<sup>159</sup> For further discussion see Lapidge, "Three Latin Poems," pp. 101-102.

<sup>160</sup> McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk," pp. 28-29.

against Frotmond concerning his singing, despite Frotmond's patent knowledge of musical theory. As I will discuss further in the final chapter, McDonough suggests that Warner describes a conflict between an old monastic tradition of focusing musical study on the performance of daily psalms and hymns and a newer tenth-century practice of focusing musical study on theoretical musical theory.<sup>161</sup> Because of a few moments in Dudo's text where he discusses musical theory, some scholars have also suggested that it was a key subject of study in Rouen.<sup>162</sup> Colk Santosuosso has shown that the clash that Warner articulates between himself and Frotmond is a re-articulation of a conflict that appears in Boethius' *De institutione musica*. The treatise articulates tension between the practice of being a *musicus* – or a scholar of musical theory – and a *cantor* – a singer.<sup>163</sup> This conflict helps us make sense of Warner's complaint that Frotmond thinks in a lively manner but plays for donkeys.<sup>164</sup> Thus the dialogue is more than a conflict between two scholars but also a conflict between two theories of study and practice. Here, it is important to look at the way in which Warner expresses the conflict – through acknowledgment of knowledge and skill on both sides but biting insults against the monk with whom Warner disagrees. The monk neither directly rebuffs the first speaker's accusations nor does he, as we may expect, turn them onto the speaker. His later retorts simply assert (and reassert) his knowledge of music: "I, who have been well-taught, am not unfamiliar with music,

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<sup>161</sup> McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk," p. 41.

<sup>162</sup> See, for example: Dudo, *Praefatio Heroico Metro Decrusa*, lines 61-62; Lair, p. 140; Christiansen, p. 24. For a discussion, see Vopelius-Holtendorff, pp. 255-269 and 371.

<sup>163</sup> Alma Colk Santosuosso, "A *Musicus* Versus *Cantor* Debate," 1-16, especially at pp. 5-8.

<sup>164</sup> Warner, "Second Satire," lines 95-98 in Musset p. 263 or McDonough p. 46: "Tu ratione viges, ignorans edere voces; / Percutis ut cordas, flere mones asinas! Simia cum manibus, totos tibi subrigit artus, / Applaudit digitis, gaudet et in his modulis." Translation: "You are lively with thought, but you have learned to sing ignorantly; You encourage asses to bray while you hit the strings! It is as though an ape uses his hands to raise your limbs for you, he applauds with your fingers, and he rejoices in the melodies." Here again, Warner uses the trope of comparing a poet or musician to an ass, as in Varro's *Onos* (Shanzer, "The Late Antique Tradition of Varro's *Onos Lyras*," pp. 276-279).

neither with the measure, the mode, the note whence [comes] the sound.”<sup>165</sup> The monk thus seems to take on the role of the traditional teacher – providing knowledge of a discipline to an enquirer. But in this case, the student is much more interested in criticizing his master and teaching to his own agenda.

McDonough also shows that the emphasis that Warner puts on the immoralities of the monk’s lifestyle align with what Warner sees as Frotmond’s flawed musical study. Warner writes, “Your voice does not resonate with strings and tones.”<sup>166</sup> While this is a harsh critique of Frotmond’s singing ability, McDonough points out that this sort of criticism also suggests that Frotmond sews discord within the monastic community. His voice, by not singing in tune, does not join with the other monks.<sup>167</sup> Of course, Warner’s own poem continues any sort of discord that may have existed between Frotmond, Warner’s former master, and himself, and one gets the sense that Warner quite enjoys the spirited attacks and competitive poems that he writes. Nevertheless, his critique of Frotmond reveals a perennial tension among intellectual communities between an effort of joint learning and each individual’s effort to become a great scholar. Perhaps Warner’s critique is an early precursor of the complaints of writers like William of Conches and Guibert of Nogent, both of whom lamented the ways in which competition fractured scholarly communities.<sup>168</sup> Perhaps Warner’s attack on Frotmond’s morality is entirely tied into his scholarly competition. McDonough points out that, given the personal nature of student-teacher relationships at early eleventh-century cathedral schools, an

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<sup>165</sup> “Musica vis nostris non est incognita doctis / Et mensura, modus, notus ubique sonus” (Warner, “Second Satire,” ll89-90 in Musset p. 263 or McDonough p. 46).

<sup>166</sup> “Vox tua non cordis consonat atque tonis” (Warner, “Second Satire,” line 128 in Musset p. 264 or McDonough p. 47).

<sup>167</sup> McDonough, “Warner of Rouen and the Monk,” pp. 41-42.

<sup>168</sup> I have written about this elsewhere in: Corinna Matlis, “Fighting to Be the Tallest Dwarf: Invidia and Competition in the Self-Conception of Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Masters,” *The Haskins Society Journal* 26 (2014): *Studies in Medieval History*, Laura L Gathagan and William North (ed.) (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015), pp. 191-208. Also see Bridget Balint, “Envy in the Intellectual Discourse of the High Middle Ages,” in *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals*, Richard Newhauser (ed.) (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 41–56.

attack on one's master could be taken as a personal as well as intellectual attack against both the master and his students.<sup>169</sup>

*Jezebel* is another dialogue of insults. In *Jezebel*, as in Warner's second satire, it is clear that the author intends to play with the form of the pedagogical dialogue.<sup>170</sup> The poem consists of questions from one speaker and twisted answers from Jezebel. The speaker tries, at some points, to teach Jezebel moral or Christian lessons, reminiscent of a catechism.<sup>171</sup> Ziolkowski has even suggested that the radically different moralities professed by Jezebel and her questioner are meant to bring to mind the radically different points of view that believers and non-believers espouse in dialogues composed to convert.<sup>172</sup> The difference is that here, although Jezebel often gets the better of her interlocutor through her witty responses and unwillingness to reform. He asks her, "Which god is in your heart?" to which she replies, "The one who reigns in the garden."<sup>173</sup> Here, as in almost all of the questions throughout the poem, Jezebel misinterprets, one suspects willfully, and gives a non-orthodox answer to the question, although it is an answer grounded in classical mythology.<sup>174</sup> Often, the first speaker does not ask a question so much as make a statement, and Jezebel manages to find a rude response to these as well: "Be a quick giver. – I'll spend all night beneath a scarlet sheet."<sup>175</sup> Through Jezebel's sly responses, this poem seems to mock the scholarly dialogue. The master's mind may be on mighty matters, but the students will be preoccupied with their lusts and their pagan gods. Jezebel mocks the genre as well as mocking her master to his face.

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<sup>169</sup> McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk," p. 27.

<sup>170</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 48.

<sup>171</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 48.

<sup>172</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 48.

<sup>173</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 75; "Quis deus in corde tuo? -- qui regnat in horto" (*Jezebel*, line 19, p. 69).

<sup>174</sup> For a discussion of the allusions to the god, Priapus, who dwelt in gardens, see Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 94.

<sup>175</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 76; "Esto datrix velox. – fiam sub sandice pernox" (*Jezebel*, line 61, p. 70).

Most of the times that the speaker and Jezebel seem to truly converse are the moments when they both speak about love and lust. Near the beginning of the poem, the speaker says to Jezebel, “I am smitten in the heart” to which Jezebel responds, “I burn in both haunches.”<sup>176</sup> Although here again Jezebel finds a way to interpret the first speaker’s comment in a lewd context, this exchange could also read as the exchange between two lovers, where one expresses true love and the other expresses merely lust. A later stanza again suggests the possibility of reading this poem as an odd exchange between lovers:

[First Speaker] What is the limit to these desires (*votis*)? – [J] Love has no limit.  
 [FS] What is the word, anti-lover? – [J] That wounds to the womb are most pleasing.  
 [FS] What do you say, whore? – [J] Our breath is healthy.  
 [FS] When are you happy? – [J] Then when I am laid in my lair.  
 [FS] When is your position best? – [J] When I lie underneath, pressed down, laid on my back.<sup>177</sup>

Here the first speaker again lapses into an incessant questioning, but both the questions and answers flow together. Jezebel’s pronouncement that love cannot be moderated, given her professions of adultery throughout the rest of the poem, provoke the speaker to call her “anti-lover.” Her pronouncement that she enjoys being wounded in the vulva provokes the first speaker’s insult of “whore.” At this moment, the poem takes on the character of a fight between two lovers, one of whom feels slighted. The author thus may be mixing the scholarly context with a depiction of a lover’s quarrel, and the *mélange* further satirizes the genre.

The poem shifts back, however, to a tone more similar to that of an instructor and intractable student. Three stanzas later, the first speaker begins to expound platitudes of

<sup>176</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 76; “Pectore concutior -- binis cum clunibus uror” (Jezebel, line 47, p. 70).

<sup>177</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 77; “Quis modus his votis? – non est modus ullus amoris. / Que vox, antiphile? – gratissima vulnera v<ulve>. / Quid, pellex, loqueris? – contritio nostra salubris. / Quando letaris? – tunc cum prosternor in antris. / Quando situs melior? – cum succubo, pressa supinor” (*Jezebel*, lines 91-95, 71).

behavior, which Jezebel quickly twists: “I am wretched on earth. – Wretched is the eunuch in passion. / The prudent hesitate. – Old women in back alleys gesticulate.”<sup>178</sup> Here, Jezebel shows off her wittiness, as well as her lewdness. In addition, the author demonstrates knowledge of classical literature – Ziolkowski points out that Ovid, Catullus, and Horace deal in old “bawds” in alleyways.<sup>179</sup> Both Ziolkowski and Galloway have embraced the idea that the author’s goal may have been less moralistic than hermeneutic. For Ziolkowski, the bawdy poetry and disjointed nature of the poem offers a witty challenge to his readers to understand hidden meanings.<sup>180</sup> Galloway has suggested that the first seven lines of the poem may be a learned riddle hiding political commentary.<sup>181</sup> The author thus emphasizes his interest in words and word play, and *Jezebel* aligns with Dudo’s allusions to the “hermeneutic style.” The poem further highlights the involvement of Rouennais authors with continental and insular scholarly literature. By showing the character of Jezebel as witty as well as irreverent, the poem alludes to the potential importance of wittiness, or at least word-play, at the Norman court.

*Jezebel* shifts in tone and content wildly, and Ziolkowski has pointed out that the poem is not nearly as simple as it looks. The easiest way to think about this poem is as a satire or friendly subversion of a scholarly dialogue dealing with themes wildly inappropriate to one of these dialogues. The production of a text like this, as well as its circulation in a manuscript with other similarly satirical poetry suggests that there was an audience in Rouen that would have enjoyed this witty mockery, and perhaps this audience would have enjoyed it because of its association with a local school or longing for one. Of course, it is possible that the audience was mostly interested in the rude language and insults rather than the subversion of the dialogue

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<sup>178</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 77; “Sum miser in terra. – miser est eunuchus in ira. / Prudentes dubitant. – vetule per devia nutant” (*Jezebel*, lines 111-112, p. 71).

<sup>179</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 147, note to line 112.

<sup>180</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 64.

<sup>181</sup> Galloway, p. 202.

genre. Nevertheless, Dudo's hermeneutical leanings and the hermeneutic and dialogic aspects of the satirical poems attest to knowledge of school genres by poets in Rouen, and they also show a willingness by Rouennais poets to mix genres and traditions, perhaps to please their patrons, audience, and fellow writers.

### III. Collaboration and Purity: Dudo's Ethics of Writing

This section and the next look at the ways in which Dudo and Warner present their writing processes as moral and political acts. For both authors, it is not simply authors' final products that bear scrutiny but also the process by which they wrote. The two men reveal two very different views of what the writing process looks like, and both portrayals are highly politicized. While Dudo envisions a process of careful revision and moderation from wiser men and other scholars, Warner demands pure inspiration. And buried within their depictions of these different types of writing processes come depictions of ways in which the act of writing itself is political. It is not simply the production of literature at the Rouennais court that reflects on the Normans and the ducal family but also the ways in which the Rouennais authors wrote. In this section, we will thus see how Dudo viewed himself as having an integral role in the process of legitimating and establishing the Norman ducal reign. Dudo develops two parallel themes in his discussion of the writing process. The first is the importance of collaboration with others to ensure the quality of the work. He represents the practice of writing as one that requires input from others and that can create a rhetorical community of editors and commentators. He also shows that writing requires a purity of mind and body in order to create acceptable results.

Dudo's view of the writing process is one that should include revision and assistance from other scholars. By including other writers in his process, Dudo gives them cause to be

invested in his work and, more importantly, his subject matter. Although Henri Prentout's 1913 condemnation of Dudo's work gave him a bad reputation as a historian for nearly a century, scholars such as Christiansen, Shopkow, and Eleanor Searle have shown the ways in which Dudo's narrative was carefully crafted and depends heavily on certain other literary works such as *The Aeneid* and Heiric of Auxerre's *Vita S. Germani*, a Carolingian saint's life.<sup>182</sup> Dudo's most explicit references to his writing process come in his dedicatory letter to Adalbero of Laon in which Dudo asks him to "correct" or "amend" his writing. Adalbero of Laon was a prominent bishop in France and closely allied with the newly triumphant Robertian royal faction. Although he is known for having written a satire of the three orders in society, he was not known as a great scholar.<sup>183</sup> Thus, when Dudo writes to him rather than Fulbert of Chartres, for instance, he clearly both allies himself with a known satirist rather than philosopher and politicizes the action of writing. Dudo writes,

Such an honour as this I revolve in my heart, and I ponder in my mind whether it is fitting for so great a patron that things which may seem obscure and unclear in this manuscript should be clarified by you: so that the praise acquired should be that of the noble corrector, rather than making the reputation of an indigent and inglorious author.<sup>184</sup>

The issues of authority and humility are clearly at stake here – Dudo wishes both to increase his own authority through his connection with Adalbero and to dissemble humility by pretending that he needs Adalbero's support in order to have enough authority to write his book. Since the letter is not present in all manuscripts, scholars have speculated that Dudo included it after

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<sup>182</sup> Christiansen, p. xxx; Shopkow, "Carolingian," pp. 19-37; Searle, "Fact and Pattern."

<sup>183</sup> For more on Adalbero's intellectual formation and his writing, see *Adalbéron de Laon: Poème au roi Robert*, Claude Carozzi (trans. and ed.) (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1979), pp. xii-xvii.

<sup>184</sup> Christiansen, p. 5; "Talem et hujusmodi honorem corde revolvo, et mente delibero decere tantum patronum ut quae in hoc codice suis tenebris obscura videntur, per te ad lucem referantur, quia non penuriosi et ingloriosi nomen compositoris, sed egregii correctoris laus acquiretur" (Dudo, Prefatory Letter; Lair, pp. 118).

Adalbero had become particularly close to the Capetian court.<sup>185</sup> Thus, Dudo's request for intellectual collaboration is also a request for political support and acceptance.

More important for a discussion of Dudo's views about writing are the specific issues that he asks Adalbero to correct – he asks that Adalbero clarify anything that is “obscure and unclear.” As discussed above, Dudo's history has been grouped into the category of the hermeneutic style, which embraces obscurity. At times, Dudo's language is certainly ornate, but here he seems to envision the necessity of writing directly and clearly. Dudo later writes that Richard II and Rolf d'Ivry both suggested that Dudo should write an account that is straightforward and unambiguous: “... and they both solemnly conjure that the enterprise I promised him to undertake should not deviate into the vice of ambiguity, nor appear to be blemished by the least stain of falsehood, but should convince the inmost depths of the entire understanding.”<sup>186</sup> Thus, Dudo's desire for clarity may be pragmatically motivated, in trying to please his patrons and make himself understood. Nevertheless, when he describes his patrons' desires, he writes with charged language – ambiguity is a vice (*vitium*), or at least a flaw, and it is paired with falsehood. If by writing unclearly or verbosely Dudo has the chance of wandering into unintentional sin, writing style and form are more than a question of grace. Choosing a style and writing in a way that is comprehensible and appropriate to the material becomes a moral consideration. The whole process of writing is more than a means to an end because it is full of significant choices that have the potential to lead the author into sin.

Whether it was because Dudo sought the simplicity that Richard and Rolf request or whether he simply means to belittle his own text, Dudo claims that his text has neither “logical

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<sup>185</sup> Christiansen, p. xxvii.

<sup>186</sup> Christiansen, p. 6; “... et ne propositum, quod illi sponderam, in bilinguitatis vitium versum, videretur ullo mendacii inquinamento pollui, sed pollere totius medullis intellectus intimis, contestantur” (Dudo, Prefatory Letter; Lair p. 120). Christiansen suggests that Dudo's inclusion of the ducal court's urging of him mirrors a similar instance in the beginning of Heiric of Auxerre's *Vita* (p. 179, note 34).

syllogisms” nor “rhetorical arguments.” Nevertheless, he determines to send it to Adalbero.<sup>187</sup>

Here again Dudo both makes use of rhetorical humility, and he also reveals his awareness of standard grammatical and rhetorical training. Dudo’s sense that certain stylistic features would be vice, perhaps in the sense of a flaw, bears resemblance to warnings from style manuals. There are no records of whether Dudo had access to style manuals at the libraries in Rouen, but the manuscripts extant from the eleventh century and earlier are extremely sparse.<sup>188</sup> The study of style began in antiquity and carried on throughout the entire medieval period, with works such as the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.<sup>189</sup> This text emphasizes the importance of choosing between various styles (high, middle, low) and also executing those styles properly. Incorrect execution hinders the author’s purpose of effectively communicating his point.<sup>190</sup> The text devotes significant space to possible pitfalls that would impede clarity, including a pompous style (*sufflata*) that sounds an awful lot like what Dudo accuses his unnamed Norman detractors as having.<sup>191</sup> There is no evidence that Dudo knew this text in particular, but his concern for the correct style as a matter of decorum most likely derives from this tradition of style manuals.

The integration of the writing style, process, and content further politicizes Dudo’s writing process given that his content is the legitimization of the ducal family. At a few points in the text, Dudo suggests that the act of writing becomes part of what he is writing about, and the content thus has a more abstract influence on the form. In his second poem to Archbishop Robert in Book IV, Dudo’s reasoning for requesting Robert’s help is that “The subject calls, and

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<sup>187</sup> Christiansen, p. 6; “dialecticis syllogismis, nec rhetoricis argumentis non gloriatur” (Dudo, Prefatory Letter; Lair p. 120).

<sup>188</sup> Lesne, p. 580.

<sup>189</sup> For a summary of the study and use of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in the early middle ages, see J.O. Ward, “The Medieval and Early Renaissance Study of Cicero’s *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: Commentaries and Contexts,” in *Rhetoric of Cicero in Its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (ed.) (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 3-69, especially pp. 10-23.

<sup>190</sup> *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Book IV.7-13, pp. 253-275.

<sup>191</sup> *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Book IV.10.15 p. 265.

love constrains me to / Compose for Richard record of high praise...”<sup>192</sup> Dudo’s calling on his own love demonstrates his loyalty to his patrons, but Dudo also suggests that the material itself dictates a specific sort of writing. Dudo demonstrates a sense that he is not entirely in control of his own writing – other forces are compelling him to write. His inclusion of exhortations to the Muses directly before Book IV also emphasizes this idea, although his inclusion of the Muses may be a virtuosic gesture and a reference to the ancient tradition of asking them for inspiration.<sup>193</sup> By suggesting that the narration of certain events compels a certain type of writing style, Dudo suggests that his writing process grows organically out of the establishment of the duchy.

Dudo’s request of Archbishop Robert for some sort of guidance in writing not only shows his desire to write about his subject matter correctly but also his desire to include the Archbishop, a powerful figure in the ducal family, in his writing process. In his second prefatory poem to Robert, Dudo writes, “Look upon this composition of mine! / With holy hand, touch what I bring you, beseeching, / -- Things unattempted by masters of grammar...”<sup>194</sup> Dudo’s request of Robert is much less specific than what he has previously asked of Adalbero – here, Dudo does not ask Robert to change his writing so much as judge it and perhaps sanctify it. In the second prefatory poem to Book IV, Dudo goes further, and he asks Robert to change the text: “Now, kind encourager, I beg, look as a friend on what / Remains, and what ensues, and pray for it. / Take pity and arrange these present works, we pray, / Enlarge the meaning, and enrich the

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<sup>192</sup> Christiansen, p. 94; “Ricardo titulus caelum componere laudis / Urget materies, atque coarctat amor” (Dudo, Prefatory Poem liii, Book IV, lines 83-84; Lair p. 217).

<sup>193</sup> Jan Ziolkowski, “Classical Influences on Medieval Latin Views of Poetic Inspiration,” in *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, Classical Influences on Medieval Latin Views of Poetic Inspiration (ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 15-38 at pp. 22-23. [Hereafter cited as “Inspiration.”] Christiansen also points out that Dudo signals his virtuosity through the variety of meters that he uses in these poems (Christiansen, pp. xxxii-xxxiii). See also, Pabst, p. 806.

<sup>194</sup> Christiansen, p. 12; “Quae digesta meo, suspice, sensu. / Sacra tange manu quae fero supplex, / Intemptata sciiis grammaticae artis...” (Dudo, Prefatory Poem, vi, lines 7-9; Lair p. 126).

style.”<sup>195</sup> Dudo suggests that Robert can add meaning and improve the style. Perhaps Dudo even means this addition to occur through Robert’s interpretation rather than his changing of the text.

In both of these requests, we have seen Dudo express tension between a desire for clarity and elaborate style. Dudo asks for help making his text plain while actively embellishing it. In the middle section of the letter to Adalbero, Dudo describes the reasons that he hopes the archbishop will look at his text, and he belies his own eloquence:

Almost the half of this work would seem to be of little practical use unless it be weeded of its superfluous thistles by you as the mower; because I am oppressed by bodily sickness, and hampered by the demands of secular affairs, and the eye of my mind, which left to itself seeks blindness rather than sight, is extinguished, and is bereft of the desire for bodily pleasures, and is submerged in an immense whirlpool of darkness. I long indeed to light up that eye, which I call deprived of the aid of true light, from you who are skilled in the teachings of sacred eloquence.<sup>196</sup>

Here Dudo argues for the importance of direct narrative and clarity, yet the poeticism of his language suggests that he enjoyed writing his excurses as much as he claims that he hopes that Adalbero will excise them. Dudo also expresses the idea that his physical body is linked to his ability to write well. Dudo claims that the infirmity of his body and his preoccupation with secular affairs stops him from directing his mind’s eye away from darkness toward light. Even the metaphor that he uses to discuss his poetic inspiration – the mind’s eye – is physical. Its

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<sup>195</sup> Christiansen, pp. 93-94; “Quod restat siquidem, quodque instar, conditor almus, / Respice propitius, quese, favens precitus. / Praesentes operas miserans compone, precamur, / Et sensus cumules, oraque fructifices” (Dudo, Prefatory Letter liii, Book IV lines 79-82; Lair p. 217). Christiansen notes that these lines could be read as a reference to God rather than the Archbishop, and Lifshitz translates them this way (Christiansen, note 315, p. 209 and Lifshitz, “Dudo,” chapter 28). Christiansen, nevertheless, reads these lines as an address to Archbishop Robert since the poem is addressed to him and the titles appear in the early manuscripts.

<sup>196</sup> Christiansen, pp. 5-6; “Pene dimidia pars hujus operis minime videtur respicere ad negotium utilitatis, nisi, te messorie, sarriatur carduis superfluitatis; quia, dum premor corporis infirmitate, dumque saecularium rerum impediore necessitate, mentis meae oculus, sua sponte caecitatem potius quam lucem amplectendo, suffocatur, et corporalium desideriiis gaudiorum orbat, atque in immenso gurgite tenebrarum demergitur. Illum siquidem oculum, quem dico subsidiis recti luminis destitutum, a te, qui versaris in sacrorum praeceptis eloquiorum, exopto illustrari” (Dudo, Prefatory Letter; Lair p. 119).

trouble is the inability to see clearly, and he hopes that Adalbero will offer a stylistic cure. The source of his authorial woes seems to come from his physical body, but it is through Adalbero's knowledge that his woes can hope to be cured.

This link between body and poetic ability also comes to the fore in *Moriuht* and appears in other medieval works.<sup>197</sup> Jaeger has suggested that the cathedral school curriculum would have included a sort of behavioral studies for precisely the reason that outward behavior mirrors inner-processes. For Jaeger, a body can be "read" as a book would be.<sup>198</sup> Throughout the Middle Ages, beginning with Augustine, and continuing through the thirteenth-century philosophers, such as Aquinas and Scotus, one of the main issues at stake in considering the relationship between the body and the mind was whether or not the soul could exist separately from the body.<sup>199</sup> The eleventh century saw an increased interest in purity of body from many writers and reformers. Writers explored the dichotomy between body and soul in both Latin and vernaculars, and the connections that Dudo and Warner make are related to this general intellectual preoccupation. Dudo plays with this connection as he uses the body as a metaphor for the mind – his mind's preoccupation with secular affairs makes his body ill, including his

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<sup>197</sup> Examples of other medieval poetry where a link between a poet's quality of poetry and the poet's bodily state and lifestyle is also central in Alcuin's poem, "To a Truant Pupil" (Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, pp. 122-123), and the Archpoet's famous Confession. While Alcuin agrees with the views put forward by Dudo and Warner that a pure body leads to good poetry, the Archpoet mocks this idea, claiming that he writes his best work when debauched, "Tales versus facio, quale vinum bibio" or "How I write is governed by the kind of wine I swallow" (Archpoet, *Hugh Primas and the Archpoet*, Fleur Adcock (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 118-119). The inclusion of the link in each of these poems also attests to the endurance and pervasiveness of the idea.

<sup>198</sup> See Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 10. Jaeger uses evidence from St. Victor in Paris to demonstrate the community's focus on ordering and purifying the body. Gelting has argued that Dudo's idealized depictions of the Norman dukes, especially Richard I, could actually be a manual for students in a cathedral school where behavior was as much a focus as books (Gelting, p. 31, 35).

<sup>199</sup> For a summary, see Peter King, "Body and Soul," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Philosophy*, John Marenbon (ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 505-524, especially at p. 508.

eyes, and they are thus blind to “sacred eloquence.”<sup>200</sup> Dudo thus combines his quite secular goal of writing a political history with the need for divine inspiration.

For Dudo, writing well and clearly becomes an issue of morality. The theme of morality in the writing process brings us to Warner. Both authors, as we will see, link the creation of legitimate literature with the morality of the author. For Dudo, the process of writing is so intimately linked to the subject he wrote about – the process of founding the duchy of Normandy – that the morality of the author and the writing process comes to bear on the subject as well.

#### IV. Revision as a Civilizing Force

Warner’s discussion of the writing process is not as overtly political as is Dudo’s, but Warner demonstrates the fraught relationship between Rouennais literary culture and classical literature. By imbuing the writing process with moral significance, Warner, like Dudo, suggests that the author’s character bears on the legitimacy of the literature he produces. Warner discusses the writing process in the context of comparing what he assumes Moriuh’s writing process must be like with those of Vergil and Statius. Amid Warner’s complaints about Moriuh’s lack of attention to vowel lengths, Warner focuses on two areas of complaint about Moriuh’s writing process, and the first is a lack of desire to revise his writing. Warner writes, “Just so, every poet, who is prudent and has sound judgement in words, in the recess of his mind weighs his verses in the balance to such an extent weighing the spondee and, equally with it, the dactyl, connecting the parts in accord with its own principles, until he brings the poem he has

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<sup>200</sup> Christiansen notes that the image of the eye as the passageway for the sacred comes from Luke 11.34-6 (Christiansen, p. 178, note 29).

embarked on to perfection, that deserves a favourable opinion and well-deserved praise.”<sup>201</sup>

Warner here breaks out of a sarcastic tone for a few lines to present the rigors of writing; the process involves internal revision and consideration before putting anything down on paper. The process of perfecting the poem should be done, Warner writes, in the recesses of the mind.

Warner’s description of Vergil’s writing process also valorizes solo revision. He writes,

And Virgilius Maro, the celebrated poet of the Latins, continually vomited up his (poetic) handiwork, just as a she-bear (brought forth) its young. This is a marvellous story to relate: just as it discharges the bloody mass from its mouth (and) afterwards licks it so devotedly until it has a cub, so the aforementioned man, while composing his famous poem – which nowadays confers grace and distinction upon eloquent people – in the morning used to disgorge his verse in abundance and disarray, which he afterwards pruned while re-reading (them) during the day.<sup>202</sup>

Here, Warner reveals that Vergil’s works, in his opinion, were born of many revisions and corrections, and Warner reveals his contempt for the process of writing quickly and relatively thoughtlessly. He says that Vergil “ructabat” (“vomited up”) his verses, and the process of making them into something presentable, he likens to a mother bear licking a cub into shape after giving birth to it. This passage alludes to Donatus’ *Vita Virgilio*, and thus further demonstrates Warner’s knowledge of classical sources.<sup>203</sup> Warner chooses to allude to this disgusting episode and add further lurid imagery of his own to underline the ways in which he finds the process of revision distasteful. Nevertheless, Vergil redeems himself through keeping the process of

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<sup>201</sup> McDonough, *Moriuht*, p. 101; “Sic omnis sapiens verbis cautusque poeta / Mentis in absconso carmina tam trutinat, / Librans spondeum, pariter te, dactile, secum, / Coniungens partes cum ratione sua, / Donec incopetum carmen deducat ad unguem, / Iudicio dignum laudibus et meritum” (Warner, *Moriuht*, p. 100, lines 415-420).

<sup>202</sup> McDonough, *Moriuht*, p. 101; “Et Maro Virgilius, Latiorum nobilis auctor, / Ursa velut fetus, sic vomitabat opus. / Quod dictu mirum est, sicut vomit ore curem, / Post lingit tantum donec habet catulum, / Sic vir predictus, componens nobile carmen, / Quod modo doctiloquis est honor atque decus, / Mane incomposite versus ructabat abunde, / Quos detruncabat post relegendo die” (Warner, *Moriuht*, ll423-430).

<sup>203</sup> See “...cum georgica scriberet, traditur cotidie meditato mane pluimos versus dictare solitus ac per totum diem retractando ad paucissimos redigere, non absurde carmen se more ursae parere dicens et lambendo demum effingere” (Donatus, *Vita Virgilio Donatiana*, in J. Brummer, (ed), *Vitae Vergilianae* (Leipzig, Teubnerl, 1912), p. 6.78-82), and McDonough, p. 192, note 422. For more on the relationship between Vergil’s writing and the metaphor of a wolf giving birth, see Christina Mazzoni, *She-Wolf: The Story of a Roman Icon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 106-109.

revision private. Neither he nor Statius allows his work to be seen publicly without editing. This issue of publicity is important for Warner, as the process of writing is personal and dirty, and he appreciates poets who keep the disgusting details of their drafts to themselves. This view of the writing process is clearly very different from that which Dudo puts forward, for while Dudo sees his writing-process as including input from other scholars, both through their correction and interpretation of the work, Warner praises authors who present completed works. Dudo seeks authority from other scholars, and he writes dismissively of arts such as grammar and rhetoric (although he also clearly had a very good grasp of them and meant to show off that grasp). Warner, however, sees a good grasp of rhetoric and grammar as the only skills necessary to lend authority to a piece of poetry. This view is not unlike Quintillian's claim that authors improve themselves through quiet and diligent study.<sup>204</sup>

Nevertheless, for Warner, hard-earned knowledge and private toiling are not the only factors necessary in producing valuable writing. In Warner's description of Vergil, he includes a possibly apocryphal anecdote whereby an early reader pointed out an unfinished verse in the *Aeneid* and Vergil completed it off the cuff: "For to his mind poetry had always been elegantly joined, for him it is the source and starting point of writing to the rules."<sup>205</sup> Warner emphasizes the idea that writing poetry came naturally to Vergil and that he was inherently able to write correct hexameter. It is as though knowledge of grammatical and syntactical rules were a part of Vergil's nature. And this idea of the necessity of a nature predisposed toward writing may help to clarify some of Warner's specific objections to Moriucht, and this question of nature is also where the subject verges into politics.

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<sup>204</sup> Ziolkowski, "Inspiration," p. 19.

<sup>205</sup> McDonough, *Moriucht*, pp. 101-103; "... Huius enim menti semper bene iuncta poesis / Recte scribendi fons et origo sibi" (Warner, *Moriucht*, ll435-436). This story comes from Donatus' *Vita Vergilii* (See Donatus, *Vita Vergilii*, pp.7.114-19).

Warner's first objection to Moriuh't's writing is a complaint about the length of vowels in a line that Warner claims comes from a poem that Moriuh't had written about Archbishop Robert's predecessor. The line, "Foribus en clausis moratur pontifex Hugo,"<sup>206</sup> should scan as the first line in an elegiac couplet (thus dactylic hexameter), and this only works if the third syllable of "pontifex" is taken to be short. But it should be long by nature. As the poem goes on, Warner's complaints about Moriuh't's writing quickly become less specific and more lurid. He complains, "Unless I am mistaken, Moriuh't, you were fully occupied with your adored cunt when you disgorged your inelegantly constructed verse. As you lie naked with your unclothed goat, why do you hold her body in an embrace in a position to the rear, like animal to animal?"<sup>207</sup> While Vergil's writing process is disgusting but careful and private, Moriuh't is sinfully distracted as he writes, Warner conjectures. And Warner does not simply claim that Moriuh't was preoccupied. Warner claims that Moriuh't and his wife engaged in animalistic sex. McDonough comments that the word "retro" "occurs often in penitentials, which imposed in the first instance a penalty of sixty days for this sexual schema between man and wife."<sup>208</sup> In Warner's insult, he thus alludes to a growing contemporary preoccupation with the sin of bestiality.<sup>209</sup> Warner draws a specific comparison between imperfect grammar or poetry and a practice that had come to be considered unnatural.<sup>210</sup> Perhaps, just as it was in Vergil's nature to write grammatically correct poetry, it is in Moriuh't's nature to engage in inappropriate sexual

<sup>206</sup> Warner, Moriuh't, line 341, p. 96. McDonough: " 'Lo! bishop Hugo spends time behind closed doors. " (p. 97).

<sup>207</sup> McDonough, p. 103; "Ni fallor, Moriuh't, vesice intentus amate, / Ructasti versum non bene compositum. / Nudus cum nuda recubans cur, stulte, capella / Ut pecus ad pecudem retro tenes faciem?" (Warner, Moriuh't, lines 453-456, p. 102).

<sup>208</sup> McDonough, *Moriuh't*, p. 196, note 456.

<sup>209</sup> Joyce E. Salisbury, "Bestiality in the Middle Ages," in *Sex in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*, Joyce E. Salisbury (ed.) (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1991), pp. 173-186 at 178-182.

<sup>210</sup> See McDonough, *Moriuh't*, p. 183, note 365. Ziolkowski's canonical work on the subject, *Alan of Lille's Grammar of Sex: The Meaning of Grammar to a Twelfth-Century Intellectual*, shows that the poetry of the twelfth-century poet, Alan of Lille, links grammatical errors with moral degradation (Jan Ziolkowski, *Alan of Lille's Grammar of Sex: The Meaning of Grammar to a Twelfth-Century Intellectual* (Cambridge, Mass: Medieval Academy of America, 1985) p. 40). The importance of speaking correctly is that through correct speech, an author clearly expresses his message. Correct grammar can thus become the separation between truth and falsehood (p. 80).

behavior. (Warner begins the entire poem by claiming that all Irishmen are naturally lascivious.) Warner goes on to assert that he has watched Moriucht and his wife together in manure.<sup>211</sup> Here, whether we can take Warner's assertion seriously or not (this is satire after all), Warner presents Moriucht's intimate and messy antics in a public light, while Vergil and Statius both keep theirs hidden.

Although Warner's interest in linking Moriucht's writing to his physical state and actions has many precedents, both medieval and classical, the particular vehemence with which he focuses on the link and his other comments on Moriucht's sexual adventures also feed into a cultural and political dichotomy that Warner develops throughout the poem. The first half of *Moriucht* is full of references to different lands, landscapes, and peoples, and Moriucht experiences them through a strange sexual pilgrimage. Although Warner does not spend much time throughout the poem describing landscapes, he begins, and thus sets the tone and the reader's expectations, with a description of Moriucht's native Ireland: "Where the sun sets lies an isle, called Ireland, a fertile (land) though not well tended by its inhabitants. Many people say that if this (island) was occupied by a nation of any skill, it would surpass Italy in its riches."<sup>212</sup> Italy, this land that is much further south than any of the poem's travels, is the point of comparison, the near "paradise" that mocks the land that the Irish do not bring to its full potential.<sup>213</sup> Italy is also the land of Statius and Vergil, and we may see a foreshadowing of Warner's discussions of Moriucht's inability to correctly use the rules of grammar to produce good poetry. What the Irish land does produce, however, is sexual depravity: "Word has been brought to me: they couple

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<sup>211</sup> Warner, *Moriucht*, lines 456-457, p. 102.

<sup>212</sup> McDonough, *Moriucht*, p. 75; "Solis in occasum iacet insula Scottia dicta, / Fertilis, a populo non bene culta suo; / Ut dicunt plures, hanc gens si gnara teneret, / Vinceret Italiam fertilitate sua" (Warner, *Moriucht*, lines 29-32, p. 74).

<sup>213</sup> Warner, *Moriucht*, line 33, p. 74.

like animals; they do not wear trousers, because they are constantly locked in sexual activity.”<sup>214</sup>

This land’s natural fertility is ignored for the sake of human fertility. It is Moriuhth’s poetry, a product of this land, that is venerated in Rouen, according to Warner. The transgressiveness of his Irish behavior has crossed over into Moriuhth’s poetry and become the norm in Normandy.

In *Envy of Angels*, Stephen Jaeger suggests that a group of eleventh-century poems depicting the story of Orpheus and Eurydice focus on Orpheus’ ability to tame the underworld as a metaphor for the power of poetry to act as a civilizing force.<sup>215</sup> By Warner’s account, it seems that the process of solo revision, whether it be in the mind or in the privacy of one’s own home is a civilizing force internal to the art of poetry. And although Vergil and Statius both undertook that process of civilization, Moriuhth does not. His lack of regulation, both in poetry and behavior, mark him out for the northern barbarian he is, with very little connection to the classical past.

These last two sections suggest that both Warner and Dudo see the process of writing as an act that does not gain its entire significance from the final product. For Dudo, the process of writing offers a chance to establish relationships with other writers, scholars, and powerful people by asking for their input. In a sense, it is the process of revising that creates the literary community that the authors are so intent upon describing. The process itself also determines the quality of the final product, and it is during this process that the content must meld together with the written form. That these two come together seamlessly, for Dudo at least, is an issue of both political and moral imperative. For Warner, the purity of the writing process will surely affect

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<sup>214</sup> McDonough, *Moriuhth*, p. 75; “Est mihi perlatum: more cubant pecudum; / Non braccas portant, veneri quia semper adherent...” (Warner, *Moriuhth*, lines 40-41).

<sup>215</sup> Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 141-160. He uses references to poems such as the anonymous “Quid suum virtutis” (c. 1045 at a German court), a selection from the Liège songs (late 11<sup>th</sup> c). He also talks about the poem “De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologie” from c. 1080 and probably associated with Rheims in some way (p. 141). See also John Block Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), especially at pp. 146-155.

the elegance of the final product. But even more importantly, Warner sees the writing process as a revelation of a man's inner character. The process by which one creates verse, regardless of the final product, determines whether or not a man is worthy of undertaking that production. Warner and Dudo thus both afford a political, religious, and cultural significance to the process of writing, just as their finished products directly address the political and religious systems around them. The process of writing, whether it be private or public, has public implications.

### Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that, despite a paucity of charter evidence confirming its existence, the Rouennais authors show their attachment to the idea of a literary community based in Rouen and their investment in the moral and political importance of the writing process. They show this through the similarities of styles in their writing, as well as the pervasiveness of discussions of other authors and the writing process itself. Both Dudo and Warner see the writing process as that of creating and exploring group identities. For the writers, the actual act of writing takes on political and cultural significance – it has the potential to signal belonging in a community and affiliation with intellectual and cultural groups.

I began this chapter arguing that there may well have been an active scholarly or literary community in Rouen in the beginning of the eleventh century but that the evidence currently available is not able to prove its existence. Instead, the available evidence, mostly from the literature itself, shows the authors' desire to present themselves as writing within a literary community. Throughout this chapter, I have also explored the theories that the authors present regarding the activity of writing and the power that the act of writing (rather than the written work) can have on the course of history. This interest in what it means to write emphasizes the

fact that the authors were aware of the possible significance of their work. These discussions come to bear on the Norman political machinations of the early eleventh century, the religious movements – in particular the burgeoning monastic movement and reforms – and on simple attempts to construct and understand some sort of cultural identity and affiliations for this newly developing duchy.

It is clear that Dudo, Warner, and the anonymous authors created some sort of literary community in Rouen, even if their descriptions of the literary community far outstrip the diplomatic and documentary evidence for it. They shared preoccupations, some aspects of their styles, and most of all, Dudo, Warner, and the author of *Jezebel* were all concerned with presenting themselves as authors in relation to other authors and an interested audience. They share a project of trying to create for themselves, or for other interested parties, an intellectual community based in and around Rouen.

## LITERARY DEPICTIONS OF NORMAN MEN:

### CONVERGENCE OF INTELLECT AND PHYSICALITY

This chapter considers the literary portrayals of Norman men. In particular, I discuss Dudo's portrayal of the male members of the Norman ducal family and the ways in which Dudo emphasizes the importance of eloquence in good leadership.<sup>216</sup> When Dudo describes the three earliest Norman dukes, he focuses on the balance between the dukes' use of force and language in their leadership. His portrayals of the ducal family indicate the conjunction of physical strength and knowledge of language and poetry as indicators of a person's political prowess and statesmanship. The pervasiveness of the presentation of concerns for language and eloquence provides a parallel to the uptick in interest in secular literature and a literary community during this period. It is clear that the authors wish to portray eloquence as an important political tool, and an extension is that the ducal family also valued language and literature as political tools. Of course the authors may give eloquence and literature a privileged position in order to enhance their own positions. Dudo's privileged position as having had his work commissioned and then rewarded suggests that the members of the ducal family at least did not mind their portrayal.<sup>217</sup> At the end of the chapter, I will turn to the satires, and we will see that *Semiramis* also emphasizes a statesman's need to speak and communicate well, and *Moriuht* further emphasizes the interest of Rouennais authors in describing a person's struggle to balance physical and linguistic force. This emphasis on verbal ability alongside physical ability reveals that a strong presentation of these attributes was a key part of the ducal family's strategy for self-legitimization.

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<sup>216</sup> Gelting argues that Dudo portrays developing eloquence as central to a courtly education (Gelting, p. 20, 35).

<sup>217</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 187.

In his introduction to his edition of *Jezebel*, Ziolkowski argues that Dudo, Warner, and even the other satirists suggest that the Norman court had a deep understanding of the persuasive and thus political power of being well spoken.<sup>218</sup> As a result, he claims, it only makes sense that the ducal family would enlist propagandists like Dudo to write for them. I will unravel some further examples and subtleties of Ziolkowski's hypothesis to demonstrate that Dudo and the satirical authors emphasize the importance of eloquence for the ducal family as a diplomatic tool and as evidence of legitimacy. Furthermore, I argue that, for Dudo and Warner, this attention to language is in direct dialogue with the more common and more famous portrayal of the ducal family and their former-Viking followers as ferocious and uncultured warriors. My argument here is analogous to that of David Dumville, who has argued that Warner's attack on Moriut and the Irish more generally may be an attempt to deflect attention away from complaints about the Normans and Vikings, and to that of van Houts, who has argued that the mid-tenth-century *Planctus* in honor of William Longsword's death attempts to rebrand William as a Christian rather than pagan ruler.<sup>219</sup> I argue that many aspects of the Rouennais works are concerned with recreating the image of the Normans through an emphasis on their interest in literature and language. These authors and probably their patrons understood the power and importance of language, and they also understood that the legitimacy and power gained through force was strengthened by legitimacy gained through being well spoken.

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<sup>218</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, pp. 43-47. Suzanne Cawsey makes a similar argument about the rulers of Aragon between c. 1200-1450. She suggests that cultural expectations forced the kings to speak frequently in public while contemporary English and French mirrors of princes suggest that monarchs speak publically as infrequently as possible (Suzanne Cawsey, *Kingship and Propaganda: Royal Eloquence and the Crown of Aragon c. 1200-1450* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), p. 22).

<sup>219</sup> See David N. Dumville, "Images of Vikings in Eleventh-Century Latin Literature" in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies Cambridge, September 9-12, 1998*, Michael W. Herren, C.J. McDonough, and Ross G. Arthur (ed.) (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1998), pp. 250-263 at p. 262; Elisabeth van Houts, "The *Planctus* on the Death of William Longsword (943) as a Source for Tenth-Century Culture in Normandy and Aquitaine," *Anglo-Norman Studies XXXVI: Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, David Bates (ed.) (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 1-22 at p. 14.

Many of the texts also share a similar concern with complex word constructions, complex insults, and sexual explicitness, which suggests that the authors were taking into account the sensibility of their patrons and their audience. Thus, in addition to bearing witness to the ways in which the ducal family liked to see itself presented, these texts also bear witness to the sorts of discourse, both written and spoken, that were encouraged in the Norman court. Whether or not the survival of obscene and satirical texts is by chance, they do present *per se* a significant body of evidence by the standards of eleventh-century Rouen for the ducal family's interest in aggressive and sexually explicit writing.

I will focus on depictions of men and male speech in this chapter and save discussions of Dudo's portrayal of women, including further discussion of the dowager countess Gonnor, and discussions of female speech for the next chapter. I am making this distinction because the interest in women's speech as linked to their sexuality that appears in all of the satires and even in Dudo's history bears separate analysis and reveals a separate aspect of Norman political strategies – orchestrated marriages and sexual couplings – that go beyond the scope of this chapter. Here, I focus on the authors' portrayal of the ducal family's men as eloquent and literate. We will also see that they patronized and supported a witty, and sometimes rather risqué, literature.

## I. Well-Spoken Pirates: Dudo's Portrayal of the Early Norman Dukes

References to the Normans in Latin historiography at the turn of the first millennium portray the early settlers as brutish warriors: Richer of Reims, for instance, writing in the end of the tenth century, calls the Normans *piratae*, and Radulfus Glaber, writing in the second decade of the eleventh century, considers the Viking invasions and Norman settlement as examples of

millenarian harbingers of doom.<sup>220</sup> Adémar of Chabannes, who wrote in Aquitaine in the 1020s, uses the same terms for the Normans who settled in the north of France and Vikings who ravaged his homeland. In the early eleventh century, common literary depictions of Scandinavians in general were not positive. David Dumville has shown that these negative portrayals of Northmen, both of Scandinavian and Norman variety, pervade ninth- and tenth-century Frankish and Anglo-Saxon literature, and Pierre Bouet has argued that these sharply negative portrayals of the Normans come about because the authors recorded their perceptions as victims of what the Viking attacks, invasion, and settlements were like.<sup>221</sup>

Dudo of St. Quentin's history is subtler in its portrayal of the dukes. It is likely that Dudo's work partially reacts to the negative attitude that the non-Norman texts embody.<sup>222</sup> In his descriptions of Norman territorial conquest, he makes a virtue of the Norman reputation for aggressiveness, turning the Normans into "robustissimus" ("extremely strong") and "pulcherrimus" ("extremely handsome") warriors. When using "robustissimus" to describe specific men, Dudo only refers to Norman noblemen: Rollo, Gurim, Richard I, and Gonnor's potential heirs.<sup>223</sup> Dudo also uses "robustissimus" to refer to Norman fighters as a group and sometimes to refer to armies that the Normans face and vanquish.<sup>224</sup> His association of the word only with Normans and armies emphasises a connection between Normans and the ability to

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<sup>220</sup> See, for instance, Ralph Glaber, *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum Libri Qvinque*, John France (trans. and ed.), II.18, pp. 32-3; Also, see, for instance Richer de Reims, *Historia*, in *Monumeta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptus XXXVIII (Hannover, 2000), I. 4, p. 40, I.27, p. 65, I.30, p. 67.

<sup>221</sup> Dumville, pp. 252-256; Pierre Bouet, "Les chroniqueurs francs et normands face aux invasions vikings," in *L'Héritage Maritime des Vikings en Europe de l'Ouest*, Elisabeth Ridet (ed.) (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2002), pp. 57-73.

<sup>222</sup> For more, See Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, p. 117. Victoria Jordan has argued that Dudo also carefully crafted a portrayal of the dukes as saintly as well as warriors, and the saintliness grows over the generations (Victoria B. Jordan, "The Role of Kingship in Tenth-Century Normandy: Hagiography of Dudo of Saint-Quentin," *Haskins Society Journal* 3, Robert Patterson (ed.) (London and Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1991), pp. 53-62 at p. 54).

<sup>223</sup> Dudo, II.2 (Lair, p. 141 ; Christiansen, p. 26), II.4 (Lair, p. 143 ; Christiansen, p. 28), IV.112 (Lair, p. 275 ; Christiansen, p. 149), and IV.125 (Lair, p. 289 ; Christiansen, p. 164).

<sup>224</sup> Dudo, II.5 (Lair, p. 145 ; Christiansen, p. 29), II.13 (Lair, p. 155 ; Christiansen, p. 37), p. II.22 (Lair, p. 161 ; Christiansen, p. 42), IV.96 (Lair, p. 254 ; Christiansen, p. 129).

fight. It is a quality that the Norman men pass from father to son. Continuing his emphasis on positive Norman physicality, Dudo uses the words “pulcher” and “pulcherrimus” to describe the bodies of Rollo, Gurim, William, and Richard I.<sup>225</sup> Dudo never uses any words with “pulcher” as a root to refer to women, nor does he use them to refer to the Franks. The only other occurrences in the text refer to Archbishop Robert and to both churches and the Lamb of God as they appear in the preliminary poem to Robert.<sup>226</sup> The use of this word is significant in that it again emphasises that Norman men can be identified by their physicality, and that this physicality is beautiful and consistent beginning with Rollo. Physical beauty is not a trait shared by the Franks, although it is a trait shared by Christian symbols, and even Christ. The use of “pulcher” thus physically distinguishes the Normans from the other men with whom they must contend.

In addition to his creation of a positive physical image for his patrons, Dudo also subtly positions the Normans as men of thought and words. In more than one key point in the history, decisive action follows on a forceful, more often than not, deceitful, speech from one of the players. Ziolkowski suggests that this focus on persuasive and accomplished speech contributes to a subtle sense that the Norman ducal family, in Dudo’s portrayal at least, created a court culture centered on language.<sup>227</sup> In this section, I argue that Dudo carefully parsed his depictions of the ducal family so as to make it clear that they were men of the mind and of speech, rather than simply men of action.

Before beginning the history of the Norman dukes, Dudo includes a chapter on an earlier Viking, Hasting, who devastated Frankia before Rollo and his band arrived. As Leah Shopkow

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<sup>225</sup> Dudo, II.2 (Lair, p. 141 ; Christiansen, p. 26), II.25 (Lair, p. 166 ; Christiansen, p. 46), III.36 (Lair, p. 179; Christiansen, p. 57), and IV.74 (Lair, p. 271 ; Christiansen, p. 105).

<sup>226</sup> Dudo, IV.126 (Lair, p. 292; Christiansen, p. 166); Dudo, Ad Rodbertum Archiepiscopum (Lair, pp. 126-127; Christiansen, p. 10).

<sup>227</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, pp. 44-47.

has noted, this Hasting is an obvious foil for Rollo and his descendants.<sup>228</sup> In a poem about Hasting, Dudo describes him as "... 'fierce, mightily' cruel, and 'savage' / Pestilent, hostile, sombre, truculent, given to outrage, / Pestilent and untrustworthy, insolent, fickle and lawless."<sup>229</sup> Pierre Bouet has argued that the language that Dudo uses to describe Hasting bears resemblance to Abbo of Fleury's description of the Viking attacks on Paris, and this sort of language has classical and patristic roots as standard historical depictions of villains, including Catiline, Clodius, and even Judas.<sup>230</sup> The poem continues in a similar vein. This description of Hasting is reminiscent of other Frankish depictions of the Vikings, but Dudo's description is exaggerated. Later, Dudo even refers to him as a "monster."<sup>231</sup> Dudo's portrayal of Hasting mixes what he clearly condemns as ferocious and illegal behavior with dishonesty. The issue of dishonesty, and dishonest speech in general, appears many times in Dudo's history; one downside of the Norman interest in the power of language is their susceptibility to false speech from insidious Franks and others.<sup>232</sup> In his depiction of Hasting, however, it is the Viking who speaks deceitfully, and this dishonesty further emphasizes Hasting's contrast with the later Normans. In arriving at the town of Luna, which Hasting believes to be Rome, he decides that he will not be able to take the town by force and instead concocts a trick by which he pretends to be ill and desire baptism. Following on being falsely baptized, Hasting pretends to die only to spring to life in order to take the town by a surprise attack in the middle of his funeral. Dudo

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<sup>228</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 69-71. See also, Pierre Bouet, "Hasting, le viking pervers selon Dudon de Saint-Queintin," *Annales de Normandie* 2 (2012), pp. 213-233, especially at pp. 217-219.

<sup>229</sup> Christiansen, p. 16. "Hic sacer atque ferox, nimium crudelis et atrox. / Pestifer, infestus, torvus, trux, flagitiosus. / Pestifer inconstansque, procax, venosus et exlex" (Dudo, I.3 lines 1-3, Lair p. 130). Christiansen notes that this description relies on the description of Julian the Apostate in the anonymous Carolingian poem *Carmen de Cassiano* (Christiansen, p. 183, note 77).

<sup>230</sup> Bouet, "Hasting," pp. 221-232. Christiansen shows that Dudo alludes to a variety of classical antecedents, including *Aeneid* 1, 347, but more directly Sedulus' description of Judas in *Carmen Paschale* (Christiansen, p. 183, note 77).

<sup>231</sup> Christiansen, p. 19; "monstrum" (Dudo, I.6, Lair, p. 134).

<sup>232</sup> For further discussion, see Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 45.

describes this plot, which turns on false speeches and communications, as “a crafty plan, most infamously deceitful.”<sup>233</sup> The word that Christiansen translates as “infamously,” comes from the root *nefas*, and this word indicates actions that are sacrilegious or against the gods. Hasting thus plays the role that Dudo later gives the enemies of the ducal family – that of deceitful plotting. By beginning with Hasting, it is as though Dudo at once acknowledges the Vikings’ negative reputation and, as Shopkow has shown, provides a ready example to show how the dukes of Normandy differ from traditional Vikings.

If Hasting is the implicit negative comparison for the dukes in Dudo’s history, his brief description of Richard II is surely the positive apex of his history. Since Dudo leaves off his narrative around the year 996, he leaves Richard II out of the story except for one poem that Dudo addresses to him before the history starts.<sup>234</sup> His depiction of Richard II is thus less varied than his depictions of the other dukes, and Dudo’s fourteen-line poem provides a contrast to his later more detailed descriptions of Richard II’s forbearers. Some of the adjectives that Dudo uses to describe Richard are “magnanimus,” “peace-maker,” “merciful,” and “justiciar,” and he does not include any reference to the ubiquitous Norman descriptors, “robustissimus” and “pulcherrimus.”<sup>235</sup> Although Richard II was the reigning duke when Dudo finished his history, he differentiates Richard II from his predecessors. Pierre Bouet, Victoria Jordan, and Michael Gelting have suggested that Dudo presents a trajectory from Rollo through Richard I in which the ducal lineage begins with a founding warrior, Rollo, and progresses to the Christian and just

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<sup>233</sup> Christiansen, p. 18; “dolosum... consilium nefandissimae fraudis” (Dudo, I.5, Lair p. 133).

<sup>234</sup> Leah Shopkow has argued that Dudo stopped the narrative at 970 in order to avoid an awkward period of conflict between the Norman dukes and his former patrons, the dukes of the Vermandois (Leah Shopkow, “The Man from the Vermandois: Dudo of St.-Quentin and His Patrons” in *Religion, Text, and Society in Medieval Spain and Northern Europe: Essays in Honor of J.N. Hillgarth*, Thomas E. Burman, J. N. Hillgarth, Mark D. Meyerson, and Leah Shopkow (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002), p. 309).

<sup>235</sup> See Christiansen, p. 8; Dudo, *Versus ad Ricardum Magni Ricardi Filium*; Lair p. 122: *magnanimus, pacificus, clemens, juridicus*.

duke Richard I, who solidifies a stable area and approaches sainthood.<sup>236</sup> In this progression, Richard II is a step beyond his father – like Richard I, he is born Christian, but he rules a semi-stable region from the start of his reign. The difference between Dudo’s depiction of Richard II and his depiction of earlier dukes also maps onto Ernst Curtius’ distinction between *fortitudo* and *sapientia*, in which epic heroes in both Latin and Greek poetry tend to have either strength or wisdom, with the most successful having both attributes.<sup>237</sup> Curtius suggests that this rubric continues into the Middle Ages but that medieval writers tended to put an increased emphasis on the balance between the two.<sup>238</sup> Isidore of Seville actually explicitly states that a hero has both attributes.<sup>239</sup> As the central goal of Dudo’s history is to offer a favorable revision or mechanism for legitimating the rule of the Norman dukes, Dudo may see the two sides of the dukes as the two important aspects of a ruler – strong and just.<sup>240</sup> There is evidence that this balance also interested other writers who were Dudo’s contemporaries. Adalbero of Laon’s poem, *Carmen Ad Rotbertum Regem*, suggests that strength, beauty, and wisdom should all be among a ruler’s attributes. In fact, the poem even suggests that strength and beauty have too often been discussed and that a ruler’s wisdom deserves more attention.<sup>241</sup> Dealing with poetry from an

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<sup>236</sup> Bouet, “Dudon de Saint-Quentin et Fécamp,” p. 63. Jordan, “The Role of Kingship in Tenth-Century Normandy: Hagiography of Dudo of Saint-Quentin,” p. 54; Gelting, p. 30.

<sup>237</sup> Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953), p. 175.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid..

<sup>239</sup> “Nam heroes appellantur viri quasi aerii et caelo digni propter sapientiam et fortitudinem” (Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum*, W.M. Lindsay (ed.) (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911), vol. 1, 39.9 cited in Stacy Klein, *Ruling Women: Queenship and Gender in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (South Bend, IN: Notre Dame Press, 2006), p. 230, note 15 and R.E. Kaske, “*Sapientia et Fortitudo* as the Controlling Theme of *Beowulf*,” *Studies in Philology* 55 (1958), pp. 423-57 at 424.

<sup>240</sup> Bouet, “Les chroniqueurs francs et normands face aux invasions vikings,” p 67; Bernard S. Bachrach, “Writing Latin History for a Lay Audience c. 1000: Dudo of Saint Quentin at the Norman Court,” *Haskins Society Journal* 20, William North (ed.) (2008), pp. 58-77 at p. 59.

<sup>241</sup> Carozzi, *Adalbéron de Laon*, pp. cxxviii-cxxix. In the *Carmen*, the King tells his bishop: “De forma satis est et de virtute locutum; Est animae virtus potior quam corporis ulla” (Adalbero, *Carmen Ad Rotbertum Regem* in Carozzi (ed.), *Adalbéron de Laon*, p. 2). Translation: Enough has been said about beauty and force; the strength of the spirit is stronger than that of the body (see Carozzi’s French translation, p. 3). Carozzi argues that Adalbero here introduces a “Christian wisdom” that comes from the ancient tradition of *sapientia/fortitudo* but emphasizes specifically Christian virtue (Carozzi, *Adalbéron de Laon*, p. cxxix).

earlier period, Robert Kaske has shown that these ideals of *fortitudo* and *sapientia* are at the heart of *Beowulf*.<sup>242</sup> Richard II's piety and wisdom balances out the focus on the physical strength and beauty of his ancestors, and it also suggests that he was engaged with this discourse of both wise and strong rulers. By portraying the Norman ducal family as paying attention to language and learning, he both balances out the portrayals of the family as ruffians and speaks to contemporary views on rulership.

Dudo does, however, hint at a balance between *fortitudo* and *sapientia* throughout his descriptions of the dukes. Many scholars have shown the ways in which Dudo's depictions of the dukes are stylized; for instance, Eleanor Searle has shown the ways in which Dudo drew on the storyline of the Aeneid in his depiction of Rollo.<sup>243</sup> This stylization emphasizes the choices that Dudo had to make in crafting his portrayal of the dukes and thus helps us to see which attributes he and his patrons believed were important to demonstrate. While nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century scholars posthumously chided Dudo for his lack of adherence to "what really happened," it is actually these moments of flagrant exaggeration and obvious creative license that reveal Dudo's involvement in crafting his portrayal of the dukes. This craftsmanship is what lets us see his depictions of the dukes as a conscious project to manipulate their image.

Dudo's depiction of Rollo oscillates between that of a just and reasonable ruler and that of a blood-thirsty warrior. At the start, Dudo describes Rollo and his brother, Gurim, as physically fearsome, but he quickly remarks on Rollo's ability to speak well. And both Rollo and Gurim lose their land and power because they allow the evil Dacian king to manipulate them through false speech. Before he goes to Frankia, Dudo portrays Rollo as a ruler whose talents in

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<sup>242</sup> Kaske, *passim*.

<sup>243</sup> Searle, "Fact and Pattern," *passim*.

battle and in speech are balanced. The Dacian youths come to Rollo and Gurim because of the brothers' position and fame both as warriors and as sons of a just ruler. Once Rollo arrives in England, he wins territory for himself through battle, but ultimately he makes friends with King Aethelstan, who offers Rollo command of England only to have Rollo refuse it. Thus Rollo's early attempts at leadership are focused on his integrity, honesty, and eloquence.

As we have seen, Carozzi has made the convincing argument that Dudo's first description of Rouen specifically leaves out a warrior class. Carozzi argues that this omission leaves a social space for Rollo and his warriors to fill without disrupting the existing social hierarchy. Dudo thus categorizes Rollo and his followers first and foremost as warriors.<sup>244</sup> Certainly, Rollo's actions once he arrives in Frankia support that idea – he conducts raids along the Seine, and he finally conquers parts of Normandy by force. The treaty that he negotiates with Charles the Simple comes about because Charles and Frankish nobles wish to avoid suffering future Viking raiding and fighting. Even once Rollo is baptized, Dudo shows his spoken diplomacy as lacking when two messengers who come to collude with his wife, Gisla, insult Rollo, and he responds by force in killing them.<sup>245</sup> Thus, Dudo seems to shift his portrayal of Rollo from a ruler powerful both through force and speech to one whose main strength lies in his fearsome tactics. Dudo presents a Norman ruler who has the potential to demonstrate both *sapientia* and *fortitudo*, but who relies at times too heavily on one, which causes him to be forced out of his homeland, and then too heavily on the second, causing him to react rashly in the context of Frankish politics. I will argue in the next chapter that Gisla's reception of her father's envoys played into a particular Norman fear concerning the legitimacy and relative power of the dukes *vis-à-vis* their royal and

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<sup>244</sup> Claude Carozzi, "Des Daces aux Normands", p. 17. For the quotation in Dudo's text, see p. 46 above.

<sup>245</sup> Dudo, II. 33; Lair, p. 173; Christiansen, p. 53.

noble consorts, and Rollo's strong reaction to this incident indicates a desperate grasping at power wielded not through legitimacy and diplomacy but through brute force.

Nevertheless, Dudo continues to temper his depiction of Rollo in Normandy compared to other contemporary authors' depictions of the Normans. Dudo does not in general describe death tolls or gruesome details of battles. Bauduin has suggested convincingly that Dudo's vagueness concerning battles helps to create a reputation for Rollo as a Christian leader.<sup>246</sup> Dudo's earlier depiction of Rollo also corresponds to the way that Dudo portrays Charles and his men's perception of Rollo. Dudo reinforces his own portrayal of Rollo by making other characters in the history agree. When Charles' men advise him to make some sort of agreement with Rollo, they mention all of Rollo's admirable qualities which include his great strength, but also a myriad of positive diplomatic and intellectual traits: his good counsel, eloquence, and his being "teachable in affairs."<sup>247</sup> This particular description, Christiansen points out, Dudo applies to multiple characters throughout the history, and the phrase usually shows some sort of facility to succeed at court. Vopelius-Holtzendorff has also pointed out that Dudo comments frequently on Rollo's singing of psalms.<sup>248</sup> Thus, subtly, the picture of Rollo as both powerful and wise persists into his rule in Normandy.

Dudo's focus on both physical and intellectual traits continues into his depiction of William Longsword. Although William, by Bouet's analysis, represents wisdom rather than bravery, Dudo seems to vacillate between emphasizing the raw strength of William and other Normans and a more refined side that appears infrequently in other contemporary depictions of

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<sup>246</sup> Bouet, "Les chroniqueurs francs et normands face aux invasions vikings," p. 68.

<sup>247</sup> Christiansen, p. 46: "rebusque forensibus prudentissimus" (Dudo, II.25; Lair, p. 166). Christiansen translates this line variously throughout his edition, and he notes that Dudo also often uses this description for ducal consorts (See note 199, p. 195). I examine this phrase in depth in the next chapter (pp. 145-148). Gelting argues that this depiction of Rollo demonstrates his "courtly" attributes (Gelting, pp. 28-29).

<sup>248</sup> Vopelius-Holtzendorff, p. 269.

the Normans. Leah Shopkow has argued that Dudo's depiction of William oscillates between two extremes. Dudo's description of William's rule begins and ends with the claim that William wanted to give up being duke in order to become a monk. After an abbot and his nobles talk him out of this idea, he turns into a brash warlord. Shopkow acknowledges the two sides of William's character, and she argues that Dudo's portrayal of him prepares the way for Richard I to incorporate moderate characteristics of both sides of his father's ruling style.<sup>249</sup> Shopkow's convincing argument demonstrates the reasons why Dudo draws attention to both sides of William's ruling style. At times, the two extremities create contradictions in Dudo's descriptions of William, and he does not attempt to reconcile these contradictions. Christiansen also posits that Dudo was dealing with a common perception of William Longsword's violent style of rule (especially in Richer's history), and Dudo thus allows those perceptions while also demonstrating more temperate aspects of the duke.<sup>250</sup>

Dudo's first description of young William Longsword is of a youth with a "lofty" stature, but also a "keen mind" and "the moral qualities of an old man".<sup>251</sup> In addition, he re-introduces William soon after by saying that "[h]e was filled to overflowing with grace divine, enriched to abundance with the wisdom of the sevenfold gift, generously enlarged with a daily increase of merits, copiously instructed in the holy teachings, plentifully strengthened by monastic sanctions..."<sup>252</sup> From the start of the book, Dudo deals in positive clichés – emphasizing, for instance William's paradoxical wisdom of age even in youth.<sup>253</sup> He emphasizes William's

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<sup>249</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 71-74.

<sup>250</sup> Christiansen, p. 198, note 229.

<sup>251</sup> Christiansen, p. 58. Dudo, III.36, Lair, p. 180: "mente stenuus, morum probitate granaevus...".

<sup>252</sup> Christiansen, pp. 57-58: "... divina profusius gratia replebatur, septifluidique muneris sapientia locupletius diabatur, quotidieque meritorum affluentia gratius augebatur, divinis dogmatibus affluenter instruebatur, monasticis ubertim sanctionibus vigorabatur..." (Dudo, III.36; Lair, p. 179).

<sup>253</sup> For the literary history of the *puer senex* or *puer senilis*, see Curtius, pp. 98-101. The *topos* appears in late ancient literature as well as the Bible, and Curtius hypothesizes that the *puer senex* is "an archetype, an image of the collective unconscious in the sense of C.G. Jung" (101).

monastic and religious studies. Van Houts has recently argued that Dudo had access to the *Planctus* for William Longsword's death, which was written in 943, after William Longsword was murdered. The *Planctus* suggests that William was under the tutelage of an abbot who helped him to understand the Trinity.<sup>254</sup> Dudo does not give us these details, but he seems to allude to them in his reference to William's monastic education. When the Normans decide that they would like William to be Rollo's successor, it is partially because he is "... extremely knowledgeable in mind, after being educated through the study of many subjects."<sup>255</sup> Dudo does not tell us where William was educated except that it was under the care of a count called Botho, but Dudo's description suggests that at least part of William's education was focused on understanding Christian doctrine.<sup>256</sup>

In Rollo's response to his men's request that William become duke, however, Rollo describes William's education quite differently. He says, "For I have a son arisen from a Frankish-born seed of the noblest possible noble breed whom [B]otho the leader of our household troops has fostered as a son; and has adequately versed in the customs and zealous exertions of warfare."<sup>257</sup> Here, it seems that Botho has been charged with William's military education in order to prepare William to lead an army. Rollo's depiction of his own son aligns with the view of William that has earned him the name "Longsword," but the depiction contradicts Dudo's earlier description of William's education. These contradictions are surely not accidental or the result of Dudo's carelessness. They reveal Dudo's attempt to position

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<sup>254</sup> Elisabeth van Houts, "The *Planctus* on the Death of William Longsword (943)," pp. 9-13.

<sup>255</sup> Christiansen, p. 59; "sensuque plurimarum studiis rerum informato..." (Dudo, III. 37; Lair, p. 181).

<sup>256</sup> Bernard Bachrach has even suggested that the wording "plurimarum studiis rerum" suggests that William could have had an "advanced" education in the Carolingian tradition (Bachrach, "Writing Latin History for a Lay Audience c. 1000: Dudo of Saint Quentin at the Norman Court," p. 67). See also Gelting, pp. 24-27, where he questions how well equipped Botho would have been to offer William a Latin education, despite Dudo's emphasis on eloquence and piety.

<sup>257</sup> Lifshitz, "Dudo," chapter 16; C.f. Christiansen, p. 59; "Est namque mihi filius Francigeno nobilissimae generositatis semine exortus, quem Botho, princeps militiae nostrae, ut filium educavit moribusque et studiis belli sufficienter instruxit" (Dudo, III.37; Lair, p. 181).

William Longsword both within the paradigm of strong Norman warriors but also within a subtler paradigm of a Norman court whose strength came through powerful control of learning and speech.

Dudo's portrayals of both Rollo and William Longsword emphasize two sets of attributes – both the rulers' physical and verbal prowess. This portrayal walks a delicate balance; it at once confirms the physical ferocity of the Normans that other sources portray, and it presents a diplomatic, articulate, and even intellectual side of both Rollo and William, a side that Hastings was missing. This complex portrayal flies in the face of how other contemporary authors described the Normans. I will also argue below, however, that Dudo's focus on the dukes' verbal prowess develops further in his depiction of Richard I to the extent that words become a tool of governance and even war. When we look at this emphasis on speaking well alongside the uptick in patronage of literature and the portrayals of eloquent and witty speech at court, which we see in both Dudo's history and the satires, it becomes clear that linguistic prowess and a literary court were important components of the ducal family's legacy. Side by side, Dudo presents his history as part of the ducal family's project of legitimating themselves and their rule of Normandy, and he demonstrates the ducal family's role in his depiction of a literary and cultured Rouen. The literature helps to legitimate Rouen as a center of power, and Dudo demonstrates that the ducal family participated in the culture of language and eloquence.

## II. Words as Tools of Power

In Dudo's descriptions of the two earliest Norman dukes, his inclusion of their control over language and statesmanship acts as a balance to the fierceness that Dudo alludes to and that other authors make explicit. In his depiction of Richard I, however, it is clear that Dudo sees the

two halves of ducal power as inextricably intertwined. Ziolkowski draws attention to Dudo's presentation of words as weapons in their own right; the Norman physical aggressiveness is complemented, as well as counteracted, by an aggressive language. In this depiction of Richard I, we see the centrality to Norman political culture not simply of clear and effective communication but also of mastery of various linguistic and intellectual skills. Dudo's depiction of Richard I makes it clear that his skill and effectiveness as a leader was dependent on his control of multiple methods of rulership.

It is likely that both French and Norse were heard in Rouen, as well as Latin, and Dudo makes it clear that Richard I was well versed in at least the first two. The work of scholars such as Ridel and Lepelley have shown that both Norman place names and some modern French words bear the imprint of Norse, particularly in words that deal with the ocean and ships and in names of places that are on the coast.<sup>258</sup> Ridel has argued that, especially in Haute-Normandie (the eastern section), the Vikings began speaking French fairly quickly but maintained Norse words when French was not adequate.<sup>259</sup> Thus, while he was in Rouen, Dudo was living in a multilingual society. As part of Dudo's project is to record Norman history in Latin as he claims it was told him (presumably in the vernacular), this masking of the vernacular is both a result of the form of the text and perhaps also an intentional omission, meant to mask the linguistic differences between the subjects of his history and their Frankish interlocutors. If at least part of Dudo's audience was outside of Normandy, a proposition upon which most scholars agree, failing to distinguish between conversations conducted in French and those conducted in Norse downplays the cultural differences between the Franks and the relative-newcomer Normans.

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<sup>258</sup> See Lepelley, "L'héritage maritime viking dans les noms de lieux des côtes du Nord-Cotentin," pp. 483-500; Ridel, "L'héritage des Vikings dans le domaine de la pêche en Normandie (du XIe siècle à nos jours)," pp. 363-376; and Ridel, *Les Viking et les mots: l'apport de l'ancien scandinave à la langue française*, pp. 65-112.

<sup>259</sup> Elisabeth Ridel, *Les Viking et les mots: l'apport de l'ancien scandinave à la langue française*, p. 111.

In a well-known passage, Dudo addresses this issue at the beginning of Book IV, when William Longsword sends Richard I as a boy to Bayeux in order for him to learn Norse:

As the city of Rouen much prefers the use of Roman rather than Dacian eloquence, and Bayeux uses the Dacian more often than the Roman tongue, so I wish that he be taken to Bayeux as quickly as possible; and I wish that he be brought up there, and educated with great care under your tutelage, Botho, and should have the benefit of the Dacian talkativeness and learn it thoroughly by heart, so that in the future he should be able to express himself more fluently to the Dacian-born.<sup>260</sup>

This passage has been taken as evidence that Norse was spoken in Bayeux longer than in Rouen, but it also emphasizes the importance, at least in Dudo's portrayal of William Longsword's thought, of the ability for a Norman ruler to speak Norse and communicate with his Norse subjects.<sup>261</sup> When William speaks of "Dacisca ... eloquentia" ("Dacian eloquence") and also "loquacitate Dacisca" ("Dacian language"), it is hard to tell whether he means simply fluency in Norse or if he makes reference to learning Norse speech patterns. For instance, in a study of the skaldic poetry that a group of Norse poets produced at Cnut's court, Matthew Townend has argued that, despite the mutual comprehensibility of Norse and Old English, these Norse poets were really only writing for each other on account of the complexity of skaldic idioms. In addition, he has argued that these poets appealed to Norse nobles, rather than English ones, through unique portrayals of Cnut's relationship with his father.<sup>262</sup> There is no evidence of

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<sup>260</sup> Christiansen, *Dudo*, p. 97. "Quoniam quidem Rotomagensis civitas Romana potius quam Dacisca utitur eloquentia, et Bajocacensis fruitur frequentius Dacisca lingua quam Romana; volo igitur ut ad Bajocensia deferatur quantocius moenia et ibi volo ut sit, Botho, sub tua custodia et enutriatur et educetur cum magna dilligentia, fruens loquacitate Dacisca, eamque discens tenaci memoria, ut queat sermocinari profusius olim contra Dacigenas" (Lair, Book IV.68, pp. 221-222). Lifshitz translates the last phrase differently: "... that he may be able at a future time to dispute fluently against the inhabitants of Dacia" (Lifshitz, "Dudo," chapter 32). She emphasizes "contra," construing Dudo's statement more aggressively than does Christiansen. Her reading foreshadows Richard's later conversion of the Vikings to Christianity.

<sup>261</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 44.

<sup>262</sup> Matthew Townend, "Cnut's Poets: An Old Norse Literary Community in Eleventh-Century England," in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England c. 800-1250*, Elizabeth M. Tyler (ed.) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 197-215 at 208-214.

Norse writing in Normandy, but there were certainly still people alive in Normandy during William Longsword's reign, possibly including William Longsword himself, whose first language was Norse. In order to communicate with these subjects, including perhaps some men who had arrived with some of the early invaders, it only makes sense that William Longsword hoped Richard I would be fluent in Norse. Given the argument that Townend has made concerning Cnut's court, it is possible that the Norse speakers maintained a different sort of discourse that required specialized knowledge beyond simply the language. It is also possible that Dudo includes Richard I's education in Norse as a marker of his exceptionality *vis-à-vis* contemporary Frankish nobles;<sup>263</sup> Dudo furnishes one more piece of evidence of Richard I and the ducal family's legitimacy in ruling Normandy, a multi-lingual duchy.

The last sentence of this passage concerning Richard I's learning Norse is also significant for the balancing act that Dudo has engaged in of making the dukes seem to be both warriors and statesmen. William suggests that the most important reason for Richard to learn Norse is to be able to communicate with his Scandinavian men. If communication is an important part of being a powerful leader, Richard will have to be able to persuade and command those under his power. Dudo also includes a passage in which William asserts his own power through his understanding of Norse, a Germanic language, by answering two Germanic men who mock him in their own tongue.<sup>264</sup> It may be significant that William also mentions Botho here as Richard's potential

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<sup>263</sup> For more on the Norman ducal family's program of setting themselves apart from contemporary Franks, see McNair, "The Politics of Being Norman in the Reign of Richard the Fearless," pp. 308-328; Albu, pp. 41-46, especially p. 43.

<sup>264</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 44. The passage he alludes to comes in book III: "Interim Lotharienses et Saxones coeperunt invective et ironice alloqui Cononem, dicentes: 'Quam mirae sufficientiae et potestatis est dux Northammicae Britonicaeque regionis, qui huc advenit auro comptus et ornatus cum militibus quingentis!' Willelmus vero, per Daciscam linguam, quae dicebant subsannantes intelligendo subaudit, parumperque commotus ira discedit, ..." (Dudo, III. 53, Lair p. 197). Christiansen: "Meanwhile, the Lotharingians and Saxons began to address Cono with ironical invective, saying: -How marvellously rich and powerful is the duke of the Norman and Breton region, coming here decked out gaily with gold, and five hundred knights as well! But William heard and

tutor. Whether or not this is the same Botho who tutored William, the parallel is surely intentional. While Dudo's depiction of William Longsword is confusingly contradictory, Richard's education is more cohesive. Here, his education in Norse would likely be part of his training in the customs and practices of war and commanding an army.

Dudo's inclusion of a discussion of eloquence in the vernacular at this juncture emphasizes opposite aspects of the ducal court – Norse heritage and Frankish assimilation. On the one hand, Richard was a third-generation immigrant, and it is possible that he may have needed instruction in Norse, while his father may not have. (Van Houts has argued that, based on a reading of the tenth-century *Planctus*, William Longsword may have been born in the Orkneys before Rollo arrived in Normandy, which would have made it all the more likely that William's first language was Norse.)<sup>265</sup> On the other hand, by drawing attention to Richard's needing to travel away from Rouen to learn Norse, Dudo emphasizes just how Frankish the court at Rouen had become. The Franks play a complicated role in Dudo's work, as he mostly associates them with treachery, and it is in fact William's reliance on his Frankish allies that causes internal unrest against him.<sup>266</sup> Nevertheless, Dudo very clearly demonstrates the Norman ducal family's legitimate place within the Frankish power structure. Showing that they speak French well but also have the ability to communicate in Norse and have Scandinavian allies emphasizes their assimilation into the Frankish world while maintaining their exceptionality.<sup>267</sup>

It is right before his own death that William Longsword sends his son off to Bayeux. The duke's death precipitates Louis IV's kidnapping of Richard I. Ziolkowski has pointed out that

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understood what they were saying in mockery, through (his knowledge of) the Danish tongue, and he was thoroughly roused, and left in anger..." (p. 73).

<sup>265</sup> Elisabeth van Houts, "The *Planctus* on the Death of William Longsword (943)," p. 9.

<sup>266</sup> Dudo, III.43 (Lair, p. 187; Christiansen, pp. 64-65).

<sup>267</sup> For more on the ducal family's desire to demonstrate their exceptionality and break free of Carolingian constructions of legitimacy and power, see McNair, "The Politics of Being Norman in the Reign of Richard the Fearless," pp. 310-315.

Louis convinces the Rouennais townspeople to allow him to take Richard away because the king speaks eloquently and promises that Richard will learn to speak well also.<sup>268</sup> Louis' treachery touches off the Norman involvement in the struggles between the Carolingian and Capetian rulers. For most of Book IV, Louis is the arch-villain. Nevertheless, as Dudo describes it, Richard profited greatly from his time at Louis' courts, and this suggests that Richard's time at Louis' court resembles the practice of "fostering," albeit in a more coercive form than usual. Gelting has convincingly argued that Dudo demonstrates that Richard embodies contemporary courtly ideals because of his mastery of eloquence, wit, wisdom, and Christian piety, which all came from his time at Louis' court.<sup>269</sup> Richard undertakes religious studies and studies of the liberal arts. In particular, "He armed his tongue richly with lively wit, and distinguished it with conversation of eloquent abundance."<sup>270</sup> Just as William had sent Richard to Bayeux to learn Norse, it seems that Richard learned French while at Louis' court. Through these twin descriptions, Richard prepares himself for his role both of the descendant from a Scandinavian warlord and as a noble player on the stage of Frankish politics.

Richard does not merely learn French; he "arms his tongue with wit." The idea of arming one's tongue is not unique to Dudo – most importantly, Jerome uses the phrase a few times, as does Bede.<sup>271</sup> Dudo's emphasis on "wit," however, does not have an obvious precedent, and he further intertwines good control of language with fierceness. The fact that Dudo mentions wit emphasizes the idea that Richard learned the French language but also learned ways of speaking and communicating, which may be parallel to what he alludes to in his

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<sup>268</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>269</sup> Gelting, pp. 20-21.

<sup>270</sup> Christiansen, p. 105. C.f. Ziolkowski, p. 45. "Vivaci lepore affluenter armabat linguam, facundaeque ubertatis colloquio insignibat eam" (Dudo, IV.74, Lair, p. 230).

<sup>271</sup> For two examples, see Bede, *Vita Cuthberti Metrica*, W. Jaager (ed.), *Palaestra* 198, (Leipzig, 1935), p. 59, line 15; Jerome, *Dialogi contra Pelagianos libri iii*, C. Moreschini (ed.), *Corpus Christianorum* 23, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010) book I, part 6, line 5.

discussion of the Danish eloquence. Katrin Beyer has argued that facility with wit (*facetia*) is a key trait of rulers in twelfth- and thirteenth-century English historiography, and Dudo's portrayal of Richard I may also be an early analogue to this trend.<sup>272</sup> Richard I learns each language from a nobleman native in the language, and he thus presumably learns to speak each in a politically effective manner. Dudo also uses a military metaphor here – the wit is a weapon, and it seems that, armed with wit, Richard's tongue may also become a weapon. I will further discuss the idea of fighting with words below in this chapter, but here it is worth emphasizing the power that Dudo attributes to Richard's ability with words. While the roles of statesman and warrior seem to be separate for both Rollo and William Longsword, they begin to be more closely intertwined in Richard through this ferocious verbal power.

Dudo's depiction of Richard I's reign takes up about half of the history. This extended account at once gives Dudo more time to show Richard I in action, rather than simply describe his qualities, and it gives him more chances to discuss other political players. As a result, Richard I is absent from large portions of the book while Dudo describes the machinations of his enemies, and this book becomes less of a mini-biography and more of a history in which Richard is the hero.<sup>273</sup> Dudo demonstrates many instances of Richard's ability to negotiate with his followers and other rulers, and he shows instances of Richard's ability to fight and command armies. Book IV shows a convergence of European *potentes* onto Normandy – Louis IV of France, Otto I of Germany, and Arnulf of Flanders are just a few – and Richard I, with the help

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<sup>272</sup> Katrin Beyer, "Wit and Irony – Rhetorical Strategies and their Performance in Political and Learned Communication in England (1066-1259)" in Sita Steckel, Niels Gaul, Michael Grünbart (ed.), *Networks of Learning: Perspectives on Scholars in Byzantine East and Latin West, c. 1000-1200* (Zurich and Berlin: Lit, 2014), pp. 147-160 at p. 151.

<sup>273</sup> Pierre Bouet has argued that Richard's absence from much of the action allowed Dudo to make Richard's relationship with the Franks more abstract – he could rule Normandy without actively challenging or killing Franks (Pierre Bouet, "Le duc Richard Ier selon Dudon de Saint-Quentin et Guillaume de Jumièges," *Annales de Normandie* 1 (2014), pp. 15-37 at 22.

of his loyal supporters, routs all of them, sometimes through negotiation, sometimes through cunning, and sometimes through force.

One claim that Dudo makes about Richard I, in particular, bears further consideration. Dudo begins this book with the most extended set of poems in the history. The first eleven poems either address the muses or come from the muses, and in the seventh poem, Erato, who is the muse of lyric poetry, claims that Richard “fiercely resisted” the Dacians.<sup>274</sup> Richard, however, does not fight the Dacians ever, and he instead calls them to his aid. But following his own peace negotiations with Lothair and Frankish counts, he does convince the older Dacian warriors to convert to Christianity peacefully rather than continue the fight. In deciding to make this negotiation, Richard allows the Bishop of Chartres to convince him to abandon his fight against King Bruno of Lotharingia and instead embrace the Christian virtue of peace.<sup>275</sup> Through a lengthy explanation of the main tenets of Christianity and the benefits it can bring to its believers, Richard also manages to convince his Dacian allies to abandon the blood feud. Thus, Erato, in describing Richard as having vanquished the Danes, equates Richard’s Christian ambassadorship with fierce fighting. This is also not the only instance of Dudo’s suggestion that battle can be done with words – Ziolkowski offers at least two other examples.<sup>276</sup> Dudo’s portrayal of Richard thus mixes at least three ideals – that of being a strong warrior, a diplomatic ruler, and a Christian ruler.<sup>277</sup> And, perhaps, Dudo suggests that Richard’s engagement with the ideals of diplomat and Christian ruler can both also be seen as part of the robust strategy of Norman rulers.

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<sup>274</sup> Christiansen, p. 88; “Restitit acriter” (Dudo, Eratho line 70; Lair, p. 212).

<sup>275</sup> Dudo, IV.115; Lair, p. 278; Christiansen, p. 152.

<sup>276</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 45.

<sup>277</sup> Gelting, p. 20.

Dudo's description of his supposed informer and Richard I's maternal half-brother, Ralf d'Ivry, further emphasizes Dudo's focus on the political force of words even when devoid of muscle to back them up. Dudo's depiction of Ralf supports Ziolkowski's point that, in Dudo's history, it seems that words alone can change the trajectory of history.<sup>278</sup> Ralf was Richard I's half-brother, and Dudo claims that after Richard's death, Ralf recounted the events for Dudo to record.<sup>279</sup> Dudo explains this arrangement in a poem at the beginning of the history, but the poem is also noteworthy for the effort that Dudo puts into emphasizing the connections between Ralf's abilities as a warrior, statesman, and wordsmith. The poem begins with references to prominent figures from the Roman Empire: Pompey, Scipio, and Cato. Dudo likens Ralf to a Roman consul ruling at the "Northmannus apex."<sup>280</sup> These classical allusions are not idle. The position of consul was both prestigious and secondary to that of a king or emperor. In addition, the references to Scipio, Pompey, and Cato recall both those men's military might and their doomed stand in defense of the Republic against Caesar. By contrast, Dudo likens Rollo to Aeneas, a mythical and victorious hero. Dudo's association of Ralf and those who fought on behalf of the Republic therefore serves to present Ralf as a warrior, but more importantly as a statesman, guided by moral and political considerations.

As the poem goes on, Dudo becomes more explicit in emphasizing Ralf's statesmanship rather than bravery on the battlefield. In an elaborate metaphor comparing Ralf's words to food, Dudo explains their power: "From a kind 'mouth you pour the salt of inner peace'; / 'As streaming salt to food, you season human sense' . / 'The root of fruitful counsel', nectar's

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<sup>278</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 45.

<sup>279</sup> "Cujus quae constant libro hoc conscripta relatu / Digessi attonitus, tremulus, hebes, anxius, anceps" (Dudo, *Versus ad Comitem Rodulfum, Huius Operis Relatorem*, lines 23-24; Lair, p. 126). Christiansen: "Who told what in this volume stands inscribed / And I wrote down, astonished, trembling, numb, anguished, hesitant" (p. 11).

<sup>280</sup> Dudo, *Versus ad Comitem Rodulfum, Huius Operis Relatorem*, line 8; Lair, p. 126, Christiansen, p. 11.

urn...”<sup>281</sup> Here, Dudo calls on a biblical allusion to describe the importance of Ralf’s speech. The fundamental importance of his good counsel come through in Dudo’s likening of Ralf’s speech to salt. In the biblical allusion, Mark uses salt as a metaphor for faith – it must be present at all times, and if it loses its potency, then it is impossible to replace.<sup>282</sup> Ralf is not the most important part of the meal – his speech is a seasoning not the bread itself – but in the metaphor, Ralf’s counsel is the seasoning that determines the flavor of the bread. Dudo underlines the importance and necessity of Ralf’s counsel again when he calls Ralf “the root of fruitful counsel.” Ralf’s counsel seems to excel in many areas since he offers tranquility to the heart and seasoning to sense. Although other later Norman historians, like William of Jumièges, focus on Ralph’s role in Norman history as a supporter of the Norman ducal family in the face of the 996 peasant revolt, Dudo portrays him as an intellectual support.<sup>283</sup> This emphasis creates a depiction of the ducal family’s entourage as diplomatic and cerebral rather than brawny and aggressive.

Dudo also praises Ralf for the ways in which he speaks his good counsel, which further creates the image of a cultivated court: “ ‘Lively of mind’, gentle, with sparkling speech, / As the sun revives the world, so you, all men, by words.”<sup>284</sup> Ralf’s lively mind is paired with mild or ripe speech. The adjective, “mitis,” both demonstrates Dudo’s interest in exactly how Ralf gave his counsel, and the word itself is quite evocative. The meanings of “ripe” and “mild” both suggest a moderate way of giving advice, which is very different from the rather aggressive

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<sup>281</sup> Christiansen, p. 11; “Ore salem fundis tranquillī pecoris almo; / Ut salis unda cibos, sic sensus tu quoque condīs. / Radix consilii fecundi nectaris urna...” (Dudo, *Versus ad Comitem Rodulfum, Huius Operis Relatorem*, lines 13-15; Lair, p. 125).

<sup>282</sup> Mark: 48-49. See Christiansen note 50, p. 180. He comments that Venatius Fortunatus also alludes to Mark’s metaphor in multiple poems.

<sup>283</sup> *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, Elisabeth van Houts (ed. and trans.) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), II.2-3; pp. 9-10.

<sup>284</sup> Christiansen, p. 11; “Vivax ingenio, mitis rutilante loquela, / Sol velut hunc mundum, refoves sic sirmate cunctos” (Dudo, *Versus ad Comitem Rodulfum, Huius Operis Relatorem*, lines 16-17; Lair, p. 125).

patterns of speech that appear, for instance in *Moriuht*, and in other portrayals of Norman speech. Instead, Dudo's description of Ralf gives the sense of someone who is mild-mannered and gives careful advice. That this counsel is potent, however, we learn from the strong comparison of Ralf's mind and speech to the sun. This mild and pacific speech seems to have enough force to rekindle life. It is in the lack of aggression that Ralf differs from other members of the ducal family. Dudo's description of Ralf falls almost entirely into the category of wisdom (rather than bravery), and in this way Dudo emphasizes the idea that Richard II was surrounded by men whose talents lay in their minds rather than their bodies.

What I have attempted to do thus far is to show the ways in which Dudo has struggled to present a complex view of the ducal family. Felice Lifshitz has suggested that Dudo has a "bifurcated thesis" trying to reconcile continuity with Carolingian Neustria and the radical break that the Viking conquest brought.<sup>285</sup> In a similarly complex move, it seems that Dudo tries to legitimate the ruling family through at least two different strategies. First of all, he depicts their physical power. At the same time, he presents them as statesmen who are able to manipulate and are affected by the power of language. Dudo's balancing act is thus between a presentation of fierce warriors and pious men whose strength and legitimacy comes through their powerful speech.

Dudo's history, as we will see throughout this dissertation, is not the only Rouennais text that emphasizes the power and importance of language and writing in politics. *Semiramis* is a prominent example of the importance of linguistic ability to prominent members of the ducal family. In this case, the politician is Archbishop Robert, Richard I's son and Richard II's uncle, who held his post from 989-1037. I will treat his potential importance to the literary flowering in the last chapter of this dissertation, but here I will briefly consider *Semiramis*' probable mockery

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<sup>285</sup> Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, pp. 218-219.

of his diplomatic abilities. Although *Semiramis* is not openly about the ducal family, van Houts has made a very good argument to read the character of Semiramis as Emma, Richard I's daughter who married Aethelred the Unready and then remarried Cnut, and the poem's Augur as Archbishop Robert. With this reading in mind, it is then possible to read *Semiramis*' discussion of the Augur's speech, prayer, and poetry as commentary on the importance of poetry, writing, and language in Norman politics.

Emma married Aethelred and then married Cnut when he conquered England. This caused Emma's children by Aethelred to be disinherited, and they fled to Rouen, where the ducal family sheltered them. Van Houts uses references to iconography associated with Cnut, rumors that were circulating in Rouen about Emma at the time, as well as the relationship the satirist describes between the Augur and Semiramis to argue that the two characters should be read as satires of Emma and Robert.<sup>286</sup> Both van Houts and Andrew Galloway have also suggested that the other anonymous satire, *Jezebel*, deals with contemporary figures, either Gonnor herself or Cnut's Anglo-Saxon mistress, Aethelgifu, although its editor, Ziolkowski, argues that all of the characters are entirely fictional.<sup>287</sup> Van Houts posits that the works survive anonymously because the authors feared the wrath of Emma and Cnut and also possibly the wrath of the Norman court.<sup>288</sup>

If we accept that these poems are likely satires of the Norman court, whether or not the characters are meant to align perfectly with contemporary figures, the poems, and *Semiramis* in particular, offer new opportunities to see the political importance of interest in language there. *Semiramis* is a poem in the form of quasi-dialogue between an augur and Semiramis, a woman whose "honor was stained by the loins of a bull..." and who bears the name of the eponymous

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<sup>286</sup> van Houts, "A Note," pp. 21-22.

<sup>287</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, pp. 25-26. See van Houts, "A Note," pp. 23-24; and Galloway, pp. 189-208.

<sup>288</sup> van Houts, "A Note," p. 23.

ancient Babylonian queen.<sup>289</sup> The conceit of the poem is that Semiramis has died and the augur is trying to raise her from the dead with Apollo's help. They are both pagan, and Semiramis seems to frustrate the augur by apparently preferring the underworld to earth.

Emma's portrayal as the adulterous embarrassment of her family may have been tolerated by the Norman court because of the presence of her exiled and seemingly disinherited sons at the Norman court. The portrayal of Archbishop Robert, however, is more complex, as his character, a pagan whose promiscuous sister chastises him, is not particularly flattering. Van Houts suggests that the author may have been motivated to write this portrayal after having been denied the archbishop's patronage for his literary works.<sup>290</sup> This is an appealing suggestion and would explain the risks that the author was willing to take, although it is also possible that the author mocks the archbishop in good fun. The most obvious problem with Robert's portrayal is its paganism (which is no small damnation.) But given that the poem is a satire and has a pagan setting, the paganism is also just a part of the scene. The portrayal of the Augur is further conflicted in that he both calls Semiramis back from the underworld, or calls Emma back from England to Normandy, but fails, Semiramis claims, through his lack of understanding and ability. That Robert does not succeed in permanently bringing Semiramis out of the underworld would have been an outcome dictated by political reality, but the reasons that the poem states that he fails, as well as the chiding he receives from Semiramis for his attempts, are the most negative aspects of the Augur's portrayal.

The poem is preoccupied with acts of speech and prayer. Once he temporarily returns Semiramis/Emma to the land of the living / Normandy, the Augur/Robert endures his sister's criticism and chiding only to lose her again. Many of her critiques attack the Augur's ability to

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<sup>289</sup> Dronke, *Semiramis*, p. 71; "Fama... tauri corrumpitur extis..." (*Semiramis*, 11, p. 66).

<sup>290</sup> van Houts, "A Note," p. 23.

pray correctly and compose verse. It is through her critiques that the poet reinforces the importance of poetic ability at the Norman court. This poetic ability is important both for its own sake and as a measure of good statesmanship. From Semiramis' taunts, it seems that she both wants to return to her brother and to the world of the living, and she knows that he will never be successful in causing her to return for good. The reason for this, she says, is that his prayers are not very effective: "... the outpouring of prayer is too weak..."<sup>291</sup> It seems, from Semiramis' perspective, that the augur spends too much breath praying to Apollo rather than praying to the god of the underworld, Orcus: "What use to bend your knee before Appollo's altar?"<sup>292</sup> Her critiques here are procedural – the Augur does not know how to properly negotiate his sister's return from a foreign land, despite this being his job.

In addition, Semiramis implicitly criticizes the Augur for stacking up negatively against Orpheus: "Orpheus sought sweet Eurydice by song."<sup>293</sup> The comparison with Orpheus may be significant, for Stephen Jaeger has argued that Orpheus appears in many eleventh-century French and German poems as a symbol for the power of poetry as a civilizing force.<sup>294</sup> Here, the comparison is between Orpheus' poetry, which sought "sweet Eurydice," and the ineffective laments that the Augur makes all while claiming that he mourns and prays. The Augur does not use poetry to try to retrieve his sister, and perhaps he thus is unable either to extract his sister or to have any effect on the underworld where she now lives. The poem, seen from this light, is a critique of the Augur, or Robert, as poet, priest, and statesman.

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<sup>291</sup> Dronke, *Semiramis*, p. 73: "... minor est effusio voti..." (*Semiramis*, 169, p. 68).

<sup>292</sup> Dronke, *Semiramis*, p. 73: "Quid prodest curvare genu sub Apollinia ara?" (*Semiramis*, 197, p. 68).

<sup>293</sup> Dronke, *Semiramis*, p. 72: "Orfeus Eurideicem quesivit carmine dulcem" (*Semiramis*, 147, p. 67).

<sup>294</sup> Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 143-160. He uses references to poems such as the anonymous "Quid suum virtutis" (c. 1045 at a German court), and a selection from the Liège songs (late 11<sup>th</sup> c). He also talks about the poem "De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologie" from c. 1080 and probably associated with Rheims in some way (p. 141).

The author's most important critique of Robert's lack of control of language comes in Semiramis' final speech in which she suggests that the Augur does not understand his relationship to Jupiter. In this case, since Semiramis seems to claim that she is married to Jupiter, this pagan god becomes a symbol for Cnut, and the queen's critique becomes a comment on Robert's understanding of international politics. For, she claims, it is not a sin for her to obey the will of one who is all-powerful: "If the god played, this does not condemn his deed – there is no judgment against a divine seducer, such an adulterer smiled at me without blame!"<sup>295</sup> Semiramis/Emma effectively chastises her brother for failing to understand that she has acted in accordance with what is most exigent for her own position and perhaps also for the position of her family. Thus, it is not simply the execution of Robert's prayers that have been lackluster but Emma suggests that the whole undertaking of trying to return her loyalties to Normandy has been misguided. By the end of the poem, even though she has been maligned throughout, Emma has won the audience's respect through her straightforward critique of her brother's actions. After she rebukes him, he offers no counterarguments and allows her, without more than a fleeting grasp, to return to the underworld. In the end, we may condemn her for abandoning her children and Normandy, but the author makes it clear by giving her the most forceful speech and the last word that her choices were driven by clear-headed pragmatism and that Rouen's struggles with England are the result of bumbled communications and poorly executed diplomacy.

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<sup>295</sup> Dronke, *Semiramis*, p. 70: "Si deus illusit, non est dampnatio facti –/ Divino scortatori proscriptio non est; / Inculpabiliter talis mihi risit adulter!" (*Semiramis*, p. 71).

### III. Forceful Words

Many of the works under consideration here, in their discussion of language, make references to or give extreme demonstrations of invective. Many scholars have drawn attention to the Norman propensity for writing invectives and linked it to the Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon practice of *flyting*.<sup>296</sup> It is possible that the attacks that we see here either attests to Norman connections with their Scandinavian relatives or to cultural exchange between Normandy and Scandinavians, who had an active military and economic presence in Normandy during this period. For Ziolkowski, the presence of invective in Norman writing is the distinguishing feature of all eleventh-century texts, and he has even argued that the Norman ducal court required its authors to engage in these verbal battles.<sup>297</sup> Karen Swenson has explained that the Old Norse genre of poetry, the *senna* or *flyting*, is a verbal duel in which the hero of a poem establishes himself by overcoming an enemy through witty insults.<sup>298</sup> McDonough has also asserted that there is a substantial Greco-Roman precedent for writing invective.<sup>299</sup> The invective of the Rouennais works will recur repeatedly throughout this dissertation, and here I will look at the ways in which this aggressive and competitive language joins the two halves of Dudo's representation of the Norman dukes. It at once mirrors their physical strength and demonstrates verbal and intellectual acuity. At times, as we have seen in Richard I's altercation with the Scandinavian army, language seems to substitute for aggressive action, even more often, however, the satires depict intellectual or literary interactions that use violence as the mode of discourse through which the relations between authors and readers are expressed. This aggressive discourse is sometimes explicitly violent but at other times it is simply aggressive

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<sup>296</sup> McDonough, p. 20; van Houts, "Scandinavian," p. 108-9; Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, pp. 43-47; Oren Falk, "Bestiality, Inside Out: Two Notes on <Moriuht>, lines 231-34," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* Band 48 (2013), pp. 1-15 at pp. 3-5.

<sup>297</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 46.

<sup>298</sup> Karen Swenson, *Performing Definitions: Two Genres of Insult in Old Norse Literature* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1991), p. 58.

<sup>299</sup> McDonough, pp. 20-22; Ziolkowski, p. 46.

toward other writers. The presentation of this sort of fierce literary competition, following on the discussion in the previous chapter, demonstrates the perceived importance or prestige for the authors and their audience.

In the preface to the history, Dudo's portrayal of the vehemence with which the Norman readers will attack his work parallels the idea of Norman strength in arms. At one point in the Address to the Book, Dudo describes the Normans as physically attacking the poet: "Or those Normans will shake up the poet *malgré lui* with their blows."<sup>300</sup> Here, Dudo seems to describe the reactions of readers in violent terms, just as he describes Normans later as literal warriors. This depiction of violent readership is even a step beyond the moments where dukes use language to fight battles – here the discussion of literature, which should begin and end with language, turns physically violent. As this moment is part of a long poem that turns to mythological topics at times, it is unlikely that Dudo truly feared for his physical safety. Instead, this line shows the ways in which the discourse of violence was intertwined with the literary life of Rouen. Whether or not he intended to create a character sketch of the people living in Rouen and under Richard II's rule, Dudo makes it clear that the physical strength that he attributes to the Norman warriors aligns with the Norman appreciation for clever, but ferocious, language. The two attributes thus are different lenses through which to view effective Norman rule, but Dudo makes it clear over and over that the two also cannot be separated.

Scholars who have studied later medieval verbal confrontations, such as the disputations that became common in the later cathedral schools and universities, have likened them to intellectual versions of the tournaments and personal battles that appear in literature of the

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<sup>300</sup> Christiansen, p. 7: "Invitum quatient Normanni verbere vatem" (Dudo, *Allocutio ad Librum*, line 16, Lair p. 120).

period.<sup>301</sup> Peter Abelard, the preeminent twelfth-century cleric and academic, describes his own many intellectual and verbal conflicts with other scholars in his autobiographical work, *Historia calamitatum*. Although his affair with Héloïse is the most famous part of the autobiography, Abelard's account of his troubles actually focuses more on a string of rivalries between other masters and clerics. His language in describing these encounters is aggressive, and although other scholars from that period also describe these rivalries and jealousies, Abelard seems to be uniquely comfortable with them and to find inherent value in them. It is as though, as Bridget Balint has argued, having the contests, and his frequent ability to succeed in them, is what allows him to prove his worth as an academic.<sup>302</sup> Michael Clanchy has suggested that Abelard, who was born a Breton nobleman to a warrior father, never gave up his warrior bearing but instead translated his pugnacious mind-set to one that accommodated fighting with words.<sup>303</sup> We may see the presentation of Normans as excelling at invective and *flyting* as akin to Clanchy's interpretation of Abelard. The focus that these Norman writers put on ability with language and ability to convince others in combative situations mirrors the descriptions that both Dudo and Warner include of fierce Norman warriors physically getting their points across. Dudo, Warner, and the anonymous satirists thus suggest the importance to the Norman ducal court of appearing to be legitimately powerful both physically and verbally.

Dudo's description of the Norman acceptance of literary works is certainly a parallel to the warlike demeanour he ascribes to the Normans throughout the other events of the history; however, the aggressive poetic interactions in the other poems suggest that these interactions

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<sup>301</sup> M.T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford, U.K., and Cambridge, MA, 1999), 130 (later cited as "Clanchy, *Abelard*"); John Baldwin, *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages, 1000 – 1300* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 1971), 61; Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance*.

<sup>302</sup> For instance, see Abelard's comments in Peter Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, J. Monfrin (ed. and trans.) (Paris: J. Vrin, 1959), p. 94; Peter Abelard and Héloïse, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, Betty Radice (trans.), revision by Michael Clanchy (Middlesex: Penguin, 2003), p. 90. See Balint, 'Envy in the Intellectual Discourse,' 52.

<sup>303</sup> Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life*, 130.

were significant to the authors in their own right. Both of Warner's poems, however, also consist of aggressive rivalries between two characters – in *Moriuht*, between the narrator and the title character, and in the second satire, between the monk from Mont Saint-Michel and the first speaker who most scholars assume to be Warner, himself. The corroboration of this aggressive verbal paradigm raises the possibility that Dudo and Warner come close to describing the nature of literary interactions in Rouen. Although Warner does not describe words as blows, the satire is biting, and the poems could only be described as invective. The comparison with *flyting* both emphasizes the competition inherent in the language and it emphasizes the continuing presence of Norse culture in Normandy. In addition to the parallel between Norman physical and verbal violence, the parallels with Norse aggressive poetry suggest that the Rouennais court fostered social literary competitions, and these competitions may have been a key part of Rouennais court culture.

Whether or not *Moriuht* was a living figure, Warner demonstrates his facility with and interest in writing poetic invective in that poem, and he comments on the cultural preferences of other authors and possibly his audience. He skewers *Moriuht* sometimes regarding his poetry and sometimes concerning his sexual habits. Warner's literary insults focus on the incorrect use of meter: "It is claimed by this man, perhaps that just as the ending of a verse is the location of the spondee and you, lengthened trochee, so it is possible to attach a tribrach to the beginning of a verse, (a practice) which heroic poetry does not admit."<sup>304</sup> Here, Warner mocks *Moriuht* saying that perhaps his error in vowel length was due to *Moriuht*'s abandoning of classical rules and instead adhering to a set of metrical rules that he has made up. Warner thus sees *Moriuht* as writing bad poetry and breaking with good precedents. It is intriguing to try to imagine a

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<sup>304</sup> McDonough, p. 99: "Fertur ab hoc forsan quod sicut clausula versus / Spondeum, longe, teque, trochee, tenet, / Sic potis est tribrachum capiti prefigere versus, / Quod non heroum carmina precipiunt" (Warner, *Moriuht*, lines 379-382, p. 98).

situation in which Warner would find it necessary to skewer another poet in quite this way, and many authors have suggested that Moriuhth was a real poet and rival to Warner.<sup>305</sup> It is possible to imagine Warner's invective against Moriuhth being the result of his anger at Moriuhth's greater favor with the ducal family; as will be discussed in the next chapter, Warner includes a particularly odd interaction between Moriuhth and Gonnor in which she seems to implicitly proposition him.<sup>306</sup> But given that Warner explicitly addresses the ruling family in both the beginning of the work and the end, it does not seem likely that, while working in Rouen, he means to offend them. Instead, as Ziolkowski has suggested, it seems more likely that Warner engages in a sort of artistic invective. Warner writes, "Now I have laughed enough with Moriuhth the Scott as the butt, and now it is shameful to speak his name again. It is now fitting that we hastened from the poorly-esteemed subject of the goat deserving to be fed with pigs honey to a better poem; For I ought not to corrupt my reed on account of the goat Moriuhth and his she-goat's pit.." <sup>307</sup> Here, at the same time that Warner clearly revels in the aggressive explicitness of his attacks on Moriuhth, Warner suggests that he should be thinking of a poem with a better theme and wrapping this one up. Nevertheless, he keeps going, either enjoying himself or continuing exactly the poem that he was expected to write. I will further explore the possibility that Warner's playful aggressiveness and obscenity are typical of the Rouennais court culture in the last section of this chapter. By emphasizing the sense that he should be writing about something else, he underlines his actual desire to write or the general interest of his audience to hear this sort of explicit and sharp-witted poetry.

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<sup>305</sup> Both Eric Christiansen and Elisabeth van Houts have conjectured that Moriuhth must have been a real poet (Eric Christiansen, *The Norseman in the Viking Age* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), p. 26; van Houts, "Scandinavian Influence," p. 108).

<sup>306</sup> See below, pp. 165-166.

<sup>307</sup> McDonough, p. 105; "Iam satis est Moriuhth Scottum risisse petulcum, / Illius nomen iamque iterare pudet. / Posthabito capro procino melle cibando / Ad melius carmen nos properare decet; / No debemus enim calamum dorrumperer nostrum / Prop Moriuhth capro atque capre puteo" (Warner, Moriuhth, lines 473-478, p. 104).

The cultural implications discussed in the previous chapter of Warner's discussion of Moriuh't's poetry are also relevant here. Although Warner very specifically sets himself (or his speaker) as a rival to Moriuh't, the underlying competition that we see in Warner's text is between different schools and different cultures. This aspect of his satires is very critical of the ducal family and its potential cultural legitimacy. Warner distinguishes between the French and the Normans, and he does this twice in relation to Moriuh't's poetry. The first instance is in his lamenting of Vergil's fall from grace after Moriuh't's style of poetry becomes popular: "It is not Avranches nor France that will offer you palms of victory..."<sup>308</sup> This line cannot be clearly read. McDonough has translated *Aurunca* as Avranches, a French episcopal see. Its Latin name is usually *Abrincae*, but *Aurunca* could be a variant.<sup>309</sup> In that reading, Warner aligns himself with the French as those who appreciate Vergil's poetry. Alternatively, it is possible that Warner knew that *Aurunca* was the birthplace of the Roman satirist Lucilius.<sup>310</sup> This reading would have Warner reiterate his fears that the Rouennais poetry does not meet classical standards. Thirty lines later, Warner laments the reaction the French will have after reading Moriuh't's verse: "It would have been that you lie under your blanket ... than that you, Ravola, should make such an ill-composed verse through which the Franks find laughter and your pupils find dishonor."<sup>311</sup> Here, Warner is embarrassed by Moriuh't's poetry and fears French judgment, but he does not fear French aggression. He also suggests that Moriuh't may have students, or at least followers, who attempt to write in his style, and he worries that they too will earn ridicule from the French. Dudo also represents the French as harsh judges of poetry, and yet his representation is less

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<sup>308</sup> McDonough, p. 97; "Non Aurunca tibi palmas neque Francia tendet..." (Warner, Moriuh't, line 357, p. 96). "

<sup>309</sup> McDonough, *Moriuh't*, p. 181, note 357.

<sup>310</sup> McDonough, *Moriuh't*, p. 181, note 357.

<sup>311</sup> McDonough, *Moriuh't*, p. 99; "Sub lodice tua melius recuabre fuisset /... / sic incompositum quam ferres, Ravola, versum, / Quo risum Francis, dedecus et pueris" (Warner, Moriuh't, lines 387-390, p. 98).

violent than that of the harsh Norman crowds.<sup>312</sup> In this context, the French represent the Roman south, while it seems that *Moriuht* and the Irish represent the barbarous north. *Moriuht*'s rise to literary favor represents a rupture with Rome and with the classical past. Since Warner presents himself as the follower of classical poets, his depiction is self-serving, but here, he presents a competition that the Normans are losing. They appreciate strange poetry in a new tradition, and in doing so, they are in danger of being intellectually and morally inferior to their southern neighbors.

The French appear in one other instance in *Moriuht* – at the dedication – where Warner solidifies both his interest in linking the Franks and the Normans and his sense of subtle distinctions between them: “The continuing life of Robert bestows glory on the Franks; he is a king, outstanding, renowned, and dutiful. Through God’s dispensation, you are the eminent pillar, a completely reliable citadel for the good, which will not quickly tumble.”<sup>313</sup> Here, we see Warner’s dedication and adulation of the Norman rulers in the same breath with the Capetian rulers, despite the poem’s Norman provenance. Although Warner preserves the differentiation between the separate political units, by comparing the Norman rulers to the French, he creates a conceptual link between the two realms. His descriptions of the French (“proud in arms”) and the Normans (“wild with bloody slaughter”) also connect the two categories that Warner creates. Both the French and the Normans are bellicose, yet Warner’s description of the French is more reserved than that of the Normans. Warner, like Dudo, creates a sense of Norman ferocity in both intellectual and physical interactions.

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<sup>312</sup> Dudo, *Address to the Book*, line 12; Lair p. 120; Christiansen, p. 7.

<sup>313</sup> McDonough, *Moriuht*, p. 73; “Francorum decus est Rotberti vita superstes, / Regis precipui, nobilis atque pii; / Vos columnen magnum, turris bene fida bonorum, / Non casura cito, adtribuente Deo. / Ille regit Francos armis Martequ superbos; / Vos bene Nortmannos sanguine, cede feros” (Warner, *Moriuht*, ll5-10, p. 72).

Near the end of the “Address to the Book,” Dudo suggests that it is through the support of St. Quentin that the book will be able to conquer the “inermē” crowd.<sup>314</sup> This term, the unarmed crowd, often appears in medieval sources simply to indicate peasants or townspeople.<sup>315</sup> In particular, this term applied to peasants and townspeople who attended a service for the Peace or Truce of God, and Dudo’s use of it here alludes to these meetings, which were taking place in Normandy while he was writing. Katherine Allen Smith has argued that the emphasis on the crowd’s lack of arms underlines their alliance with the clerics promoting the Peace and the Truce.<sup>316</sup> Dudo here both casts himself in the role of the cleric who will convince the crowd to follow him and subverts the peaceful connotations of the phrase by suggesting that he needs to conquer them. He also situates his book and Norman writing in general as part of or analogous to a religious and political movement. His appeal to St. Quentin, not to bless his work, but rather to help him manage this crowd again both plays on the saint’s support of the Peace movement and on Dudo’s request for help against the Norman jabs. By earlier making the futile request of his book that it remain in Frankish schools rather than the Norman gymnasium,<sup>317</sup> Dudo has suggested that the Norman attacks seem to be particularly brutal. For Dudo, the Norman reaction to texts resembles both the reaction to the Peace and Truce of God and the forceful characterization of the Norman rulers. He depicts a wide base of interest in the text and a fierce response.

Dudo’s descriptions of the expected audience align well with the descriptions that he offers of Norman warriors, and Warner backs up his descriptions with his own vision of literary competition in Rouen. Warner also alludes to the importance of the writing as foundational to the

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<sup>314</sup> Dudo, *Allocutio ad Librum*, line 40; Lair p. 121; Christiansen: “unarmed” (p. 7).

<sup>315</sup> See Katherine Allen Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2013) p. 44.

<sup>316</sup> Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>317</sup> Dudo, *Allocutio ad Librum*, lines 11-12; Lair, p. 120; Christiansen, p. 7.

character of the people who both write and listen to the writing. Both Dudo and Warner demonstrate the ways in which types of speech and literature can participate in an aggressive or even violent discourse. At the same time, both authors emphasize the importance of literature and literary culture to the Rouennais court. Thus, the political potential of writing was never far from either Dudo's or Warner's minds.

#### IV. The Excoriation of Moriuh, The Amusement of Rouen

The explicit sexuality of Warner's excoriation of Moriuh, as well as the attacks on Moriuh's morality, offer an insight into another level of court discourse that went on in Rouen: sex and gender. The next chapter will look at Dudo's and satirical portrayals of Norman women, and this section sets up that chapter by demonstrating the ways in which Warner attacked Moriuh's sexual habits and masculinity, all the while arguing against appreciating Moriuh's poetry. Furthermore, Warner's attack on Moriuh provides an insight into the types of literature and discourse that may have amused the courts in Rouen. Warner's attack on Moriuh, despite its many classical allusions, is a far cry from the erudite prose and eloquence that Dudo peddles, but it is evidence for an engaged literary community. Warner's invective against Moriuh is also evidence that literature was an effective method by which to hash out rivalries through targeted embarrassment.<sup>318</sup>

The tirade against Moriuh is noticeable for the level of its obscenity and the aggressive and excessive descriptions of Moriuh's sexuality. The pervasive grotesque descriptions of sexual acts that we see in *Moriuh* are likely related to descriptions and preoccupations with women's sexuality that appear in the satires (and which I will discuss in the next chapter). The

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<sup>318</sup> Ziolkowski talks about the potential power of language "both to elevate and to humiliate those to whom speech is directed" (Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 44).

predominance of obscenity and sexual explicitness also suggests a view of the world in which sexuality is always just under the surface of any social or political interaction. *Moriuht* is amusing in that it goes a step further in making those sexual concerns overwhelming. In a political climate with these preoccupations, mocking *Moriuht*'s sexual practices may also have been one of the easiest ways to embarrass him or even publicly discredit him. And Warner's text thus becomes an example of the power and force of stylish and effective language.

*Moriuht* is a poem obsessed with sex, and in particular, Warner obsessively portrays the sexual habits of the title character. *Moriuht* never has the chance to speak about his own sexuality and the focus on it instead serves to diminish other aspects of his character. The first half of the poem is a description of *Moriuht*'s travels in slavery from Ireland to England to Saxony to Rouen. He first leaves Ireland, a land Warner describes by saying that people never wear trousers so as to be able to copulate more easily. He leaves to search for his wife, whom Vikings capture at the beginning of the poem. *Moriuht*'s search for her leads him into slavery at the hands of Vikings as well, and Warner describes his travels almost entirely in terms of the sexual acts that *Moriuht* engages in. Two different sets of Vikings capture and rape him before selling him into slavery, and once on land, *Moriuht* begins to have sex with the women and sometimes young boys of his community. When he is at sea, *Moriuht* "is forced by the Vikings to perform the sexual service of a wife. *Moriuht*, dressed in furs like a bear, is stripped, and before the sailors, [a] bear, [he is] amorously sport and strike. Yet, not unwillingly does he play Ravola for everyone with his arse. Struck by a penis, he groans – alas for the unfortunate man!"<sup>319</sup> Warner focuses here on *Moriuht*'s willingness to be the partner who is penetrated, as though he is the wife. It as though, having been deprived of his own wife, *Moriuht* takes on her

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<sup>319</sup> McDonough, *Moriuht*, p. 77; "...tunc pro coniuge Danis / Coniugis officium cogitur esse suum. / Nudatur *Moriuht*, setis vestitus ut ursus, / Et coram nautis ludis et, urse, feris. / Non tamen invitus fit Rauola podice cunctis, / Percussus genio ingem[ui]t, heu! misero" (*Moriuht*, lines 75-80, p. 76).

role. Given the satirical nature of the poem, Warner's reference to Moriuhth in the consensual role of the wife, rather than simply the passive role, may be a form of gender bending that would accord with satirical conventions and foreshadow the courtly *fabliaux* genre.<sup>320</sup> But given that the whole poem is an attack against Moriuhth, Warner was also surely aware that tarnishing Moriuhth's reputation with homosexuality, especially in sex acts that he enjoyed, was accusing him of sin. Eleventh-century penitentials see an increased emphasis on atoning for forbidden sexual acts, which suggests that Warner's claims may have been calculated to bring Moriuhth particular shame. Given the knowledge of the Benedictine Rule that Warner demonstrates in his "Second Satire," it is not unlikely that he was familiar with various penitentials and the gravity of the accusations he makes here. In addition, *gragas*, the Icelandic law code, legislates the death penalty to anyone who unjustly accuses a man of being the passive partner in sex.<sup>321</sup> Whether or not Warner was aware of this specific legal context, it is possible that the Scandinavian heritage of nobles living in Rouen made this taboo clear. Thus, if taken seriously, Warner's complaints against Moriuhth would have seriously injured his reputation. By implying that Moriuhth was not the master of his own sexual pleasure, Warner may manage to dishonor him.

It is only on the sea, however, that Moriuhth plays the passive role. He is ejected from both Corbridge (in Northumbria) and Saxony because of his over-eagerness to have sex, this time presumably in the active role, as Warner does not specify, and his partners are entirely women and young boys. In Corbridge, Moriuhth is known particularly for seducing nuns, but

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<sup>320</sup> For more on the topic of manipulating gender in the *fabliaux*, see E. Jane Burns, *Bodytalk: When Women Speak in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), pp. 31-55.

<sup>321</sup> Preben Meulengracht Sørensen, *Saga and Society: An Introduction to Old Norse Literature*, John Tucker (trans.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 16-17; John Liliequist, "State Policy, Popular Discourse, and the Silence in Homosexual Acts in Early Modern Sweden" in *Scandinavian Homosexualities: Essays on Gay and Lesbian Studies*, Jan Löffström (ed.) (Binghamton, NY: Haeworth Press, 1993), pp. 15-52 at p. 38.

“[h]e begins to be recognized and to be available to all with his penis. Now he is no more regarded with affection than a ravening dog.”<sup>322</sup> Although the nuns are burnt alive if their trysts are discovered, Moriucht is punished somewhat more lightly in only being thrown out of Corbridge by “the people”<sup>323</sup> of the town. Besides the animal imagery that goes along with Warner’s description of many of Moriucht’s sexual escapades, Warner characterizes Moriucht through his willingness for physically intimate relations and nothing else.<sup>324</sup> After another sea voyage, where Vikings again rape him and take him into slavery, Moriucht winds up in Saxony, where he becomes the sex slave of an old widow and again seduces many women and some young boys. Moriucht “granted no (moment of) inactivity to his penis, nor to his sexual activity.”<sup>325</sup> Unlike on the sea, Warner portrays Moriucht as the conqueror in Saxony: “For he conquered countless young men, nuns, widows, and married women...”<sup>326</sup> Here, although he is a slave, he manages to conquer those around him in an unconventional manner. Unlike in Corbridge, in Saxony, he receives freedom from his mistress for his sexual services, but is then chased out of the region. He performs a sacrifice (in a young girl’s entrails) in order to discover that his wife may still be alive, and he then runs off to Rouen to find her.<sup>327</sup> This thus concludes Moriucht’s travels. By describing them as he does, Warner de-emphasizes Moriucht’s intellectual talents and refocuses attention solely on Moriucht’s physique. It is a trope throughout classical

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<sup>322</sup> McDonough, *Moriucht*, p. 79 ; “Agnosci coepit cunctis ramoque pateri;/ Plus iam non carus quam canis est rabidus” (*Moriucht*, lines 113-114, p. 78).

<sup>323</sup> McDonough, *Moriucht*, p. 81. *Moriucht*, line 132: “...a populo...”

<sup>324</sup> McDonough attributes this to an Augustinian, possibly monastic, point of view (p. 33).

<sup>325</sup> McDonough, *Moriucht*, p. 81; “Non tribuit venis ocia nec Veneri” (*Moriucht*, line 172, p. 80).

<sup>326</sup> McDonough, *Moriucht*, p. 85; “Nam multos peuros, monachas, viduasque subegit / Atque maritatas ...” (*Moriucht*, lines 173-4, p. 84).

<sup>327</sup> Peter Dronke argues that Moriucht is driven to magic because of his rejection from yet another place (Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000-1150*, p. 82).

satire that foreigners are particularly lascivious, and Warner's portrayal of Moriuh't thus emphasizes Warner's own wide reading at the same time that he ignores Moriuh't's intellect.<sup>328</sup>

It is possible that through these descriptions of Moriuh't's travels in sexual terms, beyond their clear intention of embarrassing the poet, Warner meant to amuse his audience with the provincial qualities of the lands Moriuh't visits. The second half of the poem, which I have already discussed in many places, pits Moriuh't's wanton sexual behaviors against the attitudes and behaviors of other Latin poets such as Vergil and Statius. The implication seems to be that Moriuh't's sexual voracity is at odds with the particular strains of classical tradition he ought to emulate with his poetry. (Of course, we know that Warner may have actually had access to Roman comedy and satire, so he would have known that classical poetry could be bawdy.) Some of this criticism must be tongue-in-cheek on Warner's part, since he was clearly familiar with some Latin satirists.<sup>329</sup> Nevertheless, part of his campaign against Moriuh't is also an exercise in making fun of places outside of Rouen that are less cosmopolitan and can be easily conquered in the basest physical way. Moriuh't does not need to use any of the eloquence or wit that Richard I uses so well. In displaying Rouen's interest in Moriuh't's poetry, however, Warner also expresses the concern that what passes for literature in Rouen may not have been appreciated elsewhere.

Warner's vitriol against Moriuh't is tinged with frustration at the fact that Moriuh't's poetry is not unpopular. In his first reference to Moriuh't at the beginning of the poem, Warner refers to him as "fortunate goat,"<sup>330</sup> Later in the poem when he complains that the French will laugh at Moriuh't's poetry, he specifically does not say anything about the Normans or the Rouennais. Warner seems to be goading other poets into agreeing with his verdict about

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<sup>328</sup> For more on the tradition of portraying foreigners as lascivious, see McDonough, *Moriuh't*, p. 153, note 173.

<sup>329</sup> See McDonough, *Moriuh't*, pp. 11-15.

<sup>330</sup> McDonough, *Moriuh't*, p. 73; "fortunatum ... caprum" (*Moriuh't*, l 28, p. 72).

Moriuht's poetry. This would make sense if, as both van Houts and Christiansen have suggested, Moriuht had beaten Warner in a contest for ducal patronage, and perhaps the rivalry between them stems from this earlier competition. It is possible that Moriuht is a fictional character. While there were no doubt poets in Rouen other than Warner, Moriuht may not necessarily have been one of them. In that case, Warner would feel free to exaggerate the rivalry he may have felt with other poets to extreme and thus satirical proportions. This exaggeration may have been what made possible Moriuht's single-minded focus on Warner's sexuality.

The fact that Warner chooses Moriuht's sexuality as the avenue through which to mock his rival poet suggests the potential importance of discussions of sexuality at court in Rouen. Perhaps Warner believed this line of insult would have been extremely effective at discrediting Moriuht. I have suggested above that some of the preoccupation with sex may be related to trends in contemporary religious thought. For instance, Burchard of Worms' penitential, which he wrote at roughly the same time that Warner was writing, contains many injunctions against deviant sexual practices.<sup>331</sup> As I will further discuss in the next chapter, it is very difficult to read *Moriuht*, *Jezebel*, and *Semiramis* in one sitting and not notice that early eleventh-century Rouennais literature is particularly sexually explicit. Some of this preoccupation may be attributed to a particular brand of humor that is not unfamiliar in the later *fabliaux* nor is it so dissimilar to the crude jokes that pleased in Aristophanes and Plautus. As mentioned above, the register of language may have been expected and thus not understood as obscene. Or, the unexpectedness of the obscenity could make the satires amusing. In other words, sexual obscenity could have played a productive role in court society just by helping to amuse.

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<sup>331</sup> See McDonough, p. 196, note 456 and Book XVII of Burchard of Worms' penitential in J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* Tome 140 Saec. XI, (Paris: Apud Editorium, 1880) pp. 1001-1127.

Warner's depiction of Moriut, although far cruder and more embarrassing, parallels Dudo's descriptions and discussions of the Norman ducal family in one important way. Warner draws attention to the juxtaposition between Moriut's physical activities and his linguistic ones. He thus further adds weight to the idea that language could influence and be influenced by physical activities. Warner also provides an example of an attempt to de-legitimize another prominent figure through forceful and damaging words.

#### Conclusion: An Audience for Portrayals of Eloquence

Many of my arguments rely on the idea that the ducal family is meant to be at least one of the audiences of the texts. The argument that Dudo and Warner wanted their texts to be read by or presented to the ducal family is supported by their own attestations at the beginning of their texts. Given the multilingual setting in Rouen, it is also fair to wonder how many members of the ducal family understood Latin. Even if they did not understand Latin, however, they could have appreciated the creation of the manuscripts for their prestige value. Shopkow, and more recently, Pohl, have argued that Rouen MS Y 11, an eleventh-century copy of Dudo's text may even demonstrate a tradition of illustrating Dudo's text.<sup>332</sup> The text of the manuscript, although complete, leaves spaces throughout which may be for illustrations, especially since there is one dry-point illumination of two seated men that corresponds with descriptions of Rollo and Gurim receiving petitioners. It thus is possible that even if members of the ducal family were unable to read the text, it may have been possible for them to look at it and understand it. Since the satires

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<sup>332</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 220; Benjamin Pohl, "The Illustrated Archetype of the *Historia Normannorum*: Did Dudo of Saint-Quentin Write a 'Chronicum Pictum'?" *Anglo-Norman Studies 37: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2014*, Elisabeth van Houts (ed.) (Woodbridge: Brewer and Boydell, 2015), pp. 225-55; Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 171 – 197. In *Predatory Kinship*, Eleanor Searle suggests that Dudo may have orally recited his history in the vernacular (p. 63)..

only survive in one manuscript (or two in the case of Warner's "Second Satire"), it is not possible to make this sort of argument for them. Nevertheless, Lifshitz has argued that the texts were acted out.<sup>333</sup> Pohl explains that through intermediaries, whether they be picture, actors, or translators, it would be possible even for an illiterate ducal family to access the text.<sup>334</sup> He also There is no evidence, however, to suggest that the ducal family did not understand Latin and therefore they could have read the texts themselves.<sup>335</sup> Pohl also argues that an illustrated version of the text would have been an impressive sight for visitors to the court or as a present to a foreign noble.<sup>336</sup>

It is also very likely that the authors had multiple audiences in mind. Dudo's letter to Adalbero suggests that he may have been writing for readers outside of Normandy. Also, in the first few decades of the eleventh century, the boundaries of the duchy were in flux, and it would have been helpful to have a text like Dudo's to present to a Norman audience in an effort of cultural unification and ideological territorial solidification.<sup>337</sup> Dudo's text survives in enough manuscripts to suggest that it was known throughout Normandy, at least in monastic settings. McDonough has suggested that the monks at Saint Ouen were an ideal audience for the Rouennais literature.<sup>338</sup> The scant manuscript evidence for the other texts makes it near impossible to tell what kind of circulation they may have had. Since they are satirical, one

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<sup>333</sup> Felice Lifshitz, "Review of Benjamin Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum: Tradition, Innovation and Memory*" *Medieval Review*, January 26, 2016.

<sup>334</sup> Pohl, *Dudo of Saint Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 156-160. In a very recent article, Pohl has further elaborated this thesis: Benjamin Pohl, "Poetry, Punctuation and Performance: Was There an Aural Context for Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *Historia Normannorum*?" *Tabularia* 15 (2016), pp. 177-216.

<sup>335</sup> Christopher McDonough suggests in his introduction to *Moriuht* that Warner's description of Gonnor as "sapiens" suggests that she may have known Latin, although he could have included the reference as a courtesy to the archbishop (McDonough, *Moriuht*, p. 52)

<sup>336</sup> Pohl, "Pictures, Poems and Purpose," p. 251.

<sup>337</sup> Pierre Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, pp. 68-82.

<sup>338</sup> McDonough, *Moriuht*, pp. 51-54.

audience could have been either non-Norman or non-Rouennais nobles who could enjoy the mild mockery of the Norman ducal court.

Lars Mortensen and Gelting have also suggested that Dudo may have written his text as a sort of textbook for schools. This suggestion allows for many of the idiosyncrasies of the history, but the hypothesis requires some nuancing. Mortensen bases his argument on Dudo's early reference to the Norman *gymnasium* and Dudo's use of a wide variety of meters and vocabulary. This variety would allow his text to be used as an exemplar for students to copy, study, and emulate. Ultimately, he believes Dudo's text could not have been read out in court because its vocabulary and structure is too complex and the history would not have been interesting for "erudite monks" because the syntax is too simple.<sup>339</sup> Thus, according to Mortensen, a school would be the most logical audience. Nevertheless, Dudo's own assertions of expecting a courtly audience contradict the idea that his intention was to be read only by young scholars. It would seem extraordinary that the first written history of the Norman dukes would not have been meant for some sort of political purpose. As we have seen, Gelting suggests that Dudo had multiple audiences in mind and that one of them could have been young noblemen studying in Rouen who would have seen the idealized depictions of the dukes as behavioral models.<sup>340</sup> This suggestion is much more reasonable in that it both allows for an educational context and an extremely explicit political purpose.

Mortensen and Gelting may be correct that Dudo's text was used in schools as an exemplar, and this may help to explain its wide circulation and the tradition of copying it well into the sixteenth century. But it seems unlikely that this use was the main purpose that Dudo had in mind while writing. It seems much more likely that the bizarre vocabulary and wide array

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<sup>339</sup> Mortensen, p. 100.

<sup>340</sup> Gelting, pp. 31-35. Vopelius-Holtendorff also suggests that Dudo's position at court was for him to instruct the young Norman noblemen (Vopelius-Holtendorff, p. 402).

of styles and meters was meant to impress any of his patrons who may have been literate and any Frankish or Norman nobles who may have read the text. As I discussed in the previous chapter, the extravagance of the text's style could have the effect of rubbing off on its subject matter.

Whether or not the Rouennais works appeared in classrooms and in noble courts in the rest of Normandy and beyond, the primary audience for these works is the two courts in Rouen and/or the monastery of Saint Ouen. The complicated portrayal of the ducal family as at once fierce and intellectual thus would have circulated in Rouen and among other nobles who came to Rouen. Dudo and Warner both suggest that it was important to the ducal family to be perceived as adept with language both in political dealings and in witty court settings. As these authors strive to alter the images created of the Normans by other contemporary sources, perhaps they need to deflect the negative portrayals elsewhere. It is likely that at least Dudo's interest in showing the linguistic focus of the Norman court might be an attempt to bring a kind of prestige to the family or at least a balanced view of the ruling family – a collective balance between *sapientia* and *fortitudo*. Warner's portrayal of Moriut demonstrates the currency in Rouen of the idea that physical and intellectual forces are inseparable.

## LITERARY DEPICTIONS OF NORMAN WOMEN:

### SATIRIZED SEX AND POLITICAL LEGITIMACY

In the discussion of the literary portrayals of women in this chapter, we will again see the emphasis on language, especially as a political tool, that we saw in the discussion of Norman men and the ducal court in the previous chapter.<sup>341</sup> Bauduin has claimed that marriage was a key part of the ducal family's strategy in securing their legitimacy and effective control of the region.<sup>342</sup> Here, we will see how that strategy comes through in the literary texts. We will also see that both Dudo and the satirists see women as having two different potential *loci* of power – reproduction and speech. While male speech is a potent and effective political tool, the effects of female speech are more varied. In this chapter, we will consider the sexual themes that are so prevalent in the satires and that we began discussing in the previous chapter in relation to *Moriuht*. In the satires especially, female speech often involves sexual quips or discussions of sexual choices. It is through a consideration of the gendered political power that appears in both Dudo's history and the satires that we can start to understand why sexual explicitness is such a prevalent theme in the Norman literature. The authors exaggerate and play with the perceived power of ducal consorts through their ability to bear heirs. In addition, the fact that the satirists demonstrate the women's sexual power through female sexual speech further emphasizes the perceived importance of speaking well, especially in public situations. Although forceful, witty, or purposeful female speech can have varied results, its potency throughout the texts further

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<sup>341</sup> When I write about the women associated with the ducal family, rather than the female members of the ducal family, I am making allowances for the fact that Emma of Normandy is the only woman born into the ducal family who appears in any of this literature. Otherwise, Dudo describes many ducal consorts, and both *Jezebel* and *Moriuht* make references to Gonnor.

<sup>342</sup> Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 318.

emphasizes the understanding that the authors present that good control of language can be a tool for projecting legitimacy and political control.

This chapter will first deal with the tension that Dudo and the author of *Semiramis* portray between the women of the ducal family's belonging to that family and also to the family that they were born into, or in Emma's case, the families that she married into. In other words, women, unlike men, cannot fully act on behalf of the Norman ducal family because they are at once Norman and foreign. This first section sets the scene for the two following sections in which I discuss Dudo's and the satires' depictions of the speech of ducal consorts and other noble women. Dudo develops a dichotomy whereby he praises the women for their sharp minds and good counsel but does not describe any effective political participation on the part of the women. The satires, on the other hand, portray many instances of aggressive, witty, female speech. Their portrayal reinforces the sense from Dudo's text that control of language was valued and a powerful tool for women as well as for men.

The final section of the chapter brings together all of these portrayals of ducal women in order to suggest that they demonstrate the particularly powerful role of women in Normandy to legitimate and bring prestige to the ducal family. Throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, marriage was (and still can be) a powerful tool in creating political and social alliances as well as manipulating the status of the families involved. But given that the Normans were relative newcomers to France, it seems that Dudo was acutely aware of the potential power that a cunning marriage strategy could have in manipulating the status and reputation of the ducal family.

Just as Ziolkowski has argued that the Normans were particularly attuned to the power of language as a political tool and even sometimes as a tool of war, so too it seems they were aware

of language as a factor in the negotiations of relationships between the sexes. Bauduin has argued that the Normans had a three-pronged strategy for securing and legitimating their rule over the territory and that one of these prongs was intermarriage with the Frankish nobility who ruled lands bordering on Normandy.<sup>343</sup> If Bauduin is right, as I will argue he is, these marriages were an important feature of life at the ducal court, and it is thus not surprising that they were a central feature of court literature. Although we do not see a tension between strong words and a strong body in the depictions of the women (as we did with the men), we do see an intimate connection among language, the body, and politics. For women, their courtly importance is wrapped up in their roles as sexual partners and potentially powerful political actors and speakers.

#### I. Cultured Outsiders: Strategic Links

While the consorts join the Norman ducal family and in some cases bear Norman children, the literary depictions of them make it clear that they remain foreign.<sup>344</sup> This section demonstrates the ways in which the Rouennais authors portray ducal consorts and women in the ducal family at once as integral parts of the family and as potentially dangerous outsiders. Dudo's depiction of ducal consorts demonstrates either a real or perceived difficulty for the ducal family in finding appropriate marriage partners who increased its status without eroding the family's power by making it subservient to more impressive or more powerful foreign families. In other words, a marriage with a powerful family was a double-edged sword, providing status

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<sup>343</sup> Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, *passim*, summarized on p. 319.

<sup>344</sup> Dudo portrays all six of the ducal consorts he discusses as outsiders, which is unsurprising given the medieval practice whereby a noble wife would usually join her husband's family (See Régine Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (vii-xe siècle) : essai d'anthropologies sociale* (Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995) p. 287.)

and legitimacy while at the same time having the potential to enmesh the ducal family with more powerful figures who could wear away at the independent power of the dukes. Dudo solved this status problem in two ways. The first method is by providing each duke with exactly two consorts (no matter what the reality may have been) – one who affords the duke prestige and another who bears his son. The second method is by developing the prestige of the dukes over the course of the narrative; although they could not marry into the Frankish royal family in the beginning of the tenth century without being overshadowed, the dukes could bring prestige to the new Capetian Frankish royal family by the end of that century. Despite this controlled and contrived depiction of the consorts, Dudo refers to none of the wives or consorts as Norman except Gonnor. This insistence that the women are not Norman emphasizes the sense that they are only partially incorporated into the ducal family and are rather part of a strategy of family building.

The idea of marriages as political alliances and the use of women as chips in a political game is one of the best-studied phenomena of the middle ages.<sup>345</sup> The ducal family's strategy of intermarriage is not easily ascertained from contemporary documents because very few women appear in the ducal family's charters and official documents. Nevertheless, Bauduin has demonstrated the way the ducal family asserted its rights over Normandy vis-à-vis Frankish nobles through the alliances it built, especially with families holding land on Normandy's border.<sup>346</sup> Dudo's depiction of the Norman ducal family clearly reveals a political strategy behind the choices of consorts. The difficulty for the Normans of successfully navigating the

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<sup>345</sup> Janet Nelson, "Queens as Jezabels: Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History" in *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), pp. 1-48 at p. 2, 45; Régine Le Jan, *Famille*, p. 327; David Herlihy, "Land, Family and Women in Continental Europe 700-1200," *Traditio* 16 (1962), pp. 89-113 at pp. 104-108. See also: Klein, *Ruling Women*, pp. 4-5; and Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages (Women, Power, and Politics)* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1998), pp. 34-37.

<sup>346</sup> Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, partie III: pp. 177-318, esp. p. 245 for a summary.

potentially conflicted alliances of these foreign women is apparent, not least through the fact that each of the three dukes Dudo writes about had two consorts.<sup>347</sup> Since, as Eleanor Searle has argued and I will further discuss below, Dudo was more than happy to simplify, manipulate, and even falsify the make up of the ducal family, his inclusion of the dukes' multiple consorts must have been to a purpose.<sup>348</sup> Below, I will discuss all six ducal consorts that Dudo includes, and I will suggest that each one plays a unique part in Dudo's shaping of the prestige and legitimacy of the Norman ducal family.

A pattern arises in the marriages of the first three dukes. Each one marries one woman from the Frankish elite, and one woman whose social status and connections are more eclectic. Of the first category, the only pairing that fails spectacularly is Rollo's with Gisla, the daughter of Charles the Simple. In an episode that I will discuss again below, Gisla proves her conflicted loyalties when she agrees to meet with her father's envoys without her husband's knowledge.<sup>349</sup> Although Gisla proves less than obedient, Dudo presents her as a symbol of the Frankish kingdom, and in this way, we see Dudo's demonstration that the Norman ducal family is worthy of marrying into the Frankish royal family.<sup>350</sup> It may be significant that there is no external evidence of Rollo's marriage to Gisla, and it is possible – Christiansen asserts it as fact – that

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<sup>347</sup> The fact that most of the dukes have more than one wife has led scholars into discussions of Christian marriage versus marriage by *more Danico* (See Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma & Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 73; J. L. Laynesmith, "Queens, Concubines and the Myth of Marriage More Danico: Royal Marriage Practice in tenth and eleventh-century England," *Medieval Marriage. Selected Proceedings of the 2013 Postgraduate Conference*, In *University of Reading Blog*, <http://blogs.reading.ac.uk/trm/files/2014/03/GCMSJoanna-Laynesmith.pdf>, last accessed July 28, 2016; Ruth Mazo Karras, "Concubinage and Slavery in the Viking Age," *Scandinavian Studies* 62/2 (1990), pp. 141-62; Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 83-84). While there is ample evidence that the Norman settlers struggled well into the beginning of the eleventh century with some of the tenets of Christianity, including Christian marriage, the fact that Dudo includes multiple partners for all three dukes should not be taken simply as evidence for the continuance of *more Danico*.

<sup>348</sup> Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, p. 94.

<sup>349</sup> See below pp. 159-160.

<sup>350</sup> Lifshitz suggests that Emma's marriage to Aethelred demonstrates that the Norman ducal family makes worthy partners for kings (Lifshitz, "Succession," p. 101).

Dudo made up the marriage as a literary symbol.<sup>351</sup> Dudo emphasizes the sense that Rollo and Gisla's union is symbolic by closely associating Gisla with the Frankish land as well as Frankish politics; he connects her to the original gift of land made to Rollo (traditionally dated at 911 with the treaty of Saint-Claire-Sur-Epte). Charles the Simple, according to Dudo, gave the territories that would comprise Normandy to Rollo along with his daughter so that their children could rule the area, and Dudo uses strikingly similar images to describe the land and the girl.<sup>352</sup> The territory is "utterly desolated land ... untilled by the plough."<sup>353</sup> In the same passage, Dudo describes Gisla as a "most unsullied virgin."<sup>354</sup> Both the land and Gisla are in the same virginal state. They are presented by Dudo at the same moment, making the strong suggestion that Gisla is not only a political link to her father but is also a representation of the land that was once part of her father's domain. Dudo uses classical imagery – in particular Vergil's portrayal of Aeneas' union with Lavinia – as inspiration here.<sup>355</sup> Like Aeneas founding Rome, Rollo brings his followers to the uncultivated Normandy and starts a new settlement, and he will begin a family and lineage with Gisla. Seen from this perspective, Gisla is the symbol of Rollo's official juncture with and indeed mastery over Normandy. And in presenting Gisla in this way, Dudo emphasizes her status as an outsider – one who is a key factor in securing power, prestige, and legitimacy. And thus, when Gisla acts as the daughter of the Frankish king by receiving the nobles, Dudo shows us that Normandy was not entirely within Rollo's control. And the power

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<sup>351</sup> Christiansen, *Dudo*, p. 195, note 199. Gisla does not appear in any contemporary sources, and she is most likely based on the daughter of Lothair II, Gisla, who married a viking in 882 (ibid.). Henri Prentout, one of the first to study Dudo and to condemn him for his lack of attention to what really happened suggests that the role of most of the marriages is symbolic and that any of them may not have occurred (Prentout, *Dudo*, p. 302-304; 390-391).

<sup>352</sup> Dudo, II.25 (Lair, p. 166; Christiansen, p. 47). See Judith Green, "Duchesses of Normandy in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Normandy and Its Neighbours, 900-1250*, David Crouch and Kathleen Thompson, (ed.) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 43-59 at p. 45.

<sup>353</sup> Christiansen, p. 47. Dudo, II.26 (Lair, p. 166): "terra ... desolata ... aratro non exercita ...".

<sup>354</sup> Christiansen, p. 47. Dudo, II.26 (Lair, p. 166): "virgo integerrima".

<sup>355</sup> Christiansen, p. 195, note 199. For Dudo's modelling of Book II (Rollo's life) on the *Aeneid*, see Albu, *Histories*, pp. 7-17; Pierre Bouet, "Dudon de Saint-Quentin et Virgile: 'L'Énéide' au service de la cause normande", in *Receuil d'études en hommage à Lucien Musset* (Caen : Université de Caen, 1990), pp. 215-236; Searle, 'Fact', pp. 119-137.

that Gisla wields to integrate Normandy and its new rulers into the well-established Frankish realm does not fortify the Norman rulers so much as make them dependent on this woman.

Given that Dudo willfully manipulates the make-up of the ducal family even to the extent that he invents relationships and leaves people out, Dudo surely makes a conscious choice not to present Gisla as William Longsword's mother. Perhaps he made this choice because were William Longsword to have been Gisla's son, he would also have been the grandson of the French king. The political reality of tension between the Frankish and Norman courts dictated that this sort of connection had not been established. In Dudo's history, William Longsword's mother is instead a woman named Poppa. She falls into the second category of ducal consort – a woman whose lineage was not particularly notable. Dudo tells us that she was a Frankish noblewoman from Bayeux, daughter of Berenger, but he does not tell us much more.<sup>356</sup> Bauduin has demonstrated that Dudo may have been manipulating Poppa's lineage by making her seem so insignificant – it is possible that she was actually the sister of Bernard of Senlis, an important figure in Book IV of the history.<sup>357</sup> Given the scant evidence regarding Poppa in Dudo and other sources, it is impossible to know exactly who she was, and yet she may be another example of Dudo's desire to edit the ducal family in order to shape the narrative that he wanted.

The moment that Poppa becomes a mother is also the only time that she is named in the text. We hear of both Poppa and her son William at the same moment in the end of the second book of the history when Dudo tells us that Rollo asked his chiefs to swear allegiance to William: “When Robert, the patrician of the Northmen, was worn out by his great age, and by

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<sup>356</sup> Dudo, III.36 (Lair, p. 179; Christiansen, p. 57).

<sup>357</sup> Bauduin has shown that there are two traditions concerning Poppa's lineage. The first is Dudo's, whereby she is the daughter of a French noble prominent in Bayeux, but not anywhere else. Bauduin has shown that this is a reasonable possibility as a Berenger linked to the Hunrochide family, which was powerful in Flanders, among other places, was prominent in Bayeux at the time. The second tradition concerning Poppa comes from the *Annales de Jumièges*, in which Poppa is the sister of Bernard of Senlis. Bauduin lends credence to this theory when he points out that Dudo refers, without any explanation, to Bernard of Senlis, as Richard I's uncle (Bauduin, pp. 129-131).

the excessive toil of his wars, he called together the chiefs of the Danes and the Bretons, and gave all the land under his sway to William, son of Poppa...<sup>358</sup> At this first reference, we know nothing about Poppa, save that she is William's mother. In the beginning of the next book, we get our second and last mention of her: "And so, as was declared in the preceding book, the most glorious duke and pre-potent count William, who was also an athlete most highly beloved 'of the eternal king, was born of noble stock' with a Dacian father (Rollo, that is), and a Frankish mother, namely Poppa, and 'he began his life' in the city of Rouen."<sup>359</sup> Poppa truly recedes into the background behind her son and his father. As he does regarding Gisla, Dudo emphasizes Poppa's foreignness – in fact she resembles an abstract incarnation of Frankish nobility. Nevertheless, it seems that her non-descript social status affords the Norman rulers with both prestigious Frankish relations but also a relationship that the Norman men could control and dominate. Again, it is likely that Dudo purposefully manipulated this relationship to fit the narrative he was crafting. Evidence from the *Planctus* suggests, as discussed in the previous chapter, that William Longsword and his sister were born somewhere in the Orkneys before Rollo arrived in Normandy.<sup>360</sup> If this is the case, Dudo purposefully crafted a Frankish heritage for William Longsword, but a Frankish heritage that both Rollo and William could control and overshadow with their Norman power.

Dudo's depiction of William Longsword's consorts further emphasizes the sense that foreign women play an ambivalent role in the development of the ducal family's power and legitimacy. William's first consort, who remains unnamed in Dudo's text, although William of

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<sup>358</sup> Christiansen, p. 54. Dudo, II.34, (Lair, p. 173): "Robertus, Northmannorum patricius, grandaeva aetate nimioque labore praeliorum consumptus, convactis Dacorum Britonumque principibus, dedit omnem terram suae ditionis Willelmo, Poppae filio ...".

<sup>359</sup> Christiansen, p. 57. Dudo, III.36, Lair, p. 179: "Igitur gloriosissimus dux praepotensque comes Willelmus, et aeterno regi athleta dilectissimus, ex prosapia insigni, patre Daco, scilicet Rollone, matre Francigena, videlicet Poppa, ut parecedenti libro peroratum est, genitus, Rotomagensi urbi exstitit oriundus."

<sup>360</sup> van Houts, "The *Planctus* on the Death of William Longsword (943)," p. 9.

Jumièges later called her Sprota, falls into the second category of non-illustrious or non-Frankish wives. Flodoard claims that Sprota was Breton, and evidence suggests that she was actually the mother of Richard I.<sup>361</sup> Dudo may have wanted to mention her as she most likely was important to Richard I, as his mother, but as in his discussion of Rollo's wives, Dudo spends much more time discussing William Longsword's other, more powerful, wife, Leyerda.

Leyerda, William Longsword's official wife, is unnamed in the text as well and appears only in the context of the marriage ceremony and the arrangements between her father, the count of the Vermandois, and William. Her marriage to William is understood as a political alliance even by the characters in the history. Bates has described William Longsword's reign as a period of "accommodation to Frankish practices," and he uses the fact that Leyerda's dowry was arranged around Frankish and Christian customs as one piece of evidence.<sup>362</sup> Leyerda is so clearly a peace-weaver/alliance-maker that her only description is in terms of the riches and people – gold and servants – she brings with her to her wedding rather than any personal qualities.<sup>363</sup> Dudo's presentation of Leyerda thus emphasizes only her non-Norman connections. And, while charter evidence suggests that she chose where to donate her dowry land and even bore a daughter, Richard I's half-sister Emma, her role in the history is simply to attest to the increased recognition of the Norman ducal family's prestige by foreign nobles.<sup>364</sup>

Although external evidence suggests that Sprota was Richard I's mother, Dudo leaves it extremely unclear in the history which woman is meant to be Richard's mother. At Richard I's birth, William is away from Rouen fighting, and as he comes from the battlefield, he learns that

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<sup>361</sup> Searle, *Predatory*, p. 89. Dudo mentions Sprota without a name in III. 42 (Lair, pp. 185-186; Christiansen, p. 63). William of Jumièges names her (*The Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, iii.2, pp. 78-79). Flodoard identifies Sprota as 'concupina Britannia' (Flodoard, *Les Annales de Flodoard, publiées d'après les manuscrits*, Philippe Lauer (ed.) (Paris:A. Picard et fils, 1905), p. 86; Flodoard, *The Annals of Flodoard of Reims 919-966*, Steven Fanning and Bernard S. Bachrach (trans.) (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004), p. 37).

<sup>362</sup> Bates, *1066*, 12.

<sup>363</sup> Dudo, III.47 (Lair, p. 193; Christiansen, p. 70).

<sup>364</sup> See Fauroux, p. 91, Charter 14bis. Original Charter is Archives de Seine-Maritime (Rouen): 9H 906.

he has a son: “And William had won the victory over his enemies with three hundred men, and he was riding over the battle-field soaked in warm blood, and was gazing on the prostrate thousands of thousands of corpses, and was gratefully offering his deepest gratitude to the King of Kings; and the emissary appeared, and announced to him the joy of a new-born child.”<sup>365</sup> Here, it is as though Richard was spawned from the death that William had recently wreaked on his enemies, and this seems a deliberate association. This scene in the text is divorced from any specific conflict, as it is a flashback and William actually dies prior to the scene. Thus, Dudo has purposefully crafted this image of Richard’s birth as coming from a battlefield rather than from his mother. At the time of birth, Dudo refers only to William’s noble wife, and the only wife William has officially acquired in the text is the woman identified in charters as Leyerda.<sup>366</sup> Nevertheless, by not mentioning her by name, Dudo does not make clear who actually gave birth, and, especially given the fluidity of marriage during this period, he leaves open the possibility that either woman could be Richard’s mother.<sup>367</sup> He creates a connection between Richard and the image of a powerful warrior, rather than either the unremarkable image of the Breton Sprota or the noble Frankish image of Leyerda. Dudo must have been aware of Richard I’s true parentage, as presumably Richard I would have known and Dudo includes a dedication to Ralf d’Ivry, who was Richard I’s half brother through Sprota’s second marriage.<sup>368</sup> Just as it was more important to link Richard I definitively to the Vermandois than to an unknown Breton, it

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<sup>365</sup> Christiansen, p. 95. Dudo, IV. 64; Lair, p. 218: “Willelmo vero cum trecentis potito victoria de inimicis, et per praelii pratum tepido cruore infectum equitanti, milliaque millium exanimum prostrata intuenti, atque regum Regi grates praemaximas gratanter referenti, legatus natate sobolis gaudium denuntians affuit.” For further discussion of Richard I’s birth scene, see Jordan, p. 59.

<sup>366</sup> Dudo, IV.46: ‘... filius ex conjugē dilectissima ...’ (Lair, p. 191). Christiansen: “a son ... of his dearest wife ...” (p. 68).

<sup>367</sup> David Crouch has argued that William Longsword was married to Sprota as well as Leyerda, as none of these marriages were confirmed or sanctified by the church (David Crouch, *The Normans: The History of a Dynasty* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), p. 25).

<sup>368</sup> The reference to Sprota’s marriage and her son Rodulf are in William of Jumièges’ account (*The Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, vii.38; pp. 174-175). For a discussion see Searle, *Predatory*, p. 108.

was even more helpful to link him to what can be seen as one of the Norman strengths – victory on the battlefield. Although either alliance could increase Norman claims to surrounding territory, Dudo instead gives Richard I a battlefield of Norman victory for a parent.

Like his father and grandfather, Richard I married one wife with illustrious Frankish connections and one without important connections in France. Unlike his father and grandfather, however, his second wife, Gunnor, held an important position in Normandy, and Dudo claims, in Denmark.<sup>369</sup> Richard I represents the culmination of the marriage trend that his father and grandfather began in that he marries into the Frankish royal family without mishap, and after his wife dies, marries Gunnor, who is the only woman Dudo ever describes as “Norman.”<sup>370</sup> It is through Richard’s first wife, Emma, the daughter of Hugh the Great, that Richard demonstrates the prestige that the ducal family has gained over three generations, and it is through Gunnor that Dudo resolves the tension of having a foreign duchess. Searle argues that Dudo essentially places Gunnor at the apex of his narrative, and it is the triumph of her people that we find at the end of Dudo’s work: “It is *her* pattern – Gunnor’s – and that of their children and cousins, all like themselves the *robustissimi* grandchildren, the first Norman generation, born of uncompromised and unbeaten invaders.”<sup>371</sup> For Searle, the Normans have become more and more Frankish, and Gunnor reconstructs their Scandinavian connections. Still, Gunnor is as civilized and Christian as the Frankish women who come before her.<sup>372</sup> For instance, she and Richard choose to give their children Frankish names.<sup>373</sup> While still being immediately of

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<sup>369</sup> Nevertheless, William of Jumièges and other later historians claim she was the sister-in-law of one of Richard I’s forefathers, and her marriage to the duke would thus have signalled an increase in her family’s social status (Elisabeth van Houts, “Countess Gunnor of Normandy (c. 950-1031),” *Collegium Medievale* 12 (1999), pp. 7-24 at p.7 [Here on cited as “Gunnor.”]).

<sup>370</sup> The word is ‘Northmannicarum’ (Dudo, IV.125; Lair, p. 289; Christiansen, p. 163). Dudo describes her as the prettiest of all Norman women.

<sup>371</sup> Searle, *Predatory*, p. 67.

<sup>372</sup> Dudo, IV.125 (Lair, p. 289; Christiansen, p. 163).

<sup>373</sup> van Houts, “Gunnor,” p. 12.

Scandinavian descent, Gonnor seems to also embody the Frankish Christianity, which is a part of Frankish culture that Dudo and the ducal family certainly would not have wanted to disown. She provides the ducal family with a prestigious connection that further distinguishes them among Franks rather than threatens to overwhelm them.

Richard's first marriage did not last long. There were no heirs, and Emma died young. Like Leyerda, we do not learn about any of Emma's personal qualities. Emma's death without an heir symbolically ends the Norman rulers' dependence on French women for status. For, after Emma's death, Richard's men suggest that he should take a new bride and that Gonnor is the woman for the job. Dudo writes, "Indeed, the Norman magnates recognised that she was sprung from the most noble line of renowned dynasty..."<sup>374</sup> This noble line is Scandinavian. It is clear that the Norman *optimates* are concerned both about the ducal family having an heir and about which connections this heir, their next leader, will have: "... and thinking very much of a successor and heir, and beneficent posterity for the people ..." <sup>375</sup> Here, the *optimates* want to build Norse connections, even if they are unspecific. It is significant, of course, that like all the consorts who have come before her, Dudo still mostly refers to Gonnor as a foreigner – she is Dacian in most descriptions, except the one where Dudo designates her the most beautiful of Norman women. Indeed, scholars have suggested that, despite Dudo's depiction of Gonnor's coming to Rouen from Scandinavia, she may actually be the daughter of a rival Norman dynasty in the western part of the duchy. In reality, the marriage may have been a move to consolidate the ducal family's control of the duchy.<sup>376</sup> Nevertheless, in Dudo's portrayal, Gonnor is at once,

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<sup>374</sup> Christiansen, p. 164. Dudo, IV.125; Lair, p. 289: "Northmannorum vero optimates, nobilissimo diffamatae stirpis eam noscentes exortem semine..."

<sup>375</sup> Christiansen, p. 164. Dudo, IV.125; Lair, p. 289: "... et de successore deque haerede atque de posteritate salutifera plebinium cogitantes ..."

<sup>376</sup> van Houts, "Gonnor," p 8; Searle, "Fact and Pattern," p. 135; Bauduin, p. 92; David Crouch, *The Normans: The History of a Dynasty*, p. 26.

foreign, noble, and Norman. Her appropriateness as a match for Richard I is demonstrated through the *optimates*' approval of her, and although her lineage does not help to legitimate the Norman ducal family within France, Dudo's emphasis on her foreign nobility (rather than her probable origins as a local minor aristocrat) emphasizes that Richard I was expanding his political connections through a marriage with her. Dudo does describe the marriage as *prohibita* – there is one negative word sandwiched among many bits of praise. Christiansen has suggested that this is a passing reference to the affair that later chroniclers report Gonnor and Richard I to have had for many years before they married.<sup>377</sup> The fact that Dudo passes over this negativity so quickly suggests that, in his portrayal, Gonnor's worthiness as a consort far overshadows any irregularity of the marriage process.

The consorts in Dudo's work embody the tensions and difficulties involved in forging a new, complex political position that contains elements of both Scandinavian and Frankish culture, as well as other elements. Presumably, at least by the time Richard I was looking for a wife, the daughters of the men who had come over with his grandfather would have been considered "Norman," but they also would have had a lower social standing than the dukes. The ducal choice to marry women who were not Norman may not, therefore, symbolize a crisis of identity. The reluctance of Norman dukes to make alliances with women deemed Norman suggests that the dukes were seeking to establish themselves among other leaders.<sup>378</sup> Dudo's depiction of the dukes' marriages portrays an aggressive strategy of managing social connections through alliances with women portrayed as foreign so that the dukes gradually increased their prestige and legitimacy but also maintained control of their connections.

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<sup>377</sup> Christiansen, *Dudo*, p. 224, note 461.

<sup>378</sup> Stafford, *Queens*, p. 38; Davis, *The Normans and Their Myth*, p. 63.

The poem *Semiramis*, however, demonstrates the danger of losing control of connections formed through marriage, even when a woman of Norman birth formed the connection. This interpretation of the poem is based on van Houts' convincing suggestion that the title character of the poem should be read as Emma of Normandy.<sup>379</sup> Emma of Normandy was as Norman as it was possible to be by birth, being the daughter of Gonnor and Richard I, but her remarriage to Cnut after Aethelred's defeat may have made her appear disloyal to her Norman home. Despite the fact that she remarried the Danish king, someone who presumably would have been *Dacian* like Gonnor, she lost favor in Rouen when her children by Aethelred fled to Normandy and gained shelter in Rouen. Her depiction in *Semiramis* both reproaches her for having married Cnut, and it also creates a sense that she has become a foreigner. Her rejection of her original familial ties in favor of new ties with Cnut may have seemed like exactly the same sort of insubordination that Gisla commits when she meets her father's envoys. Although I have argued that the author actually supports Emma's marriage to Cnut, his mockery reveals the ways in which her unorthodox second marriage troubled the Norman ducal family's strategy for achieving control and legitimacy as rulers.

The author's decision to use the character "Semiramis" to portray Emma in and of itself creates a sense of foreignness. The author chose a mythologized Assyrian queen who was known mostly through Greek and Roman myths about her in which she was clearly an outsider.<sup>380</sup> In addition, the Augur's goal throughout the poem is to bring his sister back from the dead. This premise emphasizes the sense that Emma is an outsider both because the need to bring her back demonstrates that she has departed the Augur's community, and the choice to

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<sup>379</sup> van Houts, "A Note," pp. 21-22.

<sup>380</sup> Dronke, *Poetic Individuality*, pp. 92, 100-102.

portray her as dead makes this emphasis even clearer – what could be more outside the experience of the living than death?

The author demonstrates that Emma's outsider status resulted from her marriage to Cnut when Semiramis finally speaks directly to the Augur and we discover that the separation between them occurred because of her coupling with Jupiter, who here most likely stands in for Cnut. But it seems that Emma's time away from Normandy and in the company of this unapproved husband has altered her so greatly that even when she returns to her brother it is in a familiar but insubstantial form: "A: ...Now the creation of shadowy form can see her brother! Once this was my royal sister's face ... S: Do not touch my limbs! I am not a palpable body."<sup>381</sup> Even when present, because of Emma's new marriage, she is not truly present. In addition, although Robert warns Emma not to look back, as Eurydice did, when she leaves the underworld, she rebukes him at the end of her speech, telling him that she cannot stay in the land of the living: "... in Pluto's embrace I am being drawn back to my harsh urn. Believe me, the dead are not granted speech for ever."<sup>382</sup> Emma makes it clear here that Robert cannot restore her to her previous place within Normandy. Interestingly, here, Emma's participation in Normandy is symbolized by her ability to speak. The portrayal of Emma in *Semiramis* complements Dudo's focus on the instability of women's alliances.

Once Emma gains power as a queen with the help of another man, her position as a representative of the Rouennais court is compromised. The fact that Dudo explicitly portrays the ducal consorts as outsiders is a key factor in understanding and explaining the complicated portrayal of women that comes across elsewhere in his text and in the satires. The necessity of

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<sup>381</sup> Dronke, p. 75. *Semiramis*, lines 154-158, p. 70: "Augur: ... Iam videt umbrifere fratrem plasmatio forme! / Quondam regalis vultus fuit iste sororis ... / Semiramis: "Ne tangas artus! Non sum palpabile corpus."

<sup>382</sup> Dronke, p. 75. *Semiramis*, lines 180-181, p. 71: "Amplexu duram retrahor Plutonis ad urnam. / Non est, crede, iugis concessus sermo sepultis."

weaving these women into the ducal family and the dangers of relying on them are manifest in Dudo's contradictory depictions of women who speak publicly and the satires' focus on sexuality and women who talk about sex. This long excursus has seemingly taken us quite far from the main question that frames this dissertation concerning the social-political context that allowed for the creation of the early-eleventh-century literature in Rouen. But the tension concerning the double alliances of highly placed women in Normandy significantly inform the themes of Rouennais literature. These women's complex status help to explain the sexual explicitness, especially when it comes in the mouth of a noblewoman, in so much of the literature. It is also through understanding the women's status that we can further see the force of speech wielded by powerful women.

## II. Words Meddling in Power: Uncontrolled women with a Powerful Weapon

Despite the women's ambiguous status at the Norman court, Dudo praises the ducal consorts for their strong minds and wise counsel – a strand of praise that runs in parallel to the implicit legitimacy that comes from the male members of the ducal family's good control of language in their exercise of power. Nevertheless, the Norman women rarely actually talk in the text. And, in at least one major episode, the public political intervention of a wife ends disastrously. Thus, Dudo shows the potency of verbal politics through negative examples when it comes to women. Here, we will continue to see the perceived importance of linguistic ability at the Norman court, and we will begin to see the ways the prominent roles of women in legitimating the ducal family affected the sorts of literature written in Rouen.

The women in the history mostly appear through Dudo's descriptions of them rather than through action that they take to advance the story. For many of the women Dudo describes, as

with the men in the dukes' entourages, the ability to give counsel is among their most important attributes.<sup>383</sup> Dudo uses similar language to claim that Gisla, Sprota, Gonnor, and even Rollo give good counsel, and he again uses another repeated locution to claim that Gisla, Gonnor, William Longsword, and a group of Frankish bishops all know how to handle business well.<sup>384</sup> Dudo's focus on the women's ability to give good counsel suggests that their ability to speak well was highly valued, and the emphasis on knowing how to behave regarding business suggests that they may have been expected to act in a public, political sphere. The fact that Dudo uses the same phrases to refer both to these consorts and the dukes themselves at least leaves the possibility open that they might be expected to participate in some of the same political functions as their husbands or other high-ranking male nobles.

Even if these women were not to fill the same political roles as their male counterparts, Dudo's emphasis on their cerebral qualities also opens the possibility of a distinct form of feminine political power. Stafford and Green have both shown that queens of England, including Emma and later Norman duchesses, were in charge of running the king's household, could hold court, and could intervene with their husbands and others on behalf of supplicants.<sup>385</sup> Dudo's use of the same terms for a group of both women and men suggests that Dudo sees these women who are close to the center of Norman power as at least theoretically influencing the political

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<sup>383</sup> Christiansen, *Dudo*, p. 195, note 199.

<sup>384</sup> To describe both Gisla's good counsel and sense of how to handle business affairs, Dudo uses the phrases 'consilio provida, forensium rerum negotio cauta' (Dudo, II.26; Lair, p. 167; Christiansen, p. 47). To describe Sprota's similar qualities, Dudo describes her as 'cuidam nobilissimae virgini elegantissimae formae, consilio profusus providae' (Dudo, III.42; Lair, p. 185-6; Christiansen, p. 63) and he attributes to her the skill of "forensium rerum negotiis affluentius catuissimae" (Dudo III.42, Lair, p. 186; Christiansen, p. 63). Dudo describes Gonnor with almost the exact same words: 'forensiumque rerum eventibus cautissimae' (Dudo, IV.125; Lair, p. 289; Christiansen, p. 163). Dudo claims that Gonnor gives good counsel twice: "Cauta consilio provida prudens" (Dudo, IV.102; Lair, pp. 264-265; Christiansen, p. 139) and "consilio cauta et provida" (Dudo, IV. 125; Lair, p. 289; Christiansen, p. 163). Rollo is described with the words 'consilio providus' in II.25 (Lair, p. 166; Christiansen, p. 46). William Longsword is described with the words 'rerum forensium prudentia omnes exsuperabat' (Dudo, III.38; Lair p. 183; Christiansen, p. 61). Finally, a group of Frankish bishops are described with the words 'proceres cunctorum bonorum forensiumque rerum' (Dudo, IV.118; Lair, p. 288; Christiansen, p. 155). For Christiansen's comment on Dudo's usage, see p. 195, note 199.

<sup>385</sup> Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers*, pp. 108-119; Green, "Duchesses of Normandy," p. 46.

affairs of the duchy. And since they seem to be at the center of political life, it is only fitting, considering his portrayal of the men, that Dudo should highlight their eloquence and diplomatic abilities. I have argued in the previous chapter that part of Dudo's reason for focusing so consistently on the eloquence and diplomacy of the Norman rulers is to counteract their reputation as pirates, and perhaps his descriptions of the women also indirectly counteract the same stereotype. Dudo suggests that these are attributes and skills valued by the Normans, and thus valued by Norman men in their consorts. Dudo thus presents an image of a well-mannered and well-spoken Norman court.

Dudo's description of Gonnor is particularly worthy of consideration because it is the most detailed regarding her mental and behavioral characteristics of any of his descriptions of ducal consorts. From her nobility to her wisdom, the qualities that Dudo emphasizes reflect on Gonnor's potential behavior and role in a political sphere. Like Gisla and Sprota, she is "discreet in advising, and provident, and wise" ("Cauta consilio provida prudens"), but, in the same poem, in the line before, Dudo calls her "worthy, most choice, and admirable."<sup>386</sup> Both sets of attributes relate to Gonnor's possible interactions with her husband and other people who may come to court as well as her suitability as a wife who could increase the prestige of the Norman ducal family. Nevertheless, she never speaks nor exercises any agency in the text. When Richard and Gonnor marry, Dudo repeats a second time that she is "cautious and far-sighted in counsel" ("consilio cauta et provida"), and he goes on with the description saying that she is, "faithful in mind, disciplined in feelings, modest in speech, gentle in converse, industrious and

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<sup>386</sup> Christiansen, p. 139. Dudo, IV.102 lines 11-12; Lair pp. 264-265: "Digna, praelecta, et recolenda / Cauta consilio provida prudens." Dudo actually includes these descriptions in a poem directly preceding Richard I's marriage to his first wife, Emma.

wise in all things.”<sup>387</sup> Dudo goes beyond his usual description of the ducal consorts as wise regarding counsel and affairs to praise separately Gonnor’s manners, speech, and mind. Again, it is difficult to know exactly what Dudo means by this sort of general praise, but he attempts to create an image of the first Norman woman as one who behaves herself well in public settings, has a sharp mind, and perhaps presides over a cultivated court. His praise here includes that she converses well, which further emphasizes the possibility that she would speak publicly, and we will see below that Warner suggests that Gonnor enjoys word play and verbal wit. In any case, it seems that Dudo is going out of his way to portray Gonnor, like her husband and his relatives, as clever and courtly.<sup>388</sup> Whether or not Dudo’s portrayal has anything to do with a reality of a learned and witty court, his portrayal at least demonstrates the importance of showing even women as part of the eloquent culture Dudo has created for the men.

Nevertheless, female participation in male discursive culture is limited because Dudo rarely actually allows the women to speak. Even within the same genre, Dudo’s depiction of Norman women differs from the picture painted, for example, by Dudo’s rough contemporary, Flodoard of Reims, of the role that Queen Gerberga of the West Franks played in her husband’s political life. Gerberga, who was the sister of Otto II, constantly negotiates with her brother on behalf of her husband and son.<sup>389</sup> Flodoard also depicts women as holding the city of Laon, suggesting that they were in command of the troops protecting the city.<sup>390</sup> Merovingian and

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<sup>387</sup> Christiansen, p. 164. Dudo, IV.125; Lair, p. 289: “consilio cauta et provida mente devota, corde subacta, alloquio modesta, conversatione mansueta, in omni re industria et sagax.”;

<sup>388</sup> Gelting has demonstrated that certain parts of Dudo’s description of Gonnor resemble Martianus Capella’s descriptions of Lady Rhetoric (Dudo, IV.125; Lair, p. 289; Christiansen, p. 163). Gelting argues that this allusion further reinforces Dudo’s portrayal of Richard as linked with the liberal arts – he is literally married to them (Gelting, pp. 22-24). Gelting also suggests that Dudo’s portrayal of Gonnor most likely bore some resemblance to the actual woman given that she was alive when Dudo wrote (Gelting, p. 24).

<sup>389</sup> Flodoard, Ph. Lauer, (ed.), p. 132; Flodoard, *The Annals of Flodoard of Reims 919-966*, Fanning and Bachrach (ed. and trans.), p. 52, 31C.

<sup>390</sup> In the first instance, in 927, Count Heribert of the Vermandois, gives the ‘custodiam’ of Laon to his wife, Emma. (Flodoard, p. 39; Fanning and Bachrach, p. 17, 9C) In the next instance, in 948, Louis IV says that he had to give up

Carolingian chroniclers also depict women in very active political roles, but we see very little of this nature in Dudo's account.<sup>391</sup>

The contrast between Dudo's insistence that the Norman women are eloquent and speak well and their lack of action or verbal participation emphasizes how powerful a tool these women wielded with their tongues. The most prominent situation in which a woman takes on a public role is Gisla's reception of her father's ambassadors, and this event does not end well, despite the praise for Gisla's wisdom in diplomacy and good counsel. Her father, Charles the Simple, sends ambassadors who prefer to meet with Gisla instead of Rollo.<sup>392</sup> When Rollo asks what has been going on and why the envoys do not wish to meet with him, his Norman informants insult him: "You are infatuated with your wife, and womanish ..."<sup>393</sup> Rollo is enraged and eventually has the envoys executed. One implication of this interaction is clearly that, from Rollo's point of view, Gisla is not meant to exercise her political prowess of her own accord.<sup>394</sup> She is also particularly dangerous as a political actor because she is the daughter of the Frankish king and therefore very well connected. The envoys clearly see Rollo as being dishonored through his dependence on his wife, as their accusations against Rollo emphasize the

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Laon, which his wife Gerberga had held, in order to appease Hugh the Great. Flodoard writes, '...regina Gerberga cum fidelibus suis ex omnibus suis regiis sedibus retinebat...' (Flodoard, p. 112; Fanning and Bachrach, 30F, p. 48). The last instance is in 951, Louis IV takes the abbey of Saint Mary away from his mother and gives it to his wife, Gerberga: 'Unde rex Ludowicus iratus, abbatiam Sanctae Mariae, quam ipsa Lauduni tenebat, recepit, et Gerbergae uxori suae dedit ...' (Flodoard, p. 123; Fanning and Bachrach, 33G, p. 56). Richer also describes Gerberga as holding Laon (Richer, , II.102, p. 168). Pauline Stafford suggests that wives, sisters, and mothers were often the most loyal allies in the central middle ages and thus could be called upon to take part in military campaigns (Stafford, *Queens*, p. 119). See also, Nelson, 'Early medieval rites of queen-making', p. 312.

<sup>391</sup> Amalie Föbel, "The Political Traditions of Female Rulership in Medieval Europe," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras, (ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 68-83 at p. 77.

<sup>392</sup> Dudo, II.33 (Lair, p. 173; Christiansen, p. 53).

<sup>393</sup> Christiansen, p. 53. Dudo, II.33; Lair, p. 173: "uxorius es, et effeminatus.

<sup>394</sup> It is with this incident in the text that Gisla's masquerade as Lavinia falters. Much scholarship surrounding Lavinia, however, stresses her lack of voice or active participation in the action of the *Aeneid*. Although a war is fought over her, she is not involved and is passively handed over to victorious Aeneas (For instance, see A.M. Keith, *Engendering Rome Women in Latin Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 49). While Charles the Simple hands Gisla over to Rollo without causing a war, she seems to retain her own power.

idea that Gisla has more power than he does. The incident between Rollo and Gisla follows directly on one in which Rollo punishes a peasant for failing to control his own wife, and perhaps Dudo places these two episodes next to each other in order to demonstrate how important Rollo would have believed it to be to control Gisla. Thus it seems that the attributes of wisdom in diplomacy and of being a good counselor that Dudo attributes to Gisla are cosmetic rather than practical. Soon after this incident, Gisla dies without an heir.<sup>395</sup> Gisla and Rollo's relationship is a representation of the limits a duchess was meant to have on her power to speak on public affairs and also symbolizes the tension between Normandy and Frankish powers; Dudo's portrayal of Gisla and Rollo's relationship suggests that the Scandinavian-royal Frankish alliance would not work to the Norman ducal family's advantage so early in the history of Normandy, as power was tilted too far toward the Franks. Gisla demonstrates the danger of that imbalance when she takes political action.

Another instance in the history where a woman very clearly inserts herself into her husband's affairs actually ends to both her and her husband's benefit. In this case, the husband is incapacitated, a state of affairs that provides some insight into the times when Dudo deems public female speech and action appropriate. In this incident, Rollo comes into contact with the Lotharingian lord Rainier and takes him hostage. Rainier's wife is distraught when she hears of her husband's capture, and she brings all of his men together in order to retrieve him. Dudo writes, "Then Rainer's wife, weeping and wailing for him, summoned his chief men and sent to Rollo so that he would hand her lord back to her for the twelve captured comrades."<sup>396</sup> After exchanging hostages, Rollo agrees to free Rainier. In this situation, we see multiple dynamics at work. Rainier's wife has the ability to call together her husband's men and to send a diplomatic

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<sup>395</sup> Dudo, II.33 (Lair, p. 173, p. 53).

<sup>396</sup> Christiansen, p. 34. Dudo, II.10; Lair, p. 150: "Tunc uxor Raigineri flens, et ejulans super eo, convocatis principibus suis, misit ad Rollonem, ut, pro duodecim comitibus captis, redderet sibi suum seniore."'

mission to Rollo. This power is, however, in her husband's absence and on his behalf. Overall, this episode provides a counter-weight to Gisla's ill-fated reception of the messengers, showing a woman taking successful political action. There are important differences between the two situations, however. Rainier's wife worked to reinstate her husband to power. In addition, she was not married to a Norman and thus does not represent the same dangers of women's overwhelming power that Dudo sketches out for the ducal family.

These are the only two incidents in which we see women participating in high-level political action. Dudo does not include any instances where mothers meddle in their children's lives. This is very different, as mentioned above, from accounts of Merovingian, Carolingian, and Anglo-Saxon queen mothers who generally called the shots while their children were young and sometimes well beyond. This role is also significantly different from that which Emma of Normandy plays in the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*. In the *Encomium*, Emma had herself presented as the orchestrator of her son's rise to the throne and early rule.<sup>397</sup> The discrepancy between these two manners of presenting women's roles, however, may be related to political context. In Emma's case, both her husbands were dead, and she faced not only an insurgency of Anglo-Saxon nobles who wished to take the throne but also dissent in her Norman family because of her remarriage to Cnut. She was the patron of the work, and it was to her advantage to present herself as a strong political figure who had the situation in hand. Dudo, however, wrote for male patrons who were trying to legitimate (rather than establish) their continuous lineage. Eleanor Searle has also shown that Dudo, perhaps at the ducal family's request, simplified the family tree that he presents so as to avoid legitimating other branches of the

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<sup>397</sup> In a new book, Helen Damico argues that the composition of *Beowulf* can be dated to the early eleventh century and that, partially because of her championing of her son's accession to the throne, Emma may be the inspiration for Wealtheow (Helen Damico, *Beowulf and the Grendel-Kin: Politics and Poetry in Eleventh-Century England* (West Virginia: West Virginia Press, 2014), p. 39 and pp. 206-293.

family. For instance, he writes out Richard I's sister, Emma.<sup>398</sup> The focus on continuous male rule does not leave any room for mothers to meddle nor does it seem to look kindly upon wives who do.

Over the past fifty years, the interaction between gender and language in relation to female speech, in particular female speech in public, has been a constant consideration of feminist scholarship. Judith Butler is one of the key theorists of the idea that gender is not inherent but rather created, and thus speech patterns and encouraged speech patterns can play an important role in helping to shape perceptions of one's own and other people's genders.<sup>399</sup> These discussions have often focused on restrictions that result from specifically defined female speech and behavioral patterns. Although Dudo praises women for their abilities to speak and think well, and, as we will see below, the satires allow women to engage in the same political discourse as men, women's independent speech or action causes discomfort that stems from the gender of those who speak. Stafford's description of Anglo-Saxon queens makes it clear that they have a role in politics and that it is a unique role that could be more easily filled by a queen than a king.<sup>400</sup> If anything similar exists for the Norman women, it is hard to tell. As we will see below, Gonnor performs the classic role of interceding on behalf of an unfortunate in *Moriuht*, but otherwise, women do not appear to take action. They appear in the background in charters, or they seem to encroach uncomfortably on territory that Dudo considers more appropriate for men.

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<sup>398</sup> Searle, *Predatory*, p. 94.

<sup>399</sup> See, for instance, Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal* 40/4 (Dec., 1988), pp. 519-531.

<sup>400</sup> The idea of women's holding a special position in politics is not unique to the middle ages. In an article regarding eighteenth-century British politics, Elaine Chalus has argued that women, although never Members of Parliament, took on unique roles in the negotiations of politics (Elaine Chalus, "Elite Women, Social Politics, and the Political World of Late Eighteenth-Century England," *The Historical Journal* 43/3 (September 2000), pp. 669-697). It is this unique role for women that seems to be lacking in Norman portrayals of women – instead the politically active ladies tread on the toes of their male counterparts.

Nevertheless, Dudo does make it clear that the wives most worthy of praise are those who have the knowledge, skill, and wisdom to speak and act publicly but do not exercise their talents. It is worth considering why Dudo bothers to create this pattern of praising women for these particular talents. Given that the most common formulation of this praise also applies to men, perhaps Dudo reinforces the image of cultured and diplomatic Normans, an image that may be a reaction to the pervasive contemporary portrayal of Normans as brutish warriors. His inclusion of Norman consorts in this image serves to solidify the sense that these are valuable Norman traits.<sup>401</sup> But the idea of consorts, especially those of equal or even greater social standing to their husbands, who act of their own accord, as Gisla does, undermines the other Norman trait that Dudo develops – that of a strong and decisive ruler. He thus attempts to reconcile this tension by describing the women as well spoken but never giving them the chance to speak. Dudo also helps to create this image and avoids insulting Gonnor by silencing her by ending the history soon after her marriage to Richard I. Leah Shopkow has argued convincingly that by ending the history there, Dudo effectively avoids writing about a period when the Vermandois, Dudo's home, and Normandy were at odds.<sup>402</sup> But Dudo also avoids describing events that may have seemed less like myth and more like recent memories. By avoiding a discussion of Richard II's young rule, he avoids describing a time when Gonnor most certainly wielded great power. By keeping the history in a realm that verges on myth, he was able to give the characters mythical and somewhat contradictory characteristics.

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<sup>401</sup> See Gelting, p. 22, 27.

<sup>402</sup> Leah Shopkow, "The Man from the Vermandois: Dudo of St.-Quentin and His Patrons," p. 309.

### III. Aggressive Language and Witty Quips: Powerful Language and Ridiculous Topics

Unlike in Dudo's history, in the satires, noblewomen speak forcefully, publicly, and wittily. Perhaps both Dudo and the satirists react to a societal contradiction whereby women held power and spoke often in rarefied circles but the Norman persona, developed by both Dudo and other historians, made it necessary for the men to dominate public discourse. Dudo reacts to this conflict by creating a contradictory presentation of Norman noblewomen, but the satirists react to this conflict by exaggerating *ad absurdum* the outspokenness of Norman noble ladies. Again, the fact that the satirists make the effort to satirize the women's speech, often on sexual topics, emphasizes the perceived importance of both women's reproductive role and speech in general as political forces. The satirizing at once pokes fun at the ruling family – a common purpose of political satire – and helps to neutralize the threat posed by outspoken ladies by making the threat seem ridiculous. The forceful wittiness of the female characters also complements the depictions of the Norman men's ability to fight and rule with aggressive words. In the satires, Norman women are able to win battles of wits and establish their intellectual dominance through their witty quips and well-reasoned speeches.

Although I will argue that the portrayals of women in the satires are not irreconcilable with Dudo's presentation of them, the fundamental difference remains that three out of the four satires have prominent female characters whereas Dudo avoids focusing on women. This difference may be partially because the genre of satire both demands and allows different sorts of portrayals than does the genre of history. Satire traditionally involves broad depictions of sexuality, and McDonough has argued that Warner took seriously the erroneous Isidorean assertion that the name of satire comes from the importance to the genre of the libidinous satyr.<sup>403</sup> A.G. Rigg has characterized satire as “the literature of criticism,” which he suggests

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<sup>403</sup> McDonough, *Moriuht*, p. 19.

lends itself to the presentation of broad literary stereotypes.<sup>404</sup> The broadness of both the humor and the characterization leads to exaggerations of the object of ridicule, and Rigg argues that this exaggeration emphasizes the difference between what is “normal” and the object of ridicule, which is “aberrant.”<sup>405</sup> Thus, while Dudo’s self-proclaimed interest in writing is to record properly the history of the ducal family, the satirists work in criticism through parody and exaggeration. While Dudo sought explicitly to provide a document of legitimation to the ducal family, the satires reveal political concerns through what their authors chose to mock. Thus, criticisms that may be implicit or masked in Dudo’s text can come to the forefront of the satires and become exaggerated. While the public personae and sexuality of the female members of the ducal court is implicitly at stake in Dudo’s text, it is explicitly at stake in the satires. In the satires, the women’s power is exaggerated, and their power as sexual partners comes together with the power they wield through eloquent speech.

One of the most striking moments of female banter occurs in the middle of *Moriuht*, when a character who bears a striking resemblance to Gonnor speaks up with not only a witty quip but also one that is sexually suggestive. In an episode that Elisabeth van Houts has explicated, a fictional character who, judging by the description of her as Rouen’s ruling widow, certainly must represent Gonnor modestly greets Moriuht while hiding her face behind her headband, and she agrees to help him retrieve his wife “for a price.”<sup>406</sup> Van Houts has suggested, given the tenor of other comments in the text, that this price might be more than the

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<sup>404</sup> A.G. Rigg, “Satire,” in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, A.G. Rigg and Frank Anthony Carl Mantello (ed.) (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), pp. 562-568 at p. 562.

<sup>405</sup> Rigg, p. 562.

<sup>406</sup> van Houts, “Gonnor,” pp. 19-20. Gonnor greets Moriuht modestly: “His dictis sapiens subrisit domna parumper / Et mitra pulchram supposuit faciem. / Tandem aperit vultum Scottumque ita fatur amice ...” (Warner, *Moriuht*, lines 255-257, p. 88). McDonough: “At these words, the understanding lady smiled for a moment and buried her beautiful face beneath her headband. After some time, she uncovered her face and in a friendly manner addressed the Irishman...” (p. 89)). Gonnor offers to help Moriuht: “Ipsa tibi reddam, sed pretio referam,” (Ibid., line 264, p. 88.) McDonough: “I shall personally restore (her) to you, but I will give (her) back (to you) for a price” (p. 89)).

manumission price and may be a sexual tax of Gonnor's own.<sup>407</sup> In response to Gonnor's statement, Warner writes that everyone present laughed.<sup>408</sup> Van Houts has convincingly interpreted this laughter as a reaction to Gonnor's *double entendre*.<sup>409</sup>

Van Houts has also pointed out that, if we follow this interpretation, it is difficult to imagine how the real Gonnor would have reacted to this depiction. Of course Gonnor is not named, but Warner states that Moriuhth comes to Rouen and speaks to the widowed leader of the duchy, and it is difficult to imagine this poem circulating at the Norman court without readers linking the central lady to Gonnor.<sup>410</sup> Maybe then the dowager countess, whom Dudo describes as wise and mentally sharp, would have positively received the wittiness of the double entendre. Van Houts has suggested that this episode may best be understood as an allusion to the tradition of sexual badinage between men and women in Icelandic literature.<sup>411</sup> She thus argues that this incident would have seemed quite natural in a mixed Scandinavian-Frankish context.

This incident may also reveal the court's literary sensibility. It seems that the sense of humor that dominated the Norman court was one that appreciated crude jokes, perhaps even when a noblewoman was both the butt and the instigator of the fun. *Moriuhth* is full of grotesque images of and jokes about sex. Only a few lines before Moriuhth meets the leading lady, Warner describes Moriuhth's nakedness and his exposed behind: "In addition, his anus also constantly gaped so openly when he bent his head and looked down on the ground, that a cat could enter into it and rest (there) for an entire year, and passing the winter in company with his consort cat

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<sup>407</sup> van Houts, "Review," pp. 622-623.

<sup>408</sup> "His dictis domine ridentibus unique cunctis / Cessit ab excelso mox Moriuhth solio" (Warner, *Moriuhth*, lines 265-266, p. 90). McDonough: "On every side, everyone laughed at these words of their lady (and) then Moriuhth withdrew from the lofty throne." (pp. 91-93)).

<sup>409</sup> van Houts, "Gunnor," p. 19.

<sup>410</sup> "Sic caput ad regni restans post scepra mariti / Nobilis, egregii, divitis atque pii, / Scilicet ad dominam Moriuhth veniens comitissam / Corruit ante pedes..." (Warner, *Moriuhth*, lines 237-240, p. 88). McDonough: "So, Moriuhth came to the leading person in the kingdom, who lived on after the kingship of her celebrated, outstanding, wealthy and dutiful husband, I mean, of course, to (our) lady, the countess. Before her feet he fell down ..." (p. 89)).

<sup>411</sup> van Houts, "Gunnor," p. 19.

...<sup>412</sup> This description is superfluously obscene. If overt and extreme sexual humor was to the taste of the Rouennais court or even other writers in Rouen, then Warner's depiction of Gonnor's adept participation in this rhetoric could be flattering rather than insulting. Perhaps the actual Gonnor would have been very pleased for being at once the generous benefactress and a witty tease.

Green has suggested that this episode is an example of Gonnor's performing the traditionally female role of intercessing for a supplicant, and if we consider this episode next to Dudo's description of Gisla's interaction with the envoys, it becomes clear that Warner presents Gonnor's intervention into public affairs in a less threatening and more absurd manner.<sup>413</sup> Despite referring to Gonnor as the "domina comitissa,"<sup>414</sup> ("lady countess") Warner mainly demonstrates Gonnor's prominence through her interaction with a wretched figure who was not even fully clothed. Gonnor's audience with Moriut is also more proprietous than is Gisla's with her father's envoys. On the one hand, Gonnor meets Moriut in public, thereby increasing the transparency of the interaction, and Gonnor's decision to help Moriut fits within a traditional role for politically powerful women. On the other hand, Gonnor's interaction with Moriut verges on the absurd in the descriptions Warner includes not simply of Moriut's ragged clothes, but his cavernous anus. The mockery that Gonnor's subjects show to Moriut further makes it clear that he is neither a dignified nor an important presence. In this way, Gonnor's interaction with Moriut, despite being more developed and prominent in the text, is far less subversive than is Gisla's audience with her father's envoys.

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<sup>412</sup> McDonough, *Moriut*, p. 89. Warner, *Moriut*, lines 229-232, pp. 86-88: "Insuper et podex tam semper hiabat aperte, / Cum flexo terram despiceret capite, / Cattus ut ingrediens annum requiescere totum / Posset cum catta huc hiemando sua...". See Falk, pp. 2-3.

<sup>413</sup> Green, "Duchesses of Normandy," p. 46.

<sup>414</sup> Warner, *Moriut*, line 239; McDonough, p. 88.

Examples of similar types of crude or humorous poetry in Frankish literature outside of Normandy from the same period are not readily available. The most obvious comparison is the Old French fabliaux, which were popular roughly two centuries after Warner wrote. These poems portray social transgressions or upheavals of social expectations, often through illicit sexual acts.<sup>415</sup> Judging by the numbers of manuscripts that survive containing fabliaux, they were very popular among noble classes. Leslie Dunton-Dower has suggested that many fabliaux were effective because they broke the verbal conventions expected in courtly literature.<sup>416</sup> This follows on Mikhail Bakhtin's analysis of medieval humor in which he sees a focus on upending the power of the ruling classes through satirical and grotesque portrayals of them.<sup>417</sup> Warner's assertions concerning Gonnor were likely funny as part of a satirical and humorous upending of a well-established power structure. Both *Moriuht* and the fabliaux are amusing in that the poet gets to make statements that he otherwise would not be allowed to make. The portrayal of the ducal family is thus so exaggerated that it would stop being subversive or threatening.

Another possible influence on the poetry, in a similar vein to Van Houts' suggestion regarding the Icelandic banter is further consideration of the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian tradition of *flyting*. As has been discussed elsewhere, many scholars have suggested that Warner's attack on *Moriuht* may be a form of *flyting*.<sup>418</sup> Here the influence of *flyting* is likely related to the control of language that would be necessary in winning a verbal duel. As Ziolkowski has suggested, it is worth considering that the impetus for these explicit poetic rivalries was for the entertainment of the ducal family.<sup>419</sup> Dafydd Johnson has suggested, for

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<sup>415</sup> They may also bear resemblance to Norman poetry in an engagement with grammatical and rhetorical topics, which Charles Muscatine has shown to exist in some fabliaux (Charles Muscatine, "The Fabliaux, Courtly Culture, and the (Re)invention of Vulgarity" in *Obscenity*, Ziolkowski, pp. 281-292 at p. 287).

<sup>416</sup> Leslie Dunton-Dower, "Poetic Language and the Obscene" in *Obscenity*, Ziolkowski, p. 34.

<sup>417</sup> M. M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1984), pp. 88-90.

<sup>418</sup> McDonough, *Moriuht*, p. 20; van Houts, "Scandinavian," p. 108-9; Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, pp. 43-47; Falk, pp. 3-5.

<sup>419</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 46.

instance, that in late medieval Welsh poetry, poems that appear to be satirical *flytings* are meant to be entertaining for their audience because of the witty and complex language of the insults involved rather than simply because of the drama between the two characters.<sup>420</sup> If we follow this interpretation, we again see an emphasis on the public role of facility with and control over language in this Rouennais literature. In *Moriuht*, the character of Gonnor demonstrates her ability to settle a potentially tense public situation through her witty banter. In this, she is not unlike the eloquent men in Dudo's history except that the whole situation in *Moriuht* is ridiculous.

The two anonymous satires take Warner's depiction of exaggerated female speech to an even further extreme. In *Jezebel* and *Semiramis*, we see queens who also speak wittily, aggressively, and effectively about their own sexuality. This emphasis on their willingness to speak so openly about their sexuality contributes to the absurdity of their presentation.

Ultimately, however, unlike in Dudo's history, where a too-presumptuous act on Gisla's part ends disastrously, the outspoken women of the satires consistently best their interlocutors and successfully argue their points. In *Semiramis*, as we have seen, the title character chastises her brother for not fully understanding the reasons why she has allowed Jupiter to seduce her.

Ultimately it is she who has acted in a politically expedient way, and her brother's futile attempt to draw her home belies his ineptitude. As I have already discussed *Semiramis* at some length in the previous chapters, here, I will focus on *Jezebel*, where we see another queen who speaks out against her interlocutor, this time in a much more obscene way. In *Jezebel*, the title character only speaks in witty quips. Although at first glance it is she who is mocked, since she is the one who has to answer questions about her morals, ultimately her irreverent answers make a fool out

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<sup>420</sup> Dafydd Johnson, "Erotica and Satire in Medieval Welsh Poetry," in *Obscenity*, Ziolkowski, p. 65.

of her interlocutor. Like Gonnor, Jezebel manages to control a social situation through her open and witty speech about her sexuality.<sup>421</sup>

Although her interlocutor never identifies himself, it is likely that Jezebel's interlocutor is male, given that he takes on the role of schoolmaster. Nevertheless, in this poem, Jezebel consistently gets the better of her interlocutor by constantly twisting his questions so that she can give answers on her own terms. Her interlocutor questions her on a range of topics, including her sexual morals and she gives answers such as, "I am aflame with the fire of lust"<sup>422</sup> or "The menstrual discharges from women are dirty."<sup>423</sup> Even when he asks a question that seems to be specifically aimed at her sexual morals, the tone of his question and the tone of her answer differ: "Tell me, why do you commit adultery? -- Let the fire of the vulva respond to that."<sup>424</sup> The interlocutor's questions are proper, while Jezebel's responses are explicitly crude. More often than not, the interlocutor's questions or statements are mundane or even seem to be hinting at a spiritual response, while Jezebel's responses are inevitably sexual: "Why do ashes exalt? Why does an old woman struggle to wiggle her hips?"<sup>425</sup> There are other moments when Jezebel seems to intentionally misinterpret her interlocutor and succeed with *bons mots* as Gonnor does in *Moriuht*: "What did our forefathers forbid? – What descendants do throughout the world."<sup>426</sup> At times it seems as though Jezebel's interlocutor is trying to get her to confess or reform: "What do you wish to happen, when you pray?"<sup>427</sup> But she is recalcitrant in her wayward

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<sup>421</sup> The anonymous satirist was not the only author interested in portraits of Jezebel during this period – Aelfric also wrote about her, and used his discussion as a prism through which to discuss contemporary issues in Aethelred's England (Klein, pp. 15-16; 131-144).

<sup>422</sup> Ziolkowski, p. 75. *Jezebel*, 142, p. 70: "flamesco libidinis igne".

<sup>423</sup> Ziolkowski, p. 76. *Jezebel*, 151, p. 70: "muliebria menstrua sordent."

<sup>424</sup> Ziolkowski, p. 76. *Jezebel*, line 62, p. 70: "Dic: cur moecharis? – vulve repondeat ignis." Ziolkowski: "Tell me, why do you commit adultery? -- Let the fire of the vulva respond to that" (p. 76).

<sup>425</sup> Ziolkowski, p. 76. *Jezebel*, line 56, p. 70: "Quid cinis exultat? – quid anus ceuere laborat?"

<sup>426</sup> Ziolkowski, p. 77. *Jezebel*, line 106, p. 71: "Quid uetere patres? – faciunt quod in orbe nepotes." This line is an allusion to the *Book of Kings*, 4, 17:41 (Ziolkowski, p. 143, note 106).

<sup>427</sup> Ziolkowski, p. 76. *Jezebel*, line 83, p. 71: "Quid preces vis fieri?"

lifestyle: “That I may deserve to become the goddess of promiscuity.”<sup>428</sup> These examples are only a few of the types of interaction that repeat over and over in the poem, and it becomes very clear that this character is preoccupied with sex and aggressively forces her sexuality onto her interlocutor and the readers.

From the perspective of someone believing in standard Christian doctrine surrounding sex, even unreformed early-eleventh-century doctrine, the morals that Jezebel espouses would have been shocking. She is wanton, openly lustful, and openly irreligious. At the same time, she is unperturbed by her questioner, and she frequently manages to get the better of him by twisting his questions. There is, in this poem, an upheaval of the social order not only in that the woman is getting the better of a man but also in that the student is getting the better of her teacher.<sup>429</sup> There is a way in which, as we have seen, Jezebel’s interlocutor’s desire to guide her through questions and statements is reminiscent of school dialogues or even catechism or monastic instruction.<sup>430</sup> Both Shopkow and McDonough have suggested that Dudo and Warner were interested in mocking or at least discrediting the Benedictine reform of the early eleventh century.<sup>431</sup> If we read *Jezebel* in this context, the title character may become a wayward monk who refuses, by outwitting his instructor, to allow her interlocutor to correct her behavior.<sup>432</sup> The parody is deepened through Jezebel’s being a woman – either her gender compounds the insult to Norman monks or it illuminates the foolishness of the reformer who has incorrectly identified a possible subject for his efforts. Through Jezebel’s staunch refusal to adhere to the rules put to her

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<sup>428</sup> Ziolkowski, p. 76. *Jezebel*, line 83, p. 71: “merear fieri dea stupri.”

<sup>429</sup> Simon Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 248.

<sup>430</sup> If we read *Jezebel* this way, it is an even more absurd version of the Winchester poems that we have seen in the first chapter.

<sup>431</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 71-74; McDonough, “Warner of Rouen and the Monk,” pp. 41-42.

<sup>432</sup> Furthermore, Ziolkowski indicates that the medieval insult “Jezebel” referred to a woman who “behaves tyrannically or heretically” rather than one who was “sexually wanton” (p. 26). This distinction further makes possible the proposition that the poem *Jezebel* is a critique of ecclesiastical or monastic figures.

by her interlocutor, in a way, she is a female version of the monk in Warner's second satire who teaches music in a new, reformed way. Here, Jezebel triumphs perhaps in order to exaggerate the absurdity of the interaction or perhaps on account of her witty banter. The anonymous satirist mocks Jezebel entirely on account of her sexuality. Even if we read *Jezebel* as part of a discussion that does not have anything to do with women directly, it is still apparent that the satirist is fixated on the idea of her feminine sexuality. This fixation causes Jezebel's sexuality to be the focus of the attack against her and her own open speech about it is the tool that she uses to repel the attack.

There is some scholarly dissent concerning who Jezebel is meant to represent. Van Houts has noted that it is tempting to equate her with Gonnor, given Gonnor's prominent position in Normandy and the fact that Semiramis seems to match up to Emma, but in the end van Houts, I believe rightly, decides that there is not enough evidence to make the claim for Gonnor.<sup>433</sup> Ziolkowski has argued in his introduction to the poem that Jezebel need not be representative of any real figure, and indeed his interpretation could be correct.<sup>434</sup> Jezebel, in that reading, would caricature noble women generally rather than a specific noble woman. Most recently, Andrew Galloway has argued that the first seven lines of the poem are a riddle and anagram that solve to make this Jezebel Cnut's first wife and mistress, Aethelgifu.<sup>435</sup> Galloway's suggestion is that Cnut is the enemy of the Norman court and that *Jezebel* and *Semiramis* can be read as a pair of poems denigrating the women who enabled him to hold power in England.<sup>436</sup> If Galloway is correct, this poem must be understood both as a critique of Aethelgifu and as a critique of those who are affected by her power. Those affected by her

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<sup>433</sup> van Houts, "A Note," p. 24.

<sup>434</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>435</sup> Galloway, p. 202.

<sup>436</sup> Galloway, p. 202.

power could include Cnut himself or the Norman ducal family whose heirs' claims to England were endangered by Aethelgifu's power over Cnut, and especially the son she bore him. In this reading, it would make sense for Aethelgifu's sexuality to be the object of parody – after all this is where her power to challenge the Norman claim to the English throne originated. Even if the poem, as Ziolkowski suggests, does not refer to a specific character, it demonstrates worry concerning unchecked female sexuality. Jezebel's willingness in the poem to flaunt and discuss her sexuality emphasizes the unbreakable link between these noble women's public personae and their sexual ability to manipulate the future of Norman politics through their abilities to produce noble and even royal heirs.

*Semiramis* also alludes to mockery of the Norman ducal family's reliance on women and their sexual and matrimonial choices. Although both the Augur and Semiramis take the project of bringing her back to life quite seriously, the premise of the poem is almost slap-stick in its absurdity. Semiramis' rebuke of the Augur at the end, as we have discussed, symbolizes Emma's rebuke against Archbishop Robert for condemning her marriage to Cnut. *Semiramis'* parody of Emma, the woman who both created and complicated the Norman claim to the English throne, is less overtly and crudely sexual, but it is sexual nonetheless. The Augur's goal is to bring his sister back from the dead, but when she is finally resurrected, her speech in response to him explains why he should not mourn her sexual choices: “Why are you deranged, drunk with Orestes' madness, because Jupiter, filled with adulterous desire, played in my garden?”<sup>437</sup> She then explains the reasons why her choices were blameless and wise, and ends wishing that her brother would stop bemoaning the end of her life. Thus, we learn in the end that the whole poem has actually been a metaphor for a discussion of Semiramis' sexual choices. This poem lacks the

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<sup>437</sup> Dronke, *Semiramis*, p. 75. *Semiramis*, lines 163-164, p. 70: “Quid conturbaris, rabie potatus Orestis, / Plenus adulterio si lusit Iuppiter orto?”

obscene openness with which *Moriuht* and *Jezebel* discuss sex, but Semiramis/Emma does speak openly about her sexual choices. And, while she is criticized for making a political choice to marry Cnut, she gets the opportunity to demonstrate why that critique is wrongheaded. Not only does she do what almost no noble woman does in Dudo's history – act as an independent political agent – she also successfully defends her actions and ultimately gets the last word.

The conjunction of Jezebel's repartee, Semiramis' defense of her remarriage, and Gonnor's witty quip clearly demonstrate the authors' beliefs in the potential power of open, forceful, sexual talk. These depictions also support Ziolkowski's assertion that the Norman authors emphasized the power of language in politics. Here, especially, wittiness seems to help to establish political dominance. And, as we have already seen regarding Warner's excoriation of *Moriuht*, Gonnor's and Jezebel's speech further underlines the prevalence of sex as political discourse in Rouen. Perhaps the openness of sex in political discourse in Rouen is partially due to the importance of the Norman ducal family's marriage strategy – sex and eloquence were two powerful forces in Rouen and the satirists combine them in the mouths of Norman women.

#### IV. Women as Legitimators: Sexual Power and the Power of Talking about It

In the final section of this chapter, I will try to reconcile the satires to Dudo's history regarding their presentations of Norman ducal consorts. As we have seen, for Dudo, the foreign Norman consorts represent a relatively unstable part of the plan to increase the dukes' power, while the satirists mock the reliance on women's marital and sexual choices implicit in Dudo's account. In an entirely different context, Toby Ditz has theorized the practice of measuring power through potential sexual partners in his article, "The New Men's History and the Peculiar

Absence of Gendered Power: Some Remedies from Early American Gender History.” There, he argues that an important factor in determining the hierarchy in relationships between men is relative access to and control of women.<sup>438</sup> As evidenced by the marriages they arranged, Norman men had access to some of the most powerful women in Europe, but the issue of controlling these well-connected and powerful women is more complex. Dudo’s censoring of Norman women and the satires’ exaggeration of their speech emphasizes the importance of controlling these women.

Ziolkowski and Pohl have emphasized the importance of Dudo’s history as a work of propaganda, and both argue that the ducal family was well aware of the power of literary works in shaping perceptions of the family. The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* is likewise a work in political propaganda – it is Emma of Normandy’s attempt to demonstrate that Hrathacnut was the legitimate heir to the English throne. Emma thus activates similar strategies to those used by her family in order to shore up her own and her son’s positions. Pauline Stafford has argued that texts about queens were often used in order to color public perception of their husbands and sons. In this way, Stafford argues, presentations of a queen or dowager queen’s sexual virtue and political discretion could directly affect the popularity of a ruler.<sup>439</sup> Given this sense that the presentation of a queen could affect her husband’s reign, and the clear perception in Dudo’s text that a wife would significantly alter her husband’s social status, it is possible to read both *Jezebel* and *Semiramis* as satires of the types of propaganda that occur in Dudo’s text.

The discussion of Gisla’s interaction with the envoys is perhaps the most obvious example of the phenomenon whereby Norman men have access to powerful women but have trouble controlling them. Of the marriages that Dudo describes, Rollo’s union with Gisla, the

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<sup>438</sup> Toby Ditz, "The New Men’s History and the Peculiar Absence of Gendered Power: Some Remedies from Early American Gender History," *Gender & History* 16/1 (April 2004), pp. 1–35 at pp. 10-13.

<sup>439</sup> Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers*, p. 162.

daughter of the king of France, is certainly the most illustrious. Richard's marriage to Emma of France is similarly illustrious in that Emma was the sister of the future king of France, but Hugh the Great's position was not at all certain at the time of the marriage. Thus Rollo's marriage to Gisla clearly demonstrates the difficulties that Dudo at least imagined that the ducal family encountered with the strategy of legitimating a male dynasty through marriages with highly placed women. As upstarts in northern France, the ducal family did not originally have the political means, beyond raw military power, to maintain control over the new connections that they made.

Although the marriage between William Longsword and Leyerda, as discussed above, also serves to strengthen the Norman ducal family's ties to northern Frankish nobles, Leyerda seems to be less obviously a threat to her husband's power than was Gisla. Her father is a liegeman of the French king just as the duke of Normandy was, so her status was relatively equal to William Longsword's. In addition, the marriage comes about because Leyerda's father claims he would like the honor of marrying his daughter to the Norman duke: "And when Herbert saw that William of Rouen was growing strong and formidable, and fairly shone in Christ by the virtue of his mind, body, and grandiose works, he gave his daughter to him by the counsel of duke Hugh the Great."<sup>440</sup> As a result, Dudo uses Leyerda and William's union as a measure by which to show the legitimacy and prestige of the ducal family within France. Much as Dudo's project of recording Norman history in Latin is a project of legitimating and assimilating the ducal family's heritage into a Frankish context, so too does this marriage between William and Leyerda measure the progress of that legitimation.

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<sup>440</sup> Christiansen, p. 70. Dudo, III.47; Lair, p. 193: "Videns autem Heribertus Willelmum Rotomagensem confortari et convalescere, animique virtute et coporis, operibusque praemaximis sufficienter in Christo emitere, consilio Hugonis Magni ducis, dedit filiam suam illi."

Richard I's first wife, Emma, is the best example of a consort symbolizing the association between the Normans and their Frankish neighbors at the highest level once the Normans came to be established in France. Emma, the Duke of Paris' daughter, is given to Richard explicitly in order to form a political alliance. Dudo writes, "Now duke Hugh the Great made this circumspect proposal because he longed and desired to join his daughter to duke Richard in a marriage alliance."<sup>441</sup> In this situation, like Leyerda's marriage, the men in the story understand the women as symbols – they are friendship tokens. Dudo would have known that Emma was the sister of the future king of France, Hugh Capet, and her marriage to Richard I marks Norman connections to the newly established royal Frankish family, but it also marks the acceptance of the Norman ducal family as a prestigious one with which to make an alliance. Since it was Hugh who hoped to make the connection with the Normans, he proves that they have achieved legitimacy and the Normans should no longer struggle to control Norman consorts.

Dudo's depiction of Richard I's remarriage to Gonnor, given his willingness to edit the ducal family to fit his narrative, was surely driven by political expediency as well. Besides the fact that Gonnor was alive and so writing her out of the history would have been more complicated than the other women who were no longer living, Bauduin has also argued that the Normans were concerned about establishing their legitimacy in the eyes of other potential Scandinavian invaders as well as the Frankish nobility. As Dudo describes the marriage, Gonnor is the daughter of a Danish king, and she thus should help to legitimate and solidify Norman rule in the eyes of other Scandinavians but also furthers the project of demonstrating the illustriousness of the Norman ducal family both to Scandinavians and Franks.

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<sup>441</sup> Christiansen, p. 124. Dudo, IV.93.1; Lair, p. 250: "Hoc autem dux Hugo Magnus propinabat proposito caetae intentionis cupiens et desiderans filiam suam conjungere ricardo duci copula foederis connubialis."

The ducal family's struggle both to marry into illustrious families and to control those new connections may be partially a figment of Dudo's imagination. But given that he builds a very specific narrative in which, after playing her symbolic part of joining Rollo to Normandy and France, Gisla becomes unruly, it seems that Dudo is playing on contemporary understanding about the Normans' precarious position in relation to European royalty. He clearly demonstrates that the Normans had to build their illustrious connections slowly as they gained prestige throughout northern Frankish families. This is a narrative that Dudo may have appreciated as it also corresponds to the crescendo of ducal virtue and success that he describes throughout the four books.

It is in this context of women being considered entirely in relation to men that we must consider the depictions of their speech. For, as Dudo makes clear, the women are most easily used as symbolic tokens and seem less important as actors. The satires, with their exaggerations of aggressive female speech, mock the desire for women to play a passive part in politics. Women's speech, especially as we see its connection with physical force in Norman men, is an embodiment of the women's active participation. For instance, in much the same way that Gisla demonstrates Rollo's lack of control over her when she colludes with two men sent by her father, so Jezebel demonstrates that she revels in discussing her lack of chastity and thus does not allow her interlocutor to exercise thorough control over her. It is as though the author confirms through Jezebel that the readers' fears may be correct regarding unchaste powerful Norman women. But the exaggerated form of Jezebel's sexual defiance suggests sarcasm – she is unbelievably unchaste, and her responses seem calculated to provoke more than anything else. In this way, the author mocks these particular fears concerning control of female sexuality.

Emma and her depiction in *Semiramis* offer a more concrete example of the dangers the Norman ducal family saw in the political power vested in women coupled with their ability to bear heirs. Emma's remarriage to Cnut while her sons were in exile in Rouen must have complicated the Norman loyalties. On the one hand, she maintained and solidified the Norman claim to England (although it was her sons by Aethelred who indirectly initiated the conquest of 1066). She also maintained the Norman ducal family's position as worthy of marrying a king. Cnut in particular, Pauline Stafford suggests, may have been pleased to marry Emma because of her knowledge of Norse, English, French, and possibly Latin.<sup>442</sup> But at the same time, Emma set herself up against her own family. Not only did her mother and brother shelter her exiled sons, she also married the man who had waged war against the husband that her family had negotiated for her. Despite being born into the ducal family, Emma perfectly demonstrates the way in which the Norman ducal family used marriages to increase its legitimacy but also could struggle to control those ties. *Semiramis* and *Jezebel* both explore tensions between the Norman dependence on women for position and the Norman hyper-masculine self-presentation that both Dudo and Warner help to develop.

E. Jane Burns has argued in her book, *Bodytalk*, that certain pieces of Old French literature, particularly the *fabliaux*, present female characters as bodily objects that are described and understood by others (she draws attention to the pun of *connoître* and *con*), while male characters behave as speaking subjects.<sup>443</sup> Indeed, she argues that when women do speak, they are reduced to "talking vaginas" and that many *fabliaux* explore the relationship between the speech that issues from a woman's mouth and that which issues from her sexual organs.<sup>444</sup> Burns' analysis of the *fabliaux* could be applied to the Rouennais satires in that the satires focus

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<sup>442</sup> Stafford, *Queen Emma, Queen Edith*, p. 226.

<sup>443</sup> Burns, pp. 27-28.

<sup>444</sup> Burns, p. 29.

a whole range of critiques of Jezebel and Semiramis onto their sexuality. Nevertheless, in the Rouennais satires, women clearly re-appropriate that discourse for their own purposes. And, the authors' choices to put this speech into the women's mouths also align this female discourse with the sort of language that the authors themselves use, particularly Warner, in his detailed depictions of Moriut's sexual acts. This openness and freeness of speech with which the female characters speak raises the possibility that these satires may be written either for female patrons or with the goal in mind of pleasing female listeners.<sup>445</sup> The fact that so much of the female speech relates to sexuality and sexual choices also emphasizes that the Norman women did gain much of their power through their potential for sexual unions. The marriage strategy that Dudo lays out does not focus on sex, yet it is clear that the women have the ability to exert their greatest power when they bear Norman heirs. Surely it is for this reason that none of the exceptionally powerful consorts explicitly give birth to a Norman son. Norman women may be "talking vaginas," but that status connotes a huge amount of power.

The pattern that emerges from these three satires is that a leading lady, in making comments about her own sexuality, also manages to demonstrate her verbal wit. Van Houts has referred to Gonnor as a "powerful and self-assured woman with a risqué humour" in relation to Gonnor's witty quip with Moriut.<sup>446</sup> Whereas in Dudo's history women either do not speak or demonstrate their incompetence or disloyalty through their speech, the women here demonstrate their ability to get the best of any situation. It is worth considering why these depictions may differ, and one possibility is the constraints of each of the genres. Dudo's history adheres at least somewhat to the requirements of classical historical writing. One of Dudo's stated goals is to record Norman history in an official capacity, and he thus implicitly helps to legitimate the ducal

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<sup>445</sup> For a discussion of restricted female speech, see Lakoff, "Language, Gender, and Politics," pp. 161-178. For the suggestion that women may have had a hand in these poems, see van Houts, "Gonnor," p. 21.

<sup>446</sup> van Houts, "Gonnor," p. 19.

family and the existing political hierarchy. Despite Gonnor's powerful role in the duchy, it was the male members of the ducal family who ruled, and he thus must portray any possible challenges to their rule negatively. Satire, however, tolerates inversion and surprise, and even revels in it, particularly social inversion.<sup>447</sup> The satirists set out to discuss and amuse the ducal family, rather than provide their potential patrons with explicitly legitimating documents. And these satires allow women whose virtue is in question to get the better of everyone around them. The inversion is thus two-fold – once the poems start focusing on the impure sexuality of the women, it seems that the women are going to be condemned, but ultimately they are not. And, rather than being subservient to their husbands or confessors, as they are in Dudo's history, the women triumph. The one exception to this reading is Semiramis who chooses to be subservient to her husband over her brother. But she makes the choice herself, and what is more, she chooses a path that her family considers unchaste. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Bakhtin has argued that much of medieval humor is based on inverted depictions of society, which could not be tolerated in a historical text like Dudo's. These satires could have been appealing to their audience because they are like fantasy – characters triumph who would not have outside of literature and the authors thus mock the social structure while at the same time reinforcing it. At the same time, as I posited above, both Dudo and the satirists demonstrate a similar understanding of the prominent place of women in firming up the Norman ducal family's global political position.

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<sup>447</sup> Rigg, p. 562.

## Conclusion

This chapter has explored the ways in which the different portrayals of women as quasi-outsiders in Dudo's history and the satires demonstrate two consistent themes. The first is that both Dudo and the satirists value the ability to control language. As in the last chapter, we see a strong link between control of language and political power. The other theme that emerges from this literature is the sense that when women speak, their language is powerful but difficult to control, especially when linked to their sexuality and their roles as heir-bearers.

In the literary portrayals of the Norman men, their linguistic and literary sensibilities both counterbalance and complement their physical aggressiveness. In the literary portrayals of the Norman women, their linguistic and literary sensibilities are intertwined with their sexual roles in the duchy. Power comes from both halves and the satirists play with this by mocking the two halves together. Stacy Klein has argued that in *Beowulf*, the female characters are "the actual register of the cultural climate" because they are not as central and their positions, relationships, and thus significance can change more easily than can the male heroes.<sup>448</sup> A similar view of the Norman women is possible – it is through Dudo's emphasis on Norman marriages and the satires' emphasis on women's sexual speech that we can confirm that both themes – marriage and eloquence – were extremely culturally significant at the court in Rouen.

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<sup>448</sup> Klein, p. 9.

## THE RISE AND FALL OF SECULAR LITERATURE IN ROUEN

Previous chapters of this dissertation have examined the social and political concerns that shaped the early-eleventh-century Rouennais literature and provided content and context for the authors. This chapter examines the conditions that caused our group of authors to write in Rouen for the ducal family specifically in the early eleventh-century and then what caused the decline of this Rouennais literature later in the century. It asks the question of what outside factors allowed language and literature to become important political tools during Richard I's and Richard II's reigns. Before the appearance of Dudo's history and these four satires, there is nearly no evidence for any sort of literary output in Normandy, save the *Planctus* from the mid-tenth century, whose style is very distinct. Following this short interlude, there is no evidence of literature written specifically for the ducal family for at least forty years. When the literature does reappear, in the form of monastic histories, its tone and style differ greatly from the satires and even from Dudo's history.

In the first half of this chapter, I will consider what factors facilitated the rise of literary output in Rouen, and in the second half, I will consider what factors may have contributed to its downfall. I argue that a certain set of factors was in place in Rouen in the first twenty years of the eleventh-century and these contingencies are responsible for the literary flowering. The most important of these factors is Archbishop Robert's prominent position as Archbishop and advisor at Richard II's court, and I have devoted a significant portion of this chapter to a consideration of Robert's positions as archbishop, ducal advisor, and count of Évreux. As we have seen, both Warner and Dudo specifically address the Archbishop in their works, and *Semiramis* may satirize him in the person of the Augur. Robert is thus clearly an important figure in the milieu of the

Rouennais authors, and this chapter will show the way that his approach to the many different positions he held gave him space to support a group of authors.

Archbishop Robert's involvement with the production of the bawdy satires does not easily correspond with the image of an eleventh-century archbishop who was actively involved in renovating and reforming the church in Normandy. Richard Allen has explained away this contradiction by focusing on the satirical authors' obvious knowledge of classical literature and by focusing on the contempt that Warner and the anonymous authors direct toward bodies and sexuality.<sup>449</sup> This type of reasoning reveals a fundamental problem in the ways in which scholars approach figures like Archbishop Robert. Although Robert was actively involved in the Benedictine reform, it is not necessary to view him only through this lens. As I will show in the chapter below, and indeed as other scholars, including Allen, have demonstrated before, Archbishop Robert is a particularly complex individual. He maintained his position of Archbishop and ducal advisor through the reigns of five Norman dukes, and he performed the duties of archbishop, Count of Évreux, and ducal advisor simultaneously. As we will see below, these roles supported each other at times and conflicted at times. It thus is not necessary to uncover a unified ideology – religious or otherwise – to which Robert adhered. He was a man who contained contradictions, and these contradictions allowed him to perform many roles in the duchy, including patronizing bawdy poetry.

The contradictions in Robert's positions are put in particular relief because of the importance of church reforms during the period when he was archbishop. Richard I, II, III, and Robert the Magnificent all focused on rebuilding the Norman church, which had been significantly harmed during the tenth century. During Archbishop Robert's period in office,

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<sup>449</sup> Allen, *The Norman Episcopate, 989-1110*, pp. 300-301. I have argued previously in this dissertation that the satires bely a desire to revel in the body and bawdiness, and this argument directly refutes Allen's attempt to clear Robert's name.

these reforms took a number of forms.<sup>450</sup> In 1026, there were only six functioning monasteries in Normandy, but by 1070, there were thirty-three, and it was Richard II who invited William of Volpiano to become abbot of the ducal foundation in Fécamp and reform it.<sup>451</sup> William of Volpiano was a hardline reformer, so the ducal family meant business when they recruited him.<sup>452</sup> It was also in c. 1000 that Richard II and Archbishop Robert allowed Saint-Ouen, which had been founded as an episcopal abbey, to separate and receive the right of monastic exemption.<sup>453</sup> These reforms represent an extension of the Benedictine and Cluniac reforms of the tenth century.<sup>454</sup> In the secular church, Archbishop Robert is well known for his efforts to renovate the physical cathedral in Rouen as well as his efforts at promoting the cult of Saint Romanus there.<sup>455</sup> These efforts to renew the Norman church create the image of a ducal family that was set on rehabilitating both its duchy's church and its image as a Christian ruling family.

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<sup>450</sup> For Robert's involvement with these reforms (separately from his brother), see Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, pp. 187-188.

<sup>451</sup> Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, p. 218; Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 40. William undertook an extensive reform program that included turning out the canons who were inhabiting the monastery, recruiting new monks from within and without Normandy, setting up both a lay and a monastic school, and reforming other Norman monasteries (most prominently, Jumièges). (For more, see Véronique Gazeau et Monique Gouillet, *Guillaume de Volpiano: un réformateur en son temps (962-1031)*, pp. 103-114; M. René Herval, "Un Moine de L'an Mille: Guillaume de Volpiano, 1er Abbé de Fécamp (926-1031)" *L'Abbaye Bénédictine de Fécamp: Ouvrage Scientifique du XIIIe Centenaire, 658-1958* (Fécamp: L. Durand et Fils, 1959), pp. 27-44, especially at 35-36; and Potts, *Monastic Revival*, p. 29).

<sup>452</sup> Herval, pp. 31-35.

<sup>453</sup> Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 188, and p. 188 note 27; Lucien Musset, "Ce qu'enseigne l'histoire d'un patrimoine monastique: Saint-Ouen de Rouen du IXe au XIe siècle," pp. 114-129, especially at 122; Samantha Kahn Herrick, *Imagining the Sacred past: Hagiography and Power in Early Normandy*, p. 48. Also see "Fécamp, Cluny, and the Invention of Traditions in the Later Eleventh Century, in which Benjamin Pohl and Steven Vanderputten have shown that the idea of monastic exemption may not have been particularly well-defined or politically important in the early eleventh-century and was rather aggrandized in the second half of the eleventh-century (Benjamin Pohl and Steven Vanderputten, "Fécamp, Cluny, and the Invention of Traditions in the Later Eleventh Century," *Journal of Monastic Studies* 5 (2016), pp. 1-41).

<sup>454</sup> William of Volpiano was a monk at Cluny before he was sent to satellite monasteries to oversee their reforms (Gazeau and Gouillet, pp. 95-100; and Herval, pp. 31-34).

<sup>455</sup> See Allen, *The Norman Episcopate*, pp. 289-296; Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, pp. 209-216; Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, pp. 191-193; Herrick, *Imagining the Sacred Past*, pp. 33-53.

The late eleventh century saw the beginning of wider church reforms that questioned clerics' rights to marry and attempted to stem simony within the church.<sup>456</sup> Although the earliest official rumblings concerning the abolishment of clerical marriage in Normandy came in the 1050s and 1060s, it is clear that the issue of clergymen's relationship to sex and bawdy subjects was already on the minds of certain Northern French clerics well before then.<sup>457</sup> The beginnings of church preoccupation with sex and clerical celibacy ought to inform our understanding of Archbishop Robert's patronage of bawdy literature and they may help to explain the decline of this poetry by the end of Robert's life. Nevertheless, I will argue that the reforms alone cannot explain the decline of Rouen's literary output, and we must instead also consider political concerns like Robert the Magnificent's troubled reign and William the Conqueror's unstable minority.

This chapter will begin with an analysis of Archbishop Robert's many roles in order to show that he did not see them to be in conflict with each other. It will thus become easier to understand how his support of ecclesiastical reform could coexist with his support for and enjoyment of bawdy poetry. The chapter then discusses other contemporary bishops with similar interests in sexually explicit poetry. The third section of the chapter demonstrates the possible role of ecclesiastical reforms in stymying the production of more lewd poetry. But I will argue that Warner proves himself capable of writing non-bawdy witty poetry, and we thus must look further into the political context to understand the decline of his poetry and poetry like it. In the conclusion, I will turn to the afterlife of Dudo's history after the early eleventh century. His

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<sup>456</sup> For a discussion of the implementation of these reforms in Normandy, see Leonie V. Hicks, *Religious Life in Normandy, 1050-1300: Space, Gender and Social Pressure* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 77-85.

<sup>457</sup> Elisabeth van Houts, "The Fate of the Priests' Sons in Normandy, with Special Reference to Serlo of Bayeux" *The Haskins Society Journal* 25, William North and Laura Gathagan (ed.) (Woodbridge: Brewer and Boydell, 2013), pp. 57-105 at p. 63; Meghan McLaughlin, "The Bishop in the Bedroom: Witnessing Episcopal Sexuality in an Age of Reform," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 19/1 (January 2010), pp. 17-34 at 31. See Fulbert of Chartres, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, Frederick Behrends (ed. and trans.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 250-251.

history does not feature prominently throughout this chapter because arguably all Norman history writing is indebted to Dudo's work, and his influence thus did not subside to the same extent as that of the satires. At the same time, his elaborate, even mannerist, style, which is characteristic of the early eleventh-century flowering, was excised from later histories, and his history is thus also an example of the brief rise and fall of certain types of texts in Rouen. These texts represent a particular moment in Norman political history when the dukes were trying to establish themselves within the fluctuating world of Frankish politics.

#### I. The Force Behind it All: Archbishop Robert (c. 990-1037)

Archbishop Robert holds a prominent role as a patron or addressee in Dudo's history and Warner's satires, and he is likely the satirical inspiration for the Augur in *Semiramis*. His importance in the literature indicates that his presence in Rouen significantly facilitated or at least encouraged the production of literature. He is an ambiguous character – at once an Archbishop engaged actively in ecclesiastical and monastic renewal and at the same time a secular count actively engaged in increasing his personal wealth and even engaging in military campaigns. He is not unique in embodying multiple roles and for holding multiple titles, but the fact that he did facilitated his patronage of Dudo's history as well as the anonymous satires. The bawdiness of some of the Rouennais poetry directly contrasts with the burgeoning religious reform that Archbishop Robert, Richard I, and Richard II encouraged. At the same time, the Rouennais poetry fits into the emphasis on education encompassed in the reforms.<sup>458</sup> The ducal

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<sup>458</sup> Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, p. 161; Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 40.

family's interest in religious reforms and bawdy poetry would have seemed perfectly reconcilable to Archbishop Robert and the other members of the ducal family.

I have indicated throughout this dissertation that various authors refer to Archbishop Robert more than any other contemporary figure. These continual references to him help foster the idea that he was instrumental as a patron or encourager to the writing of this Rouennais literature.<sup>459</sup> It is difficult to tell how well he was educated, although the *Cathedral Miracles of St. Romanus*, which Lifshitz has dated to Archbishop Robert's episcopacy, refer to a *magister* in Rouen who undertook the Archbishop's education.<sup>460</sup> Dudo's portrayal of Robert at times seems to go a bit further than presenting him as a patron. Dudo makes it quite clear that it was Richard I, and after his death, his sons Ralf d'Ivry and Richard II who encouraged Dudo to write his history. By leaving Robert out of the list of patrons who desired the history for political reasons, Dudo leaves the possibility open that Robert was his literary patron. Dudo's privileged portrayal of Archbishop Robert is that of the most important reader or even learned advisor. Whether or not this portrayal of a particularly erudite cleric is accurate, Dudo's depiction makes it clear that authors had to impress the Archbishop in order to succeed in Rouen. Dudo's presentation of Robert emphasizes both the Archbishop's prominent role on the Rouennais literary scene and the sense that the Norman ducal family was literary and focused on education.

Dudo's description of the archbishop invokes more intellectual topics than do his descriptions of, addresses to, and dedications to other members of the ducal family. Robert appears in or as the addressee of three poems, and at least two of these poems are reminiscent, through their inclusion of Greek words and phrases, of the hermeneutic style. As we have seen

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<sup>459</sup> For more on this, see Allen, *The Norman Episcopate*, p. 301; McDonough, p. 6; Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, pp. 40-42; and Christiansen, p. xxvi.

<sup>460</sup> Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 268: *Miracula Sancti Romani / The Cathedral Miracles of Romanus*. For the quotation, see above: p. 40, note 83.

elsewhere in this dissertation, this style is a modern category that literary scholars apply to early medieval literature that demonstrates the author's interest in purposeful obscurity and complexity.<sup>461</sup> Dudo's association between the Archbishop and purposefully complex poetry emphasizes Robert's supposed erudition and links Robert, if only artificially, with the erudite monks and poets for whom this poetry was most often written. Robert is also the person to whom Dudo most frequently addresses concerns about the quality of the book. As we have seen, Dudo asks for approval of his work in one of his early addresses to Robert.<sup>462</sup> Dudo surely addresses the archbishop because he views Robert as a central intellectual authority, as Musset has argued, or because Dudo would like to portray Robert as that kind of authority.<sup>463</sup> Both Dudo and Warner, who also addresses both of his poems to Robert, depict the Archbishop as an authority to whom literature should be addressed, but Dudo's depiction is particularly worth considering because he makes it clear that presenting Robert as an intellectual authority was one of his goals. Dudo clearly suggests that he and Robert have a joint intellectual background and that Robert would thus be able to judge Dudo's work as a piece of literature.

The two of Dudo's addresses to Robert in the preface of Book IV that I discussed in the first chapter are particularly notable because they emphasize Dudo's portrayal of Robert as central to the literary community. In neither of these addresses does Dudo refer to the archbishop explicitly within the body of the text, but the titles of the prefaces address the archbishop: "Praefatio ad Praesulem Rotbertum" ("Preface to Bishop Robert").<sup>464</sup> The second prefatory poem in Book IV consists of explanations of God's various powers. Dudo presents these powers

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<sup>461</sup> Michael Lapidge, "The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature," p. 67.

<sup>462</sup> Dudo, introductory poems, Lair p. 126, Christiansen, p. 12.

<sup>463</sup> Musset, "Garnier," p. 242.

<sup>464</sup> Christiansen, pp. 90-94; Dudo, IV; Lair pp. 214 and 215. The first of Dudo's addresses to the Archbishop at the beginning of Book IV is not entirely secure. The earliest manuscripts address this poem to him, but later manuscripts address it to the book, a muse, or even "all men" (Christiansen, p. 208, note 312).

in rhyming verse interspersed with Greek words. The use of Greek here suggests that Dudo thinks Robert would understand the language or at least be impressed by it.<sup>465</sup> Dudo even could use the Greek words for the benefit of a possible extra-Norman audience that would be impressed by the appearance of such Norman erudition.<sup>466</sup> As we have already seen, in the end of the same poem, Dudo directly calls on the addressee, asking him to improve upon the history.<sup>467</sup> Dudo's rhetorical gesture strengthens the presentation of Robert as an authority on grammar or rhetoric. In particular, this request is reminiscent of his request that Adalbero of Laon correct his work, and it thus seems possible that Dudo even means to make an implicit comparison between the two men.<sup>468</sup> In both requests, Dudo engages in a familiar humility *topos* of asking someone of greater status who he perhaps wished to flatter to correct his work. What is significant here is that he offers similar types of flattery to both Robert and Adalbero, which suggests that he would like to present the two men as holding similar positions in their respective cathedral circles. It is very difficult to determine whether Dudo's depiction of Robert is genuine or posturing. Nevertheless, Dudo presents Robert as more than simply an administratively competent bishop but as well-versed in esoteric language and poetry. It is clear that Dudo was invested in cultivating a convincing image, if not reality, of a hermeneutically minded and learned cathedral community based around Robert.

Dudo presents most of the male members of the ducal family as eloquent warriors – he emphasizes both their military prowess and their elegant speech in his descriptions. Although

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<sup>465</sup> Allen, *The Norman Episcopate*, p. 300; Musset, "Garnier de Rouen," p. 259.

<sup>466</sup> For instance, the dedicatory epistle to Adalbero of Laon may be evidence of this extra-Norman audience (Dudo, *Epistola Panegerica atque Apologetica Ratione Transcursa*; Lair, pp. 115-120; Christiansen, pp. 4-6). Leah Shopkow treats the potential importance of this letter in: Shopkow, "The Carolingian World of Dudo of Saint-Quentin," pp. 19-37. Christiansen offers four theories as to why Dudo may have included this letter, including a bid for literary recognition and a desire to reinforce Frankish-Norman relations (pp. xxvii-xxix).

<sup>467</sup> Christiansen, pp. 93-94; Dudo, Book IV, *Praefatio ad Praesulem Rotbertum*, lines 79-82; Lair, p. 217). See also: Christiansen, p. 209, note 315.

<sup>468</sup> Christiansen, p. 5; Dudo, *Prefatory Letter*; Lair, pp. 118. For the quotation, see p. 80, above.

other sources reveal that Archbishop Robert was a skilled warrior, Dudo leaves the military aspect of Robert's character out of his depictions of him. Instead, Dudo suggests that Robert was an erudite scholar who could rival other famous bishops, like Adalbero of Laon. Dudo's history and his portrayal of Robert and the literate community that he partakes of is a testimony to the fact that the Norman ruling family wished to cultivate an image of themselves in a learned setting. Pohl makes a similar argument wherein he states that the ducal family's aim in having Dudo write their history was to have on hand a text that would bring legitimacy to their family and their rule through its impressive presentation of the ruling family.<sup>469</sup>

Dudo's history explicitly links Archbishop Robert to the production of literature in Rouen, and since the language and imagery are quite polite, the image that Dudo creates coincides easily with Robert's efforts at monastic reform. Warner's poetry fits less easily into this mold, and his direct address to Archbishop Robert suggests that Robert's patronage spread to irreverent texts.<sup>470</sup> I have already shown that Warner integrates the ducal family, with both Gonnor and Robert specifically mentioned, into his tirade against Moriuh. The patronage of literature like the satires further substantiates the ducal project, which I argued for in the rest of this dissertation, of presenting a court steeped in eloquent people and witty and knowledgeable literature. In order to understand Archbishop Robert's role in the patronage of this literature, we must do away with the post-reform dichotomy between holy and secular by considering the charter evidence that demonstrates Robert's amalgamation of secular and religious duties.<sup>471</sup> In addition, in the next section of this chapter, we will compare Robert to other roughly

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<sup>469</sup> Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 54-56, 117.

<sup>470</sup> Allen argues that Warner's satires align with the persona of Robert as interested in monastic reform because they condemn the character who is sexually adventurous (Allen, p. 300). As I have shown earlier, however, a straightforward reading of these poems does not take into account the exploration of bawdy themes nor does it account for the complicated depictions of characters like Moriuh and Jezebel.

<sup>471</sup> Pohl provides an excellent example of the anachronism of this dichotomy in his description of the Abbey of Saint-Quentin. There, the abbots were also often Counts of the Vermaindois (*Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, p. 110). See also Christiansen, *Dudo*, p. x.

contemporary bishops in France and Germany who also provide keen examples of the fluidity of secular and religious undertakings.

In what follows for the rest of this section, my work is greatly indebted to Richard Allen's doctoral dissertation, *The Norman Episcopate, 989-1110*, in which he shows, as I will attempt to elaborate below, that Archbishop Robert was a very complex character who embodied many different roles and loyalties during his time as archbishop, count, and ducal advisor.<sup>472</sup> As I mentioned above, I will disagree with Allen, however, in one analysis that is central to my thesis. Allen draws attention to the juxtaposition of Robert's interest in monastic reform and cathedral renovation with the bawdy poetry of the Rouennais authors.<sup>473</sup> In Allen's analysis, however, the poetry can be reconciled to Archbishop Robert's position because the poetry mocks sexual indulgence.<sup>474</sup> This reading of the Rouennais poetry does not take into account the complexity of the characters who indulge sexually, and, as I have argued previously in this dissertation, it does not take into account the ways in which the authors revel in bawdy descriptions nor the ways in which characters like Jezebel and Gonnor, though mocked, also appear to be witty and intelligent, while characters like the Augur are wrong-headed and awkward. In what follows, I will thus recast many of Allen's insightful demonstrations of the complexity of Archbishop Robert's character and position.

Although the Archbishop is well known for rebuilding the cathedral, promoting local saints, and increasing the cathedral's wealth, it is important to view his position as archbishop in the context of his position as count of Évreux and as a powerful Norman advisor.<sup>475</sup> Robert had a very long career, which began before his father's death (996) in c. 989. When his brother,

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<sup>472</sup> Allen, *The Norman Episcopate*, pp. 287-310.

<sup>473</sup> Allen, *The Norman Episcopate*, p. 300.

<sup>474</sup> Allen, *The Norman Episcopate*, p. 300.

<sup>475</sup> On Robert's giving up his wife at Robert the Magnificent's insistence, see Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 187.

Richard II came to the throne (r.996-1026), the Archbishop became a trusted advisor. Richard II died ten years before his brother, and Robert remained an influential advisor until his death (1037) for his nephews and grandnephew, Richard III (r.1026-1027), Robert the Magnificent (r.1026-1035), and William the Conqueror (r. 1035-1087). The Archbishop's depiction in *Semiramis*, if we follow van Houts' assertion that the Augur represents the Archbishop, demonstrates the multifaceted role he played in the duchy – both politician and religious figure. Thus, it is not possible to consider his secular and religious roles separately.

Evidence from diplomatic sources and later eleventh- and twelfth-century Norman historians show that Robert was an active politician both in Rouen and outside. Robert held the County of Évreux, and he successfully defended it against his nephew, Duke Robert the Magnificent, in the 1030s.<sup>476</sup> Nevertheless, later historians do not tell us very much of his actions as count. Archbishop Robert's diplomatic legacy comes through charters that he witnessed as Archbishop, and van Houts has suggested that Robert witnessed charters always with this title because this was a more prestigious office than count.<sup>477</sup> Nevertheless, many of the charters that he witnessed or issued as Archbishop allude to his holding of the county. In at least three charters, dated to 1015, 1015-1025, and 1017-1026, Richard II donates land and churches in Évreux to the bishopric of Chartres, and Robert witnessed them all.<sup>478</sup> In another charter, dated to 1028-1033, Archbishop Robert and Robert the Magnificent list the holdings of the Rouen cathedral, which includes churches within the county of Évreux.<sup>479</sup> The charter does not specify where the holdings came from, but it is possible that Robert donated them, given that he was dedicated, throughout his reign, to increasing and restoring the holdings of the Rouen

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<sup>476</sup> *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, vi.3, pp. 48-49. See Allen, *The Norman Episcopate*, pp. 288, 305.

<sup>477</sup> *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, note 2, page 48.

<sup>478</sup> Fauroux, charters 15 (pp. 93-96), 29 (pp. 116-117), 50 (p. 163).

<sup>479</sup> Fauroux, charter 66 (p. 197-201).

cathedral.<sup>480</sup> In addition, in one charter, although Robert signs it using the title “Archbishop,” he personally donates towns and churches to Fécamp that the charter specifically states that he held as a count.<sup>481</sup> This evidence indicates that Robert used his position as Count of Évreux as a support for his position as Archbishop of Rouen. In many instances, although he acted as Archbishop, it was his county that allowed him to undertake the transfers of land that enriched churches and monasteries in his diocese.

It was not always the county that came second to the cathedral, however. Throughout his career as Archbishop, Robert clearly used his position to benefit himself and his family. Archbishop Robert was married, which was not uncommon at the time, and he had two sons.<sup>482</sup> Some of the lands that Robert acquired for the cathedral of Rouen, which he reacquired after his predecessor had given them away as part of his daughter’s dowry, Robert’s son, Richard, held as Count of Évreux, after succeeding his father to the position.<sup>483</sup> It seems that the land reverted to Archbishop Robert’s family at some point. These are only glimpses into Archbishop Robert’s concerns for his county and his family. During his time as Archbishop, Robert exercised immense power and developed connections with many influential men. He witnessed nearly all of Richard II’s surviving charters, which suggests that he was not only continually at his brother’s court in Rouen but also a member of his ducal entourage. Gazeau has shown that Richard I, Richard II, and Robert the Magnificent all included many bishops in their entourages, and thus Robert’s position is not unique, but it does indicate the degree of his integration into the heart of Norman political power.<sup>484</sup> In addition, his conflict with Robert the Magnificent in the

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<sup>480</sup> See Allen, *The Norman Episcopate*, pp. 293-295.

<sup>481</sup> “...donavit per consensum nostrum Robertus archiepiscopus, frater noster, omnes consuetudines que ad comitatum pertinent, quas ipse ex nostro jure possidebat” (Faroux, charter 36, p. 138).

<sup>482</sup> *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, viii.17, p. 232.

<sup>483</sup> For more on Archbishop Robert’s land transfers, see Allen, pp. 294-295; Bauduin, *Première Normandie*, pp. 340-349.

<sup>484</sup> Gazeau, p. 275.

beginning of the young duke's reign confirms the Archbishop's importance on three counts. The first is that Robert the Magnificent's desire to challenge his uncle's long-standing authority suggests the fear that otherwise his uncle might dominate him.<sup>485</sup> Archbishop Robert passed his brief exile in 1028 at the court of the French king, Robert the Pious, which further demonstrates the extent of Archbishop Robert's political connections.<sup>486</sup> And, Allen has argued that Robert the Magnificent's move to blame his advisors for his quarrel with his uncle and to ask his uncle to return demonstrates the Archbishop's ultimate importance in maintaining order and keeping other Norman nobles in line.<sup>487</sup> In addition, according to William of Jumièges and later historians, it was Archbishop Robert who organized a peace treaty between Robert the Magnificent and Alan the duke of Brittany, another of his nephews.<sup>488</sup> From these circumstances, it becomes clear that the Archbishop was central to Norman political strategy. Given his prominent political position, he would certainly have engaged in secular courtly pastimes, like listening to poetry.<sup>489</sup>

I described *Semiramis*' portrayal of Archbishop Robert in the first chapter of this dissertation, and I argued that the poem mocks his ineptitude at completing the proper prayers necessary to bring Emma back from the dead (her marriage with Cnut). In this set-up, the Augur/Robert acts in a pastoral role in order to complete a political goal. *Semiramis* mocks him

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<sup>485</sup> Allen, *The Norman Episcopate*, p. 305. Allen suggests that the tension between the two men could also have been caused by Robert the Magnificent's desire to despoil churches or because of Richard III's death under suspicious circumstances. Lifshitz has suggested that Robert the Magnificent was committed to dramatic shows of piety that the Archbishop did not wish to accommodate (Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 187).

<sup>486</sup> *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, vi.3, pp. 48-49; Allen, *The Norman Episcopate*, p. 307.

<sup>487</sup> Allen, *The Norman Episcopate*, p. 305.

<sup>488</sup> *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, vi.10 (11), p. 78. Alan was the son of the Archbishop's sister, Hawisse. See Allen, *The Norman Episcopate*, p. 305.

<sup>489</sup> There is no direct evidence that he encouraged any sort of literary creation at his own court in Évreux, although van Houts has suggested that it is possible that William of Jumièges got his start as a notary in Évreux under Robert (Elisabeth van Houts, "Une Hypothèse sur l'identification de Willelmus Notarius comme l'historien Guillaume de Jumièges," *Tabularia*, <http://www.unicaen.fr/mrsh/craham/revue/tabularia/print.php?dossier=dossier1&contribDebat=true&file=04vanhout.s.xml#mainTable> (accessed June 1, 2015)).

because of his wrongheadedness and awkwardness. The point that bishops – reformed or unreformed – were politicians is obvious and apparent throughout the middle ages. Nevertheless, in the context of the Rouennais literature, it is important to emphasize that Archbishop Robert’s various roles demonstrate that he was able to embody many seemingly irreconcilable interests at once. The archbishop acted as a count and politician through his position as Archbishop, and he used his connections and secular position in order to exercise his power as archbishop. This integration of secular and political roles helps us to understand that for the archbishop, there may have been no conflict between recruiting and supporting reforming abbots like William of Volpiano and his successor, John of Ravenna, and patronizing secular poets like Warner. As the reform gained power later in the century, it became more difficult to reconcile these different sensibilities and this contributed to the poetic flowering of the early eleventh-century’s fading away. Archbishop Robert’s position on the brink of Gregorian reform and in the midst of the Norman ducal family’s efforts to stabilize and legitimate its position allowed him the opportunity to facilitate and encourage varied projects, including a wide range of literary ones.

## II. Bishops Who Like Bawdy Poetry

In this section, we consider the historical literary context for the Rouennais literature and whether there were other literary centers or courts in Western Europe with a similar accumulation of satirical, bawdy, self-consciously witty literature. I have already alluded to similarities between the satirical poems and Anglo-Saxon and Norse *flyting*, as well as similar Norse bawdy poetry, and later Old French bawdy poetry, in particular the *fabliaux*. Here, I am particularly interested in works created for or by other bishops that display similar

characteristics. Both *Moriuht* and *Jezebel* stand out from other eleventh-century literature for their explicit descriptions of sex and the body and *Semiramis* stands out for its pagan setting and its pagan and sexual themes. In what follows, I will briefly contextualize Archbishop Robert within a very varied milieu of other northern French and German bishops from the late tenth and early eleventh century. In particular, I will consider a number of bishops who, like Archbishop Robert, straddled multiple roles and encouraged bawdy literature.

Robert is by no means unique in his acquisition of multiple titles, both secular and ecclesiastical. Lifshitz has noted that Hubert of Angers (c. 1006-1047), about whom Stephen Fanning has made an in-depth study, is a convenient point of comparison. Hubert's episcopacy overlapped with Robert's by roughly thirty years, and he too existed in a world that was just beginning to shift because of ecclesiastical reforms. Hubert's family members were part of the minor nobility and were sworn friends of the count of Angers, who invested Hubert with the see of Angers after a gift from Hubert's father.<sup>490</sup> During his time as bishop, like Archbishop Robert, Hubert had both secular and ecclesiastical duties. He started a small cathedral school, consecrated monasteries, recruited monks, and used his family's money to rebuild the church in Angers. At the same time, also like Robert's involvement in Norman-Breton politics, Hubert negotiated relations between Anjou and the Vendôme, and he even fought for Fulk II in a feud against the Count Odo II of Blois, who was supported by the Archbishop of Tours.<sup>491</sup> This last episode is particularly significant because the Archbishop, Hugh, actually briefly excommunicated Hubert for his involvement in the war. In this instance, Hubert was willing to jeopardize his ecclesiastical position for the sake of fulfilling his secular duty to his lord. But his

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<sup>490</sup> Steven Fanning, *A Bishop and his World before the Gregorian Reform: Hubert of Angers, 1006-1047* (Philadelphia : American Philosophical Society, 1988), p. 2. For further comparison between Archbishop Robert and Hubert, see Lifshitz, pp. 187, 191.

<sup>491</sup> Fanning, pp. 54-55.

excommunication was eventually lifted, and it was Hubert's family's close relationship with Fulk II that had allowed him to attain his ecclesiastical position in the first place. Thus, as is true of Archbishop Robert, Hubert's secular and ecclesiastical positions were intertwined, and although at times they conflicted with each other, the conflicts were never long-lived or irresolvable.

Although Hubert began and patronized a cathedral school, there is no evidence that he encouraged a particularly secular brand of literature. The comparison between Hubert and Robert does show us that certain aspects of early ecclesiastical reform, in particular prohibitions against simony and clerical involvement in warfare, were not easily reconciled with the secular lives of bishops. The secular poetry that Robert patronized in Rouen is another aspect of his secular roles. Many other bishops who were contemporaries and near-contemporaries of Robert's wrote their own chronicles or poetry, as well as patronizing the literature of others, and we can witness the bishops' interests through what they wrote. As Robert Levine discusses in his article, "Liudprand of Cremona: History and Debasement in the Tenth Century," Liudprand, bishop from c.961-970, includes many salacious incidents in his *Antapodosis*.<sup>492</sup> These episodes range from descriptions of noblewomen's lust for priests to graphic descriptions of diseases to castrations to a queen whose love of gold leads her to hide a gold belt in her vagina. This episode is a particularly good example of Liudprand's willingness to engage with bawdy descriptions, as it is quite explicit:

Since, with eyes averted, none of the decent men would look upon this filthy and unprecedented crime, one of the servants directed his gaze and saw a purple string hanging below the sphere of her buttocks and, when he

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<sup>492</sup> Liuprand's text is a *prosimetrum*, like Dudo's, and Pohl suggests that both authors may have taken their cue from Carolingian interests in the *prosimetra* of Martianus Capella and Boethius (Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, p. 143).

impudently grabbed it and pulled in a defiling way, the belt they were seeking came out of the most intimate part of her.<sup>493</sup> Although Liudprand does not rival Warner's description of Moriut's anus, Liudprand does draw our attention to the intimate place that the belt was discovered. In addition, Liudprand includes the commentary and a poem that the servant supposedly composed at the moment of discovery. Levine correctly notes that the inclusion of the servant allows Liudprand to claim to disapprove of the episode while actually reveling in it through detailed description and even poetic composition.<sup>494</sup> Liudprand further distances himself from the events by further emphasizing his role as commentator when he ends the episode with, "[i]t seems to me uncertain whether the one who hid it or the one who ordered the search acted more basely; however, it is clear that both were inspired by a great greed for gold and gems."<sup>495</sup> Liudprand's contradictory presentation of himself as an engaged observer but also an aloof commentator is an instructive parallel to Archbishop Robert. Unlike Liudprand, we do not have a record of Robert's reactions to the bawdy poetry that he heard in Rouen. Perhaps part of the necessity for Warner and the anonymous satirists of creating foreign characters to participate in immoral deeds was to offer some distance to the Rouennais court in general and perhaps especially Robert.

One episode in Liudprand's history in particular also may help us to think about the context at the Rouennais court where the Rouennais satires were received. This episode not only engages in witty sexual banter, but it also portrays that banter as occurring at a secular court. Liudprand tells a story of a wife who convinces Tedbald of Milan to spare her husband from

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<sup>493</sup> Liudprand of Cremona, *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, Paolo Squatriti, (trans.) (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), p. 148; "Hoc denique tam turpe facinus atque inauditum cum avertentibus oculis prborum nemo conspiceret, servorum quidam directo obtutu purpuream secus natium speroiden vidit dependere corrigiam, quam inpudenter arripiens foediterque trahens, e secretiori corporis parte eam secutus balteus est egressus" (Liuprand, *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, Joseph Becker (ed. and trans.) (Hannover: MGH SRG xli, 1915) IV.12, p. 110).

<sup>494</sup> Robert Levine, "Liudprand of Cremona: History and Debasement in the Tenth Century," *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* Band 26 (1991), pp. 70-84 at pp. 81-82.

<sup>495</sup> Squatriti, p. 149; "Utrum tamen, quae abscondit, an qui eo inquirere iussit, foedius egerit, michi quidem videtur amphibolum" (Liuprand, IV.12, p. 111). See Levine, p. 82 for comment.

castration. She argues that the castration punishes the wives more than the husbands, and she is so convincing that Tedbald's court laughs and he grants her husband reprieve: "Having heard these words, all present were stirred by great laughter, and the favor of the people for her grew to such an extent she merited to get back not just her husband, intact, but also all the animals that had been taken from her."<sup>496</sup> Here, as we see in Warner's depiction of Gonnor and Moriuh's interaction at the court of Rouen, there is a public moment where a woman makes a clever and witty argument and amuses everyone. In both cases, the amusing public interaction dealt with sexual content. Liudprand thus shows that the court at Rouen was not unique in its public bawdiness, and the Rouennais satires could have been part of a wider trend of risqué repartee at noble and ecclesiastical courts.<sup>497</sup>

Levine argues that a focus on these bodily, and in particular sexual, topics, what Levine calls "the lower body stratum," satirizes the power that these basic forces have in shaping the course of history.<sup>498</sup> Following on Bakhtin's theory of the grotesque, Levine argues that Liudprand diminishes the subjects of his history through a focus on the body, and Liudprand thus diminishes the period of history as a whole.<sup>499</sup> Levine's argument is compelling, and Liudprand's technique is effective – from his telling, the salacious gossip of late tenth-century Italian nobles might shock modern readers of a gossip rag. Nevertheless, Liudprand's willingness to recount these stories in detail suggests both that he felt comfortable with the bawdiness and that he noted and was interested in it. His translation of the events into Latin does create distance between the events and himself, but the translation also grants these bawdy tales

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<sup>496</sup> Squatriti, trans., p. 147; "His auditis nimio sunt omnes cachinno commoti tantusque in eam populi favor excrevit, ut non solum virum sum integrum, sed et cuncta que sibi ablata fuerant animalia recipere mereretur" (Liudprand, IV.10, p. 109).

<sup>497</sup> See also Levine, pp. 80-81.

<sup>498</sup> Levine, p. 82.

<sup>499</sup> Levine, pp. 76-77.

the status of being worthy of record in the language of church and scholarship. Even though he condemns some of the more obviously bawdy incidents and tries to distance himself from others, the fact remains that Liudprand chooses to recount them and to recount them in somewhat explicit detail. Clearly Liudprand believed that displaying these sorts of interests, as a bishop, was acceptable. Seen in this light, Robert's patronage of the bawdy Rouennais literature is just an example of a cleric patronizing authors whose works, if anything, bore resemblance to the profane classical works also housed in the cathedral library.

Another view of episcopal interest in and openness about bodies comes from Archbishop Robert's acquaintance Fulbert of Chartres (c. 1006-1028). In one of Fulbert's poems, Fulbert explains the ideal ways in which to attain perfect chastity. These steps include neither engaging in sexual behavior nor dreaming or day-dreaming about it and also not allowing oneself to be distracted by the sexual exploits of others: "...fifth not to let the sound of love-making distract you..."<sup>500</sup> Here, Fulbert advocates that those who wish to be chaste ought to free their minds of all sexual thoughts, and this presumably means even those thoughts that are condemning stories of the sexual exploits of others. This line concerning overhearing the lovemaking of others is particularly evocative as Fulbert could even figuratively refer to listening to accounts of lovemaking, as well as literally listening to lovemaking. He thus seems to actively condemn the practice of listening to poetry like *Moriuht*, *Jezebel*, and *Semiramis*. Of course, simply the fact that Fulbert wrote this poem and outlines a methodology for attaining chastity indicates that he recognized that bawdy distractions existed even for those with the best of intentions.<sup>501</sup>

Behrends characterizes Fulbert not as a precursor to Gregorian Reform but rather as comfortable

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<sup>500</sup> Behrends, p. 251 "Quintus, ob auditum veneris nil mente vagari..." (Fulbert, poem 140, p. 250). See Megan McLaughlin, "The Bishop in the Bedroom: Witnessing Episcopal Sexuality in an Age of Reform," p. 31.

<sup>501</sup> McLaughlin shows that many bishops were willing to share their struggles with continence (p. 32).

with the integration of secular life with divine interests.<sup>502</sup> This poem is evidence of Fulbert's recognition of this integration, but Fulbert's later dates may correlate with a growing uneasiness about this integration. Fulbert comes closer to prefiguring the Gregorian Reform than did Liudprand or Archbishop Robert, however, in that Fulbert suggests that it is not appropriate for those who are attempting to be truly holy that they even think about bawdy topics. Nevertheless, in making this prohibition, he acknowledges that the transgressions likely happened.

If we look to England, we can find at least one example of another piece of bawdy literature that was composed for a bishop – the Exeter Book riddles. Similarities between an English and Norman aesthetic are particularly important during this period because Emma's marriage and the presence of the Aethelings at the Norman court certainly facilitated cultural exchanges.<sup>503</sup> Of the nearly one hundred riddles in the book, seven of them have sexually explicit solutions. For instance, in one riddle, the answer can clearly be an onion. But the references to growing "tall" and "erect in bed" suggest that "penis" is another possible solution.<sup>504</sup> The Exeter Book was composed in the mid-to-late tenth century at Exeter Cathedral, and it is thus on the early end of the 950-1050 date range that the rest of the texts discussed here fall into. Nevertheless, the Benedictine Reform was in full swing in England during the period that this book was compiled. Modern scholars tend to think of the sexual riddles as anomalies that got by Benedictine Reformers, but Glenn Davis argues that these riddles should actually be seen as an integral part of the work as a whole.<sup>505</sup> Davis suggests that these riddles actually "participate in a sexual idiom that is not unique to that group, as evidence from the homiletic,

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<sup>502</sup> Behrends, Fulbert, p. xix.

<sup>503</sup> Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 41.

<sup>504</sup> *The Exeter Book Riddles*, Kevin Crossley-Holland (trans.) (London: Enitharmon Press, 2008), p. 28, riddle 25.

<sup>505</sup> Glenn Davis, "The Exeter Book Riddles and the Place of Sexual Idiom in Old English Literature," in *Medieval Obscenities*, Nicola McDonald (ed.) (York: York Medieval Press, 2006), pp. 39-54 at pp. 39-40.

hagiographic and penitential record suggests.”<sup>506</sup> Davis thus notes that traditionally religious genres often include bodily and quasi-bawdy or sexual descriptions, which may make the inclusion of this sort of allusion in the riddles normal. Kevin Crossley-Holland, the modern translator of the Exeter Book, has a more straightforward suggestion for the obscene riddles’ inclusion – an “earthy” Anglo-Saxon sense of humor indulged in by Benedictine Reformers as well as those less conscious of correct holy behavior.<sup>507</sup> Again, here in the Exeter Book riddles, we see a seeming contradiction between the Church’s official stance discouraging sexual expression and the obvious interest and preoccupation with bawdiness coming from churchmen. Davis suggests that the obscurity of the riddles may have offered some cover to topics that were otherwise inappropriate in a text written at a cathedral.<sup>508</sup> Nevertheless, both he and Crossley-Holland are convincing when they argue that what seems like a contradiction to a modern reader may not have been as contradictory for a tenth-century monk or cleric. The Exeter Riddles, like Liudprand’s history and the Rouennais satires, perhaps demonstrate the ability of some late-tenth-century and early-eleventh-century clerics to embrace a secular and religious side of their lives in tandem.

Robert may also have been influenced by pagan traditions and thus integrated not only secular and religious interests into his world-view but also both pagan and Christian. Van Houts has drawn on a passage in the saga of the life of the first Icelandic bishop, Jon, in which the bishop outlaws bawdy love poetry composed extemporaneously and exchanged between men and women.<sup>509</sup> Dronke has convincingly argued that this evidence of an eleventh-century church figure’s condemnation of this practice suggests that the practice was widespread in Icelandic

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<sup>506</sup> Glenn Davis, p. 49.

<sup>507</sup> Crossley-Holland, p. 93.

<sup>508</sup> Glenn Davis, p. 54.

<sup>509</sup> van Houts, “Gonnor,” p. 19, Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 105.

society at some point.<sup>510</sup> The time-gap between when the saga was written and when the events that it recounts occurred, however, makes this saga, like most sagas, a difficult historical source. What we definitely have is evidence of a thirteenth-century Christian writer putting criticism of a perceived pagan practice in the mouth of an eleventh-century religious figure. The story is suggestive, but without more contemporary evidence, it cannot be conclusive. It may be significant that *Grágas* also offers evidence that there were exchanges of love poetry (although there is no mention of bawdiness) in pre-Christian Norse society, and these exchanges were against the law as well.<sup>511</sup> The composition of satirical, mocking, or defamatory verse is also illegal under *Grágas*. The fact that a special section of the law exists regulating poetry both shows the importance of poetic composition within Icelandic culture and suggests that poetic composition was widespread and common. One law increases the penalty for composing illegal verse if the poem spreads widely.<sup>512</sup> If we assume that there may have been some similarities between the Icelandic culture that *Grágas* represents and that with which the older generations of Normans were familiar, it is likely that poetry of the sort that we see in all of the satires – both bawdy and aggressive – was both common and, if not illegal, at least unorthodox or impolite in pagan Norse society. Thus, perhaps the contradiction of indulging very publicly in art that was technically taboo was not foreign at all to the Normans.

We thus see evidence for an argument van Houts has made in the past that the Rouennais literature, despite being in Latin and having classical satirical allusions, is indebted to Norse literary practices.<sup>513</sup> Bawdy poetry and quips clearly existed in Old English, Old Norse, and even, according to Liudprand, in Italian, and the influence of the vernacular may be felt potently

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<sup>510</sup> Dronke, *Women Writers*, p. 105.

<sup>511</sup> *Laws of Early Iceland: Grágás, the Codex Regius of Grágás, with Material From Other Manuscripts*, Andrew Dennis, Peter Foote, Richard Perkins (trans.)(Winnipeg, Canada: University of Manitoba Press, 1980), p. 198.

<sup>512</sup> *Laws of Early Iceland*, p. 197.

<sup>513</sup> See van Houts, “Scandinavian Influence.”

on the Latin texts. Archbishop Robert's patronage of the Rouennais satires thus not only causes him to toggle between his secular and religious positions, it also indicates a mixing of pagan Norse, vernacular Romance, classical, and Christian culture and knowledge. One has to wonder whether the bawdy, aggressive, and flamboyant Rouennais poetry resulted partially from the meeting of a Norse tradition of potent poetry with a classical satirical tradition that was equipped to make that poetry legitimate. As the next generation came to power, however, and the Benedictine reform and nascent Gregorian reform took greater hold in Rouen, it seems that the contingencies changed and Robert the Magnificent was not as interested in this sort of poetry and Archbishop Robert was no longer interested in or able to patronize it.

### III. The Influence of Monastic Reform on Rouennais Literature

The extraordinary literary culture in Rouen came to an end within Archbishop Robert's lifetime. It is only natural that the monastic reforms and later Gregorian reforms recast monastic, episcopal, and intellectual communities throughout Normandy. Nevertheless, these reforms had the potential to change the authorial community in Rouen but not destroy it. Warner of Rouen's "Second Satire" reveals the authors' struggles to write aggressive Rouennais poetry in the context of a reformed monastery of Saint Ouen, and Warner ultimately succeeds. In the next section, I will argue that it was instead political instability and shifts of power within the ducal family that caused the decline of the literary moment in Rouen.

We have already seen that the reform of Saint-Ouen significantly altered the relationship between the cathedral and the cloister, but it is possible that that there were continued intellectual exchanges between the two institutions. Warner's "Second Satire" offers some evidence that the

intellectual climate at Saint-Ouen continued to have an effect on the interests and intellectual concerns of those gathered at the cathedral. The “Second Satire” does not offer definitive evidence of an intellectual community that spanned across the cloister and the cathedral, but it does offer us evidence that, at least in Warner’s mind, one may have existed. Tentatively, because the evidence is oblique at best, I will suggest that the poem shows the growing influence of monastic reform and perhaps the early influence of wider church reforms on the literary tastes of the cathedral court in Rouen. I will follow on the argument of Alma Colk Santosuosso when I demonstrate the ways in which Warner’s “Second Satire” hints at a fear from authors writing in secular genres of a decline in support for certain types of secular literature in the 1020s, perhaps due to the growing influence of monastic reform.<sup>514</sup>

The “Second Satire” presents a complex appraisal of monastic reform and innovation. The underlying complaint of Warner against Frotmond is that he teaches music theory in a new way that ignores the practice of singing, which Warner finds ineffective and even devotionally detrimental. This debate has roots in Boethius’ *De institutione musica*.<sup>515</sup> Warner undertakes a character assassination against Frotmond through the accusation that he does not follow the precepts of the Benedictine Reform: “You do not follow the truth, nor do you imitate Benedict. You spit out the obedience to him whose habit you have.”<sup>516</sup> In addition, according to Warner, Frotmond does not submit to his superiors nor does he curb his desires: “You follow no prior nor abbot, but you have your desire as your law...”<sup>517</sup> Finally, Warner may link Frotmond’s lack of attention to the Benedictine rule to Frotmond’s new-fangled style of teaching: “Having

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<sup>514</sup> See Alma Colk Santosuosso, “A *Musicus* versus *Cantor* Debate in an Early Eleventh-Century Norman Poem,” pp. 1-16.

<sup>515</sup> Santosuosso, p. 7.

<sup>516</sup> “Non uerum sequeris, BENEDICTUM non imitaris, / Respuis obsequium cuius habes habitum” (Warner, “Second Satire”, p. 45, lines 37-38).

<sup>517</sup> “Non prior aut abbas tibi, sed pro lege uoluntas...” (Warner, “Second Satire”, p. 45, ll63-64).

entered a false path through your dogma, you are nourished with learned men under the cover of religion, you appear to be learned, this habit [of religion] has given you this appearance.”<sup>518</sup>

Frotmond only appears to be learned and holy, but in truth he is not, as his *dogma*, in this case his academic precepts, led him astray.<sup>519</sup> Through these examples, we see that Warner has a convoluted reaction to monastic and devotional changes. On the one hand, he seems to full-heartedly support the tenth-century monastic reformist precepts of tightening adherence to the Benedictine rule. But as McDonough has argued, Warner is also deeply rooted in a desire to avoid change, as we can see in his belief that this new method of teaching music is actually evil.<sup>520</sup> For Warner, the problem is that Frotmond understands and teaches music theory but is unable to sing: “Saint Michael feared you, and he abandoned the highest point of Mont St. Michel; For it is not possible to endure your noise!”<sup>521</sup> Here, Warner claims that because Frotmond is unable to sing well, he is unable to please St. Michael. The tension between those who understand theory and those who can perform, which originates in classical texts, Warner here turns into a moral question. Frotmond’s new-fangled theoretical knowledge of music is useless in the bigger goal of gaining salvation.<sup>522</sup>

The conflicted attitude toward devotional change and reform appears in other Rouennais literature and Rouennais politics as well. For instance, Leah Shopkow has convincingly argued that Dudo’s laughable presentation of William Longsword’s desire to become a monk at the beginning of book III is a critique of the monastic ideal’s penetration of the highest echelons of

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<sup>518</sup> “Ingressus falsam per tua dogma uiam, / Nutritus doctis sub tegmine religionis / Monstraris doctus, quod dedit hic habitus” (Warner, “Second Satire,” p. 45, lines 66-68).

<sup>519</sup> See McDonough, “Warner of Rouen,” p. 27; Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 53-111.

<sup>520</sup> McDonough, “Warner of Rouen and the Monk,” p. 41.

<sup>521</sup> “Te Michaela timuit, Montisque cacumina liquit; Iam suffere tuum non potuit sonitum!” (Warner, “Second Satire,” p. 47, lines 133-134).

<sup>522</sup> McDonough, “Second Satire,” pp. 31, 41.

secular life.<sup>523</sup> When Jezebel's interlocutor criticizes Jezebel's wanton behavior, Jezebel responds wittily, often mocking the advice that her instructor draws from scripture, and at the end of the poem, she appears to be cleverer than her pedant instructor. The bawdiness of the poetry, when seen in the context of these reforms, can also be seen as a form of protest against the reforms. Although Allen has argued that *Moriuht*'s mockery of the title character's sexuality as well as *Jezebel* and *Semiramis*' criticism of their title character's sexual behavior can be seen as evidence that the author(s) wrote in support of new ascetic sexual mores, the blatant and aggressive bawdiness demonstrates that these poems actually revel in an aesthetic directly in conflict with the nascent reform ideals of sexuality.

It is significant that Warner employs the Benedictine Rule as the basis on which to attack Frothmond rather than the classical literature that he uses to attack *Moriuht*. While most of the quotations and allusions in *Moriuht* are to classical pagan literature, McDonough has shown that the vast majority of references and allusions in the "Second Satire" are to the text of the Benedictine Rule. This choice of text may be due simply to the monastic setting of the "Second Satire".<sup>524</sup> Nevertheless, if we take a late date for Warner – sometime in the mid to late 1020s – it is possible that the influence of the reformed monasteries (which the ducal family actively patronized and whose abbots could be quite influential), as well as the nascent other church reforms, were beginning to have an effect on the types of literature that the cathedral court in Rouen patronized, read, and listened to.<sup>525</sup> Perhaps bawdy, classically inspired poems, like

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<sup>523</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 71-74. Christiansen points out that Vopelius-Holtendorff also saw Dudo's position at the Norman court as under threat by the monastic reformers and their new educational practices (Christiansen, p. xii; Vopelius-Holtendorff, pp. 446-7; 463-90; 513-20 [as cited by Christiansen]).

<sup>524</sup> McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk," p. 41.

<sup>525</sup> Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, pp. 272-282; Santosuosso, pp. 13-14.

*Moriuht*, would not have continued to be warmly greeted by all audiences, even at the ducal court.<sup>526</sup>

McDonough has identified Warner's complaints against Frotmond as those of an old conservative resistant to new ideas.<sup>527</sup> The satire suggests that Warner not only objected to the changes that Frotmond introduced because they disrupted aspects of the monastery that he valued but also to the intellectual and devotional shift that the changes indicated. McDonough has shown that the type of theoretical study of music that Frotmond presumably promoted was closely linked to tenth-century innovations concerning the importance of understanding music "by the mind," and Santosuosso has shown that the distinction between musical theory and musical performance comes from the works of Boethius and Macrobius.<sup>528</sup> Thus, Warner's critique of Frotmond's inability to sing draws attention to Frotmond's inability to act out with his body what he understands with his mind. Indeed, in the quotation presented above – "Having entered a false path through your dogma, you are nourished with learned men under the cover of religion, you appear to be learned, this habit [of religion] has given you this appearance"<sup>529</sup> – Warner seems particularly disturbed by the lack of consistency between Frotmond's actions and his appearance. In other words, Warner finds that Frotmond has trouble translating the *appearance* of holiness into the actions that indicate holiness just as he has trouble translating from theoretical knowledge about music to actual music.<sup>530</sup> Warner, at the end of the poem,

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<sup>526</sup> Christiansen draws attention to Dudo's address to Adalbero of Laon, who was known to be outspoken against the Clunaic reforms (Christiansen, p. xxviii). He also discusses Vopelius-Holtzendorff's claim that Dudo's choice to address the poem to Adalbero ought to be seen in direct contrast to the ducal family's patronage of reformers like William Volpiano (Christiansen, p. xviii; Vopelius-Holtzendorff, pp. 68-70, 446, 519-522 [as cited by Christiansen]).

<sup>527</sup> McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk," pp. 41-42.

<sup>528</sup> McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk," p. 41; Santosuosso, pp. 1-8.

<sup>529</sup> "Ingressus falsam per tua dogma uiam, / Nutritus doctis sub tegmine religionis / Monstraris doctus, quod dedit hic habitus" (Warner, "Second Satire," p. 45, lines 66-68).

<sup>530</sup> Warner's interest in Fromond's false appearance is reminiscent of a trend that Mancía has pointed out in John of Fécamp's writing – he focuses on disciplining and reforming "false monks" who appear different from who they are (Mancía, "John of Fécamp," p. 169).

even concedes that were Frotmond to return to Mont Saint Michel and teach only music theory and leave musical practice to more skilled musicians, Frotmond would no longer be offensive.<sup>531</sup> Warner objects most to the implication that Frotmond's knowledge and interest in musical theory could translate into a physical skill and practice. Warner objects to the devaluing of practice and physicality that comes from making it subservient to theory.

Warner's anger at Frotmond's behavior and teaching techniques may even reveal his frustration that the intellectual climate in Rouen was moving away from an appreciation of the pagan authors and the bawdy aesthetic that *Moriuht* proves Warner was skilled at evoking in his poetry. The language of Warner's complaints about Frotmond does hint at the bodily concerns of Warner's other poem, for instance when he says that Frotmond "spits out" the obedience that monastic life requires, but the language is toned down significantly in this poem.<sup>532</sup> Warner's complaints that Frotmond did not know how to sing and was destroying devotional practice through his cerebral teaching demonstrate, as McDonough has shown, a real practical religious concern that hymns directed and taught by Frotmond might not be sung correctly.<sup>533</sup> Thus, the liturgy was at stake. In the question of theory over practice, Warner also complains about a movement away from concrete and bodily concerns into those that are more theoretical. He is not explicit, but it is also not a stretch to see this complaint also as an allusion to the bawdy poetry he wrote in *Moriuht* and the anonymous satirists also wrote. Santosuosso has even suggested that it could be the influence of William of Volpiano, and especially the school that he set up in Fécamp, that made bawdy poetry obsolete.<sup>534</sup>

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<sup>531</sup> "Sed si uis lene potius residendo tacere, / Mentis, non uocis, conjubilando modis, / Cum Michaele tuam poteris conducere vitam..." ("Second Satire," lines 135-137; McDonough, "Warner of Rouen," p. 47).

<sup>532</sup> "Non uerum sequeris, BENEDICTUM non imitaris, / Respuis obsequium cuius habes habitum." Warner, "Second Satire", p. 45, lines 37-38.

<sup>533</sup> McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk," pp. 31, 41.

<sup>534</sup> Santosuosso, p. 13.

Almost as important, however, are Warner's critiques of Frotmond's ignorance of Latin grammar. These sorts of critiques, which as we have seen, are intertwined with his critiques of Moriuh't's ignorance, may have a dual role in this poem just as they do in Moriuh't. In *Moriuh't*, the critiques of the title character's ignorance of classical literature and even grammar allow Warner to lament a decline in appreciation for the past authors that he considers great – the likes of Vergil and Statius. In the "Second Satire," Warner laments a lack of interest in the basic arts of composition, and he thus signals his own fear that certain types of poetry are less well valued than they ought to be. In *Moriuh't*, as we have seen, Warner indulges in a style of poetry that is very bawdy and explicitly reliant on the classics, even while he laments that others do not know the classics well enough. Warner's movement away from using the classics coupled with Warner's obvious preoccupation with Frotmond's positioning of the cerebral over the bodily suggests, although obliquely, that Warner also feared that bodily and bawdy poetic interests were on the decline.

Of course the biggest *caveat* with this interpretation is that there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that Warner actually wrote the "Second Satire" second -- for all we know, his bawdy masterpiece of *Moriuh't* may actually have been his second poem. Although my argument would be strengthened if *Moriuh't* came first, no matter what the order of composition, the "Second Satire" suggests that Warner gives witness to a tension in intellectual and religious thought in Rouen in the early eleventh-century surrounding the role of classical, traditional styles of learning and literature at the court, cathedral, and cloister.

Warner's engagement with the Benedictine Rule as his moral touchstone, rather than the spotless life of Vergil, may symbolize a shift toward reverence for monastic mores even at the cathedral and ducal court. At the same time, this shift does not necessarily indicate the decline

of Warner's poetry or even secular poetry of any sort in Rouen. On the contrary, Warner demonstrates quite clearly that he is able to spar in the literary context of the Benedictine Reform just as well as he is able to spar in the context of the cathedral court's bawdy and classical sense of humor. This conclusion thus again raises the issue of why the production of secular literature in Rouen did decline after the 1020s, if the Benedictine reform cannot be entirely to blame. The answer may best be found in the changing priorities and patronage of the ducal family rather than the inability or unwillingness of Rouennais authors to write secular poetry in the context of a reforming church.

#### IV. The Influence of Political Shifts on Rouennais Literature

There is a gap of roughly forty to fifty years between the composition of the Rouennais satires (assuming a date in the 1010s or 1020s) and William of Jumièges' composition of his history of the Norman ducal family (c. 1070), and this history is in a very different vein from the literature that came before. In the intervening period, the *scriptoria* at Saint-Ouen and Saint-Wandrille both produced saints' lives and even a monastic history from Saint-Wandrille, but these too differ in tone from the earlier Rouennais works. And, unlike the Rouennais works, Dudo's satire, and William of Jumièges' history, these texts cannot be directly linked to the ducal family. Scholars have suggested that the difference in style of William of Jumièges' and other later Norman histories may be due to the location of production, as later histories were monastic.<sup>535</sup> During the forty-year gap between the Rouennais satires and William of Jumièges'

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<sup>535</sup> Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 129-131, and 227. Pohl also argues that William suggests that he did not find Dudo's poetry to be an appropriate genre for the history's content (Pohl, "Pictures, Poems and Purpose," p. 239).

very different history, there is little evidence for any sort of literature produced directly for the ducal family, and it seems unlikely that the increased importance of ecclesiastical and monastic reforms were the only drivers. This lacuna spans the reigns of Robert the Magnificent and the early years of William the Conqueror, and it spans the end of Archbishop Robert's life and the episcopacy of his successor, Mauger.

Robert the Magnificent certainly continued his father and grandfather's interest in monastic re-foundation, and Gazeau has suggested that he may even have personally chosen abbots at Fécamp and Saint-Wandrille, perhaps at times against the wishes of the Archbishop.<sup>536</sup> Just this interest alone in the re-establishment and enrichment of monasteries, however, should not disallow Robert the Magnificent as a patron of secular literature.<sup>537</sup> It is possible that the influence of John of Ravenna's 1028 ascension to the abbacy had reverberations at the courts in Rouen. His reforms were even more aggressive than those of his predecessor, William of Volpiano.<sup>538</sup> While William Volpiano's insistence on mental purity does not seem to have reached back to the ducal or episcopal courts, given that authors wrote bawdy poetry during his lifetime, it is possible that John's reforming aesthetic, which included an emphasis on reforming the mental practices of his monks, may have had an effect on the court.<sup>539</sup> Here, it is worth reminding ourselves that the ducal family had two main residences – one in Fécamp and one in Rouen – and it may be no accident that the secular literature and bawdy poetry can be identified specifically with Rouen, far from the influence of these potent reformers and the schools that William of Volpiano set up. Nevertheless, during the reign of Richard II, the abbey of Fécamp

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<sup>536</sup> Gazeau, p. 98.

<sup>537</sup> Lifshitz has suggested that Robert the Magnificent was interested in dramatic displays of piety, however, which may have conflicted with sponsoring secular poetry. Furthermore, a late twelfth century source does suggest that Robert the Magnificent required Archbishop Robert to renounce his wife and children in order to return from exile (Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 187).

<sup>538</sup> Mancía, "John of Fécamp," pp. 170-174.

<sup>539</sup> Mancía, "John of Fécamp," p. 161.

held a house in Rouen and arable land outside of the city.<sup>540</sup> These possessions suggest that William of Volpiano and John of Fécamp had the option of spending significant amounts of time in Rouen, and John may have taken more advantage of this opportunity than did William. Vopelius-Holtzendorff has even suggested that Dudo worried about how his work would be received in Rouen and elsewhere because of the influence of these reformers.<sup>541</sup> It had taken some convincing on the part of Richard II for William of Volpiano to agree to come to Fécamp, according to a late-eleventh-century history of the abbey, because William believed that the Normans were barbarians with little regard for the church.<sup>542</sup> During both William's and John's abbacies, however, even very powerful abbots, such as these two, did not witness very many ducal charters. This suggests that neither one was not a consistent advisor at the ducal or episcopal courts nor were they a part of either entourage.<sup>543</sup> John's influence, and the influence of the growing network of reformed monasteries throughout the duchy could still have affected the literary culture in Rouen, but the influence would have been incidental and difficult to trace directly.

In explaining the lull of literary output, the political and military trials that Robert the Magnificent and William the Conqueror went through ultimately prove more important than their projects of ecclesiastical renewal and reform. As we have already seen, the Archbishop and his nephew sparred at the beginning of Robert the Magnificent's reign, although they later seem to have established a working relationship. Narrative sources do not go into detail about their relationship following this initial conflict, and documentary evidence suggests that the

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<sup>540</sup> Sometime during his reign Richard II granted the house and land to the abbey (Archives Seine-Maritime, 7H2030).

<sup>541</sup> See Christiansen, p. xii for a discussion of Vopelius-Holtzendorff's argument (Vopelius-Holtzendorff, pp. 446-7, 463-7, 513-20 [as cited by Christiansen]). Here Christiansen argues that the reformers "occupied the chapter of Rouen" in 1012-1015 and that Dudo left town during this period.

<sup>542</sup> *Libellus de revelatione, aedificatione et auctoritate Fiscannensis monasterii*, *Patrologia Latina 151*, J.P. Migne (ed.) (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1841), p. 721; Gazeau and Goulet, p. 101.

<sup>543</sup> Gazeau, p. 275.

Archbishop continued to be a prominent presence at the ducal court. This leaves us with the question of how Robert the Magnificent and William the Conqueror's reigns differed from that of Richard II. While Richard II dealt with conflicts within Normandy at the beginning of his reign, Robert the Magnificent struggled to maintain order throughout his reign. For instance, very early in Robert's reign, William of Bellême, who had been loyal to Richard I, II, and III, revolted against Robert the Magnificent, and soon after, bishop Hugh of Bayeux led an attempted rebellion in lower Normandy.<sup>544</sup> Allen suggests that Robert the Magnificent relied on Archbishop Robert to quell his nobles and to keep them loyal, and we have already seen that he relied on the Archbishop to maintain peace with Brittany.<sup>545</sup> When Robert the Magnificent went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1035 and subsequently died before returning, he left William the Conqueror, né "Bastard," as a child-duke, who needed the Archbishop to secure his position. We thus see the integral importance of Archbishop Robert at the ducal court of his nephew and grandnephew. The constant political and military crises that required his attention throughout the reigns of the young dukes, while he was quite an old man, likely gave him less time for and less interest in patronizing authors.

The death of Archbishop Robert's mother, Gonnor, in 1031, may also have played a part in the literary lull. After all, she does figure prominently in *Moriuht*, and it is not ridiculous to believe that she, like Robert, patronized and encouraged the literature. Especially if the parallels between the Rouennais literature and Scandinavian court literature stand, it is likely that Gonnor's death – since she was the last member of the generation that probably knew original Scandinavian settlers – may have decreased the amount of courtly interest in literary patronage. When Mauger became Archbishop after Robert's death, despite Lifshitz' description of him as a

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<sup>544</sup> *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, vi. 4-5, pp. 49-54.

<sup>545</sup> Allen, *The Norman Episcopate*, pp. 305-309.

“conservative,”<sup>546</sup> it may no longer have been a part of the culture of the episcopal and ducal court to patronize secular literature. Certainly, as Bouvris has shown, during Mauger’s episcopacy, there is evidence for a small school in Rouen, but there is no evidence that it produced any literature.<sup>547</sup>

Thus, the reign of Robert the Magnificent and the early reign of William the Conqueror may not have produced more secular literature, especially of the bawdy persuasion, because of a slow mutation of court culture. It is likely that this mutation was partially caused by the increased influence of monastic and ecclesiastical reforms on secular culture, but we cannot blame the reforms entirely. The secular literature also declined during this period because of the political and military instability of the time as well as changes in the composition of people at the court. The miniature flowering of literature in the early eleventh-century was thus a happy coincidence of the right people and ideas being present in Rouen under the right circumstances. By the end of Archbishop Robert’s life, it seems that the ducal family had moved away from using the esoteric and bawdy wittiness of Dudo’s history and the satires to help solidify the dukes’ legitimacy and rule.

## Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the Rouennais satires are not entirely unique in their interest in explicit sexuality – there are parallels between roughly contemporary literature written elsewhere in Europe as well as later literature composed in Normandy. Nevertheless, I hope it has become clear that there were specific social, religious, and political conditions that allowed for the production of the early eleventh-century Rouennais texts and made them politically

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<sup>546</sup> Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 193.

<sup>547</sup> Bouvris, “L’*école capitulaire de Rouen au XIe siècle*,” pp. 93-97.

useful. From a continued Scandinavian literary influence to the very beginnings of the Norman Benedictine Reform to the relative stability of Archbishop Robert's position both as count and clergyman, under Richard II, a very specific set of conditions were in place that allowed for the production of this literature. And it was when these conditions began to dissipate that the patronage of secular literature in Rouen began to decline.

Dudo of St. Quentin's history has played a relatively small role in the preceding chapter, and this is in part because his work had a different afterlife from the other eleventh-century texts. By way of conclusion, I will briefly summarize some of the differences between the afterlife of Dudo's history and that of the satires. This will demonstrate the ways in which his ideas and content, but not his style, endured. As has been discussed above, the satires only exist in one or two manuscripts, while Dudo's work has been preserved in at least fifteen manuscripts, at least four of which date from the eleventh century. While the tradition of writing secular satirical poetry seems to have all but disappeared in Normandy by 1030, Dudo's text was disseminated and copied in monasteries throughout the duchy and later in Anglo-Norman houses as well.<sup>548</sup> In his new book, Pohl has completed the most extensive study to date of the manuscripts of Dudo's work, and he convincingly argues that the history was disseminated among monasteries, perhaps by the ducal family itself, throughout the eleventh-century.<sup>549</sup> The history made its way into Anglo-Norman monasteries through exchanges between related houses, and it did continue to be copied even after William of Jumièges' reworking of Dudo's material.<sup>550</sup> Pohl demonstrates that Dudo's history was what the satires could not be – “an important status symbol” that endured due to its political function as the first history of the Norman ducal family.<sup>551</sup> Later historians

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<sup>548</sup> Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, p. 225.

<sup>549</sup> Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, p. 61.

<sup>550</sup> Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 71, 78.

<sup>551</sup> Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, p. 54.

condemned the style of Dudo's history, and Pohl has argued that the *prosimetrum* style was ill suited to the later monastic historians who built on Dudo's work. Pohl adds that the style was perfect, however, for Dudo's goal of writing a literary work that would bring prestige to the Norman ducal family through its literary construction as well as the deeds that it recounts.<sup>552</sup> Nevertheless, historians continued to draw on his work for material and scribes continued to copy Dudo's work, often in conjunction with the later histories.<sup>553</sup> Some of the eccentric parts of Dudo's history, which were excised from later rewritings of Norman dynastic history, also acquired glosses in later manuscripts, which suggests that the text was not as readily accessible to later readers.<sup>554</sup> The style of Dudo's work thus may be linked to the particular intellectual climate in early eleventh-century Rouen, and its eradication from later histories mirrors the decline in secular poetry. The history's creation was certainly a political act as much as a literary act, however, and it was a political act with ongoing ramifications.

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<sup>552</sup> Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 129-131, and 227.

<sup>553</sup> Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 55-62, pp. 253-254.

<sup>554</sup> Pohl has shown that starting in the twelfth century, scribes often struggled to correctly transcribe the poetry Dudo wrote in arcane and uncommon meters (*Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 241-242; pp. 248-251). While many early copies of Dudo's work include explanatory rubrics and apparatuses, in some cases, changes in format and content indicate that readers struggled more in later centuries with the arcane knowledge that Dudo uses. An early eleventh-century manuscript, Cambridge Corpus Christi 276, which was produced at Canterbury (Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, p. 24), includes marginal glosses naming the meter of each of Dudo's poems as well as interlinear glosses whenever he includes Greek words. Pohl has identified this manuscript as part of a group that are related to each other, including two late twelfth-century English copies of Dudo's work: British Library Royal 13Bxiv and British Library Cotton Nero D viii. Cotton Nero D viii was written in England, perhaps near Colchester (Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, p. 29), and Royal 13Bxiv was produced at Canterbury, like 276 (Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, p. 30). The glosses in the early manuscript tend toward brief technical explanations and translations of Greek, while the later manuscripts include detailed excursus on classical allusions and poetic meter. These changes support Pohl's observation that later English scribes were less interested in and had less facility with Dudo's poetry than their continental counterparts. Royal 13 Bxiv is particularly noteworthy because the scribe has elaborated and made more prominent a gloss in CCC 276 explaining who the muses are (see Huisman, pp. 130-131). What is a minor marginal gloss in CCC 276 has become part of the body of the text in Royal 13 Bxiv, and the scribe clearly believed this information to be important because he made a colored box around the information, which he does not do with any of the other marginal glosses (folio 40v). This shifting of information into the body of the text demonstrates that this later scribe considered this background information of vital importance. His willingness to include the information right in the middle of the history suggests that he was not terribly concerned with the coherence of the history and may have thought it was too obscure to understand without significant explanation. Gelting has also suggested that the prominence of the glosses shows that Dudo's text was used as a textbook (Gelting, pp. 33-34).

The difference between the afterlife of Dudo's work and that of the satires emphasizes the unique moment that existed in Rouen under Archbishop Robert's and Richard II's watch. This is not to suggest that Dudo's text was not also strongly influenced by the political and social context of that time. But it is the style and eccentricity of Dudo's work that are particularly unique. Thus, we have Archbishop Robert, his Scandinavian family, the particular nascent state of the Benedictine Reform, as well as the ducal family's desire to broadcast their prestige and legitimacy through literary and eccentric means to thank for the satires and the idiosyncratic state of Dudo's text.

## CONCLUSION

This dissertation turns on the argument that the early eleventh-century Rouennais literature reveals a political culture in Rouen that was closely tied to literature and language. This language-centered culture comes across as fast-paced, quick-witted, and aggressive – not unlike the Normans in physical battles. Examining the political culture of early-eleventh-century Rouen through this literature reveals that the Norman ducal family was actively engaged in establishing its legitimacy partially by crafting cultured and eloquent images of the dukes – aggressive and effective language is in parallel to the more traditional image of effective warriors. The ducal family’s reliance on a complicated marriage strategy to maintain and gain power also triggered a discourse concerning sex and women’s sexuality in particular that, coupled with the threat of eloquent women, pervade the texts. Very specific aspects of the ducal family’s strategy for consolidation of power come through in these texts, and we are able to see otherwise hidden themes. The Rouennais texts reveal this early period and also help to distinguish it from what came after.

Furthermore, during a period when most Frankish domains were breaking up and going through turmoil, the Normans managed to consolidate an uncharacteristically distinct and stable realm. An important component of this consolidation, at least ideologically, was the project of literary legitimacy that the ducal family sponsored and that the Rouennais authors took on with gusto. Looking at this period *per se* provides a counter-narrative to that which says Normandy began to look like a duchy and to house intellectuals only during William the Conqueror’s reign. As early as the twelfth century, Norman historians credited William II with the creation of the Norman duchy, but these early-eleventh-century texts prove that Richard I and II were actively

involved in encouraging and creating a unified Norman culture and allegiance to the ducal family.

#### I. A New Look at the Process of Consolidating Normandy

As I discussed in the introduction, this dissertation has integrated too-often-sidelined literary sources into the discussion of Norman political culture. The early eleventh century is a period during which the Norman ducal family was struggling to define a Norman identity in order to consolidate their power. While Cassandra Potts has shown that the ducal family encouraged monastic expansion throughout the duchy in order to spread the ducal family's influence throughout the territory, these secular Rouennais sources demonstrate a secular branch of a similar plan of action. Dudo's history is an explicit attempt on the part of ducal family to define its own rule and legitimacy throughout the region. The satires are not explicitly tools of legitimacy, but they reflect the family's attempts to solidify its members' power through strategic marriages and an intellectual and eloquent culture. They are evidence of the parameters of political legitimacy as they were understood in Rouen in the early eleventh century. Looking closely at how the Normans were defining themselves provides an important counterpoint to how scholars have defined the Normans in modern scholarship.

The term "*Normannitas*" never appears in contemporary sources, and David Bates has recently suggested that it should be abandoned. Nevertheless, as we saw in the introduction, scholars have tackled the questions of "who were the Normans, culturally, linguistically, and politically?" repeatedly and built a story of the Normans based on their many conquests and their later development of a strong bureaucratic government. The first of these trends sees Norman

identity as restless and bellicose. This appears overtly, for instance, when Gordon S. Brown argues in his 2003 *The Norman Conquest of Southern Italy and Sicily* that the Norman conquest of parts of Italy stemmed from a Scandinavian “wanderlust” and desire for conquest.<sup>555</sup> The image of fearsome pirates who attacked the innocent Frankish people – an image that tenth- and eleventh-century chroniclers crafted – persists somewhat even in modern scholarship. For instance, even as he tries to redefine Norman identity and the “Norman achievement” in his newest book, David Bates gives most credit for the Norman effective control of England to displays of potentially brutal “hard power.”<sup>556</sup> These views of “Norman identity” do not take into account the literary culture that the Rouennais texts present, nor do they take into account the monastic revival and reforms championed by the ducal family and later Norman nobles throughout the duchy. Even more importantly, they do not take into account Dudo’s portrayal of the ducal family’s legitimacy coming through their joint mastery of military and intellectual pursuits. At the end of Richard II’s reign, despite Archbishop Robert’s continued influence in Rouen, it is clear that the culture of the ducal family as well as from where the ducal family sought legitimacy changed in the 1030s, and modern scholars, with some notable exceptions, have not paid enough attention to the distinct political culture of the reigns of Richard I and II.

Even Nick Webber, whose *The Evolution of Norman Identity, 911-1154*, is the most recent and complete discussion of the Norman project of self-identification as well as the attempts of outsiders to identify the Normans, falls into the trap of looking for too unified of a Norman identity across geography and chronology. Webber’s book takes as his topic the evolution of Norman identity in Normandy proper, England, and Sicily, and across two and half centuries. Webber argues that Dudo’s history demonstrates “cultural confusion in comital

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<sup>555</sup> Gordon S. Brown, *The Norman Conquest of Southern Italy and Sicily* (Jefferson, North Carolina: Macfarlane, 2003), p. 17.

<sup>556</sup> Bates, *The Normans and Empire*, pp. 18-20.

Rouen” – an affinity for both Scandinavian and Frankish culture.<sup>557</sup> He thus portrays Dudo, and later other Norman historians like William of Jumièges, as the arbiters of Norman identity through what he shies away from calling the anachronistic term “propaganda” but rather refers to as “boasting.”<sup>558</sup> Webber thus emphasizes the role of literature as a tool for building ducal power throughout the duchy. It is not simply displays of “hard power” that allowed the ducal family to maintain control of large swaths of land, but also the “soft power” that boasted of and reinforced the hard power. My dissertation has contributed to this type of thought by showing not simply the importance of literature to advertising the “hard power” that the Norman ducal family could command but also the power that came from both communicating effectively with the nobility and by pairing their physical domination with demonstrations of parallel cultural legitimacy to their subjects and other Frankish lords.

The early eleventh-century Rouennais literature also reveals the role that Richard I and Richard II played in solidifying the Norman duchy. One particular kind of Norman “achievement” – the establishment of a stable territory by the mid-eleventh century – has become a point of contrast for scholars vis-à-vis the turmoil of northern French politics in the same period. The late tenth century saw the end of the Carolingian reign and the early eleventh saw the rocky beginnings of the Capetian dynasty. This period also saw the rise of powerful nobles and what has been controversially called the “feudal revolution” or “feudal mutation.” Without wading too deeply into the controversy concerning this periodization, scholars have identified Normandy as an exception to the political instability in Northern France. Throughout the eleventh century, even during Robert the Magnificent’s reign and William the Conqueror’s minority, the duchy maintained its territories and the ducal family maintained power *vis-à-vis* the

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<sup>557</sup> Nick Webber, *The Evolution of Norman Identity, 911-1154* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2005), p. 21.

<sup>558</sup> Webber, pp. 14-15.

lesser nobles. In *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century*, Thomas Bisson characterizes Norman stability under a young William the Conqueror as “rooted in revived public powers of command and constraint.”<sup>559</sup> Bisson is surely correct in asserting that the strength of the nobles’ loyalty to William the Conqueror enabled him to maintain order and enforce the Truce and Peace of God where other dukes and counts failed. The ways in which this loyalty was originally cultivated reach back into the early eleventh century.

My dissertation has shown that at least for William the Conqueror’s grandfather, there was more to the maintenance of power than simply holding it by force. Indeed, David Crouch has commented that the basis for the portrayal of Norman “military excellence and ruthlessness” comes from William the Conqueror’s reign of the 1050s rather than from an earlier period.<sup>560</sup> One of the central tenets of my dissertation has been the importance of language alongside strength as tools for enforcing legitimacy and control. The narrative that Dudo built not only legitimates the ducal family but also, as Pierre Bauduin has argued, legitimates the Norman duchy as a unified territory. In fact, Bauduin argues that through passing references to the borders of the ducal family’s realm, Dudo establishes a more formal and complete set of boundaries than would likely have been visible on the ground at the time.<sup>561</sup> More importantly, however, I argue, like Gelting, that the authors in Rouen were invested in establishing the primacy of Rouen and their ducal patrons by developing the sense that Rouen was a center of culture.<sup>562</sup> In this way, as at Charlemagne’s court, the authors insisted upon the centrality of the ducal family’s power in both political and cultural realms.

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<sup>559</sup> Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century*, p. 168.

<sup>560</sup> Crouch, p. 73.

<sup>561</sup> Bauduin, *Les Premières Normandies*, p. 75.

<sup>562</sup> Gelting, *passim*.

Although the strand of literature that developed in Rouen was confined to early-eleventh-century Rouen, the ducal family's cultural supremacy spread throughout the duchy through its involvement in the monastic reform, which, as we have seen, was intertwined with the family's literary patronage. Cassandra Potts has shown in *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity* that the spread of monasteries throughout Normandy allowed local nobles to invest in the region and also pledge their allegiance to the ducal family. In fact, Bates has identified the founding of new monasteries as a form of the ducal family's "hard power" because of its basis in physical institutions.<sup>563</sup> Potts argues that the investment in the network of Norman monasteries formed ideological glue that kept the aristocracy aligned with each other and with the ducal family. McNair has shown that Richard II was the first Norman ruler to call himself "Duke of Normandy" rather than "Count of Rouen," and this too, McNair claims, is an ideological move to solidify ducal power.<sup>564</sup> Whether through religious patronage or self-presentation as legitimate rulers through literature, the Norman dukes actively promoted the ideology that they were the rulers of the whole duchy. The legitimate power of the ducal family was personal but not based solely in the relationships between the dukes and lesser nobles – the dukes actively promoted an ideological basis for their power. During the time period when the rulers of duchies and counties of northern France were basing their power on the mutable personal relationships and local castellans were gaining strength as powerful lords *per se*, both militarily and ideologically, the early dukes of Normandy had already set the stage for a unified duchy.<sup>565</sup> William the

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<sup>563</sup> Bates, *The Normans and Empire*, p.19.

<sup>564</sup> McNair, pp. 312-313.

<sup>565</sup> Just how much lordship and the power structure in northern France changed during this period has been hotly debated for decades. For a recent argument for great amounts of devolution of power and many changes, see Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (USA: Princeton University Press, 2009). For an argument that the changes scholars have perceived around the year 1000 are actually exaggerated and not very different from the types of government that came before, see Richard E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), especially at pp. 1-17. Also see articles by Thomas Bisson (in favor of radical change), Dominique Barthélemy (in

Conqueror, as Bisson has argued, surely maintained Normandy through his effective governance, but he inherited a duchy that had been solidified by his grandfather and great-grandfather through their cultural and ideological programs of self-legitimation.

The importance of literature to William the Conqueror's power is clear from the numerous histories addressed to him throughout his reign, and it is important to note, therefore, that literature remained a staple in his arsenal of tools of power. William of Jumiègue's *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, written c.1070, glorifies William the Conqueror's ascension to power and the conquest of England. The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, likely from c. 1067, also glorifies the battle of Hastings. What is missing from the record of literature at William the Conqueror's court is the idiosyncratic style of Dudo's text and the bawdy satire of the Rouennais poems. Instead, we see Latin literature that records and legitimates William the Conqueror's rule through its content but not through the literary context that the literature implies. Something changed in Normandy between the reigns of Richard II and William the Conqueror. The quirky focus of literature at the ducal court faded, and the production of literature for the ducal family did not reemerge until William of Jumiègues wrote his history after the Conquest. Pohl has argued that this shift came about because aesthetic tastes at the court changed, but there must have been changes in political expediency as well.<sup>566</sup>

As we have seen in the final chapter, this shift may have been partially due to the increased pressure on Archbishop Robert during Robert the Magnificent's reign and the deaths

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favor of some changes and radical changes in documentation), Stephen White (arguing for changes in how certain violent practices were interpreted), Timothy Reuter (arguing against radical change), and Chris Wickham (arguing for some change but not as radical as Bisson's contention) in the *Past and Present* debate (1994 and May 1997): Thomas .N. Bisson, "Feudal Revolution," *Past and Present* 142 (Feb., 1994), pp. 6-42; Thomas N. Bisson, "The 'Feudal Revolution' Reply," *Past and Present* 155 (May, 1997), pp. 208-225; Dominique Barthélemy and Stephen D. White, "The 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past and Present* 152 (August 1996), pp. 196-223; Timothy Reuter, "Debate: The 'Feudal Revolution' III," *Past and Present* 155 (May 1997), pp. 177-195; Chris Wickham, "Debate: The 'Feudal Revolution' IV" *Past and Present* 155 (May 1997), pp. 196-208.

<sup>566</sup> Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, p. 131.

of some of the people who were most interested in patronizing literature. When William the Conqueror began patronizing literature in his own right, it was in a different vein from what his grandfather had enjoyed. William the Conqueror depended on literature to confirm his role through the narratives that the pieces told rather than through their insistence on associating him with the production of literature and a cultured court. Thus, as the dukes of Normandy also became kings of England, their reliance on the general perception of a cultivated court for legitimacy slipped away.

## II. An Underground Tradition of Secular, Bawdy, Literature?

But even after the tradition of writing bawdy, secular literature was no longer central to the political image of the ducal family, could there have been a literary tradition that survived in Rouen? A twelfth-century poem written in the tradition of the *comoedia elegiaca* but set in Normandy with Glycerium, the name of Moriuh't's wife with a slightly altered spelling, as a main character raises this intriguing question. The poem's similarities to other mid-twelfth-century *comoediae* as well as a reference to King Henry in the poem has led scholars to date the poem to the reign of the Anglo-Norman king Henry II (1154-1189), more than one hundred years after Warner wrote.<sup>567</sup> Keith Bate has suggested that this anonymous poem, as well as another Anglo-Norman poem, *Baucis et Traso*, may be evidence that, despite there being no evidence for any intervening secular bawdy literature during the one hundred year gap, Norman authors continued

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<sup>567</sup> Annamaria Savi, "Notizie Introduttive: Sulla Localizzazione Geografica e Cronologica del Pamphilus, Gliscerium et Birria" in *Commedie Latine del XII e XIII Secolo I* (Genova: Istituto di Filologia Classica e Medievale, 1976), pp. 197-277 at p. 203. Pamphilus says, "Henrici regis cognatus in urbem/ intrabo tamquam cetera turba pedes" ("Pamphilus, Glycerium, et Birra," Annamaria Savi (ed.) in *Commedie Latine de XII e XIII Secolo I* (Genova: Istituto di Filologia Classica e Medievale, 1976), pp. 258-277 at ll203-204, p. 276); "King Henry knows me, I'll go into the city just like the rest of the crowd on foot."

to write in the tradition of the bawdy literature that the four satires embody.<sup>568</sup> He also argues that the flourishing of Anglo-Norman secular and religious twelfth-century drama is linked to the earlier eleventh-century poetry due to its relationship with Roman comedy.<sup>569</sup> The comparison of the four satires and the *Pamphilus, Glycerium, et Birria* raises more questions than it answers, and ultimately there is not enough evidence to suggest a direct link between the early eleventh-century poetry and the mid-twelfth-century poetry. Bate is the only scholar to write about the early eleventh-century satires in the same context as the later *Pamphilus, Glycerium, et Birria*. And although I will not argue that the earlier texts are directly related to the twelfth-century satire, a brief reassessment of the comparison between the four satires and the anonymous poem reveals some useful evidence of changes in literary style as well as a new sensibility of bawdiness in the later period.

The main reason to place the composition of *Pamphilus, Glycerium, et Birria* in Normandy is that the story is located in Normandy – the main characters leave Paris and travel first to Lisieux and finally to Évreux (which was the seat of Archbishop Robert’s county). Annamaria Savi has suggested that the author was most likely a Norman or Englishman who had been educated in Normandy or in the schools of the Loire valley.<sup>570</sup> There is no way to link the poem to a certain school or center in Normandy. Nevertheless, the author’s choice to set the poem within Normandy suggests that he expected the places to be meaningful for his audience. In a similar fashion, Warner includes only places that were settled or visited by Norse and Viking travellers in *Moriuht*, and the denouements in both *Moriuht* and the “Second Satire” take place in Rouen. By this example, one might expect that the author wrote *Pamphilus, Glycerium,*

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<sup>568</sup> Keith Bate, “Les Normands et la littérature latine au débat du nouveau millénium” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 43/171 (Juillet-septembre 2000), pp. 233-241 at p. 236.

<sup>569</sup> Bate, pp. 237-238.

<sup>570</sup> Savi, p. 202.

*et Birria* with an audience in Évreux or Lisieux in mind, but it would be impossible to prove this. Unfortunately the geographical link is too weak to bear the weight of associating this poem with the early eleventh-century Rouennais tradition.

A more convincing link between *Moriuht* and *Pamphilus, Glycerium, et Birria* is the authors' use of bawdy imagery and jokes as well as the presence of the character Glycerium (or Glicerium, as *Moriuht*'s wife is named). As I will discuss further below, the bawdy imagery that appears in *Pamphilus, Glycerium, et Birria* differs significantly from what we see in the Rouennais satires. Glycerium starts the poem in Paris, we presume as a prostitute (as she is in *Andria*), but the author leaves her occupation very vague. We do not see the author reveling in the bawdiness of Glycerium's sexual encounters the way Warner and the anonymous satirists do. In a similar fashion, during the only sex scene in the poem, which I will discuss below, the imagery is explicit but the language is metaphorical. Again, the author seems to be willing to engage with bawdiness without truly embracing it in the early eleventh-century Rouennais fashion. These changes, nevertheless, do not rule out a link between the early eleventh-century tradition and this later one – a hundred years is a long time for the literature to evolve, after all.

The name “Glycerium” for *Pamphilus*' paramour also suggests a link with the early eleventh-century Rouennais literature but is not in and of itself a convincing link between the poems because “Glicerium” is a name that comes from the Terence play, *Andria*. The name appears in multiple twelfth-century poems and comes from a Greek term of endearment.<sup>571</sup> In the twelfth-century poem, *Pamphilus* travels to Paris in order to rescue Glycerium from prostitution, and in the eleventh-century poem, *Moriuht* saves his wife, Glicerium, from slavery

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<sup>571</sup> Kurt Smolak, “Narrative, Elegy, Parody: The Medieval Latin Comedy *Pamphilus, Glycerium et Birria*,” *Medievalia et Humanistica* 39 (2013), pp. 87-102 at pp. 88-89. Two examples of where the name Glicerium also appears is in the anonymous Norman satire, *Baucis et Traso*, and in Walter of Châtillon's Short Poem 17. See Bate, p 236 and *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems, Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse*, David A. Traill (ed. and trans.) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013), p. 34.

outside of Rouen. These similarities in plot also mimic Terence's play. In *Andria*, the character of Glycerium never actually appears onstage, but throughout the play she is understood to be a foreign prostitute. At the end of the play, however, because the main character, Pamphilus, who is an Athenian citizen, wishes to marry Glycerium, a comedy of errors leads to the discovery that Glycerium was an Athenian citizen all along and the long-lost daughter of Pamphilus' father's friend. Having thus been re-identified, Glycerium is deemed an appropriate match for Pamphilus, and she presumably will be able to leave her ignominious trade and become a respectable Athenian woman. Both the eleventh- and twelfth-century poems thus contain important elements from the original play – a foreign woman who has been reduced to a low status and who is only released from it through her beloved's efforts to return her to her home.<sup>572</sup> These similarities do not necessarily indicate that the twelfth-century author had direct knowledge of *Moriuht*. What they show is that both poems take part in a tradition of emulating Terence's work, and it is possible that this tradition continued in Normandy during the gap between Warner's and the anonymous author's works although the evidence for the continuation has been lost.<sup>573</sup>

One possible piece of evidence for the continuation of the tradition is the manuscript, BnF lat. 8121A, that contains the Rouennais satires. This manuscript includes some evidence that, at least in the end of the eleventh-century, the poems were associated with Plautus and thus possibly with Terence. As was discussed in the introduction, the manuscript, which is from

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<sup>572</sup> Smolak, p. 89.

<sup>573</sup> *Moriuht* shows the direct influence of many classical texts, including Horace, Vergil, Statius, Ovid, Juvenal, Persius, Sedulus, Prudentius, Prosper, Tibullus, Venantius Fortunatus, and Terence (See McDonough's introduction to *Moriuht*, pp. 7-15, especially 11-14). McDonough points out that, although Warner certainly knew some of these works in the original, it is possible that he knew some of them through quotations or compilations, especially since the cathedral library was probably quite sparse in the early eleventh century (McDonough's introduction to *Moriuht*, p. 8, pp 13-14). A catalogue of the works in the cathedral library in the early twelfth-century does mention Terence (McDonough's introduction to *Moriuht*, p. 9). Nevertheless, there is no definitive evidence that the *Andria* was known in eleventh-century Rouen.

late-eleventh-century or early-twelfth-century northern France, also contains the *Querolus*, a pseudo-Plautan play written in late antiquity.<sup>574</sup> The play roughly follows the plot of Plautus' *Aulularia*, which is a comedy of errors concerning hidden treasure and avaricious old men, but the action unrolls slowly in *Querolus* amid long discussions of how to avoid sin. BnF lat. 8121A is not a particularly sumptuous manuscript, and the scribe or scribes incorporated few colors. One noticeable aspect of the manuscript is that, although the *Querolus* is written out continuously without line breaks for different characters so that very little space is wasted on the page, the scribe rubricated the names of the play's characters.<sup>575</sup> Perhaps significantly, this trend continues throughout the whole manuscript, even in *Moriuht*, which is not a dialogue. The scribe thus underlines Moriuht's name and Archbishop Robert's name among other underlinings throughout the poem.<sup>576</sup> And, in the second satire, which both Musset and McDonough have argued was meant to be a dialogue (although neither manuscript makes this clear), the scribe underlines the names of any personage who appears, even in passing, such as St. Benedict.<sup>577</sup> This practice suggests that Bate is correct in seeing a link between these early Rouennais satires and performance. The scribe also emphasizes the dialogue in both *Semiramis* and *Jezebel*, and it seems likely that this late eleventh-century scribe did associate the Rouennais poetry with Roman comedy and theatrical performances. These piecemeal connections between the early-eleventh-century satires, later *comoedia elegiaca*, and ongoing interest in Roman comedy allows for the suggestion that, despite the apparent disappearance of secular, bawdy literature of this

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<sup>574</sup> Bate, p. 238; Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, pp. 28-30.

<sup>575</sup> See Bate, p. 238 for a description of the *Querolus*' apparatus in the manuscript.

<sup>576</sup> The scribe underlines various parts of the poem, but he seems to have focused on people and places. On the first page of the poem alone, the scribe underlines "Et matri" (line 2), "Rotberti uita" (line 5), "Regis precipui" (line 6), "regit francos" (line 9), "nortmannos" (line 10), "Richardi duo sunt retinacula mundi" (line 12), and "Quattor" (line 12) (MS Bn Lat 8121A, 2recto). Other frequently underlined words are "Moriuht" (2v, 3r, 5v) and "Rotomago" (2r, 6v, 9v). Notably, the scribe did not underline Glycerium's name. Perhaps also significantly, the copy of Dudo's history in Rouen BM MS Y11 also includes underlinings of almost all of the main figures. In this case, the underlinings emphasize the members of the ducal family and thus emphasize the history's political function.

<sup>577</sup> MS Bn Lat 8121A, 9v and 11v.

sort, some sort of tradition of bawdy literature, perhaps as related to theater and performance, may have continued in Upper Normandy throughout the eleventh-century. What exactly the link with Norman and Anglo-Norman religious theater would be, however, is still unclear.

*Pamphilus, Birria, et Glycerium* also witnesses a recurrence of playful, bawdy language in Norman literature, but its attitudes toward sex vary significantly from what we see in *Moriuht*. After Pamphilus and his servant, Birria, have retrieved Glycerium from Paris, they stop on the road for the evening. Following the meal, the author describes the consummation of the love between Pamphilus and Glycerium in explicit language: “At length, Glycerium is stripped of her armor and he [Pamphilus] joins with she who is embraced in bed; He embraces her, negotiating the pleasant business, and he is totally subdued by compliances to Venus...”<sup>578</sup> Here, the anonymous author explains what happens between Pamphilus and Glycerium openly and physically by emphasizing Glycerium’s nudity and the physical joining of the two lovers (“nudatur” and “collocat”). In his openness concerning the sexual act, the anonymous author is part of Warner’s tradition of sexual poetry. The anonymous author also, however, was concerned with the relationship between sex and marriage, and this concern does not appear directly in *Moriuht*. In his word choice, the anonymous author evokes the step that Pamphilus and Glycerium have skipped in consummating their love in this *ad hoc* situation – marriage. The word “colloco” can mean “to give someone in marriage.” Likewise, “thorus” can be either a bed or a marriage bed. The couple does marry with little pomp in the last two lines of the poem, but the anonymous author’s allusions to marriage during the earlier scene emphasizes the gap between Pamphilus and Glycerium’s early coupling and their later wedding and foreshadows

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<sup>578</sup> “Gliscerium tandem spoliis nudatur et ulnis / Amplexam socio collocat ille thoro; / Amplexatur eam iocunda negotia tractans / Et totus Veneris subditur obsequiis...” (Pamphilus, Glycerium, et Birria, lines 85-88, p. 266).

their nuptials.<sup>579</sup> The anonymous author's emphasis on the fact that this sex occurred out-of-wedlock contrasts directly with Warner's depiction of Moriuh't's and Glycerium's coupling. Warner's mockery of Moriuh't's sexual actions does not change in tone when discussing those in- and out-of-wedlock, which suggests that Warner was not preoccupied with confining sex to marriage. In this difference in attitude, we see the evidence of one hundred years of church reforms concerning clerical celibacy and increased codification of the processes by which sexual transgressions could be legally addressed and rectified.<sup>580</sup> The anonymous satirist thus implies a gentle chiding for the lovers for engaging in improper sexual activity, but he resolves their misstep when they marry at the end of the poem. Warner's criticisms of Moriuh't cannot be so easily resolved because his objections against Moriuh't's sexual activity stem from his focus on the grotesqueness of the physical actions, which remains even if the actions become legitimate.<sup>581</sup>

There are important differences in the tone between Warner's poetry and that of the anonymous author, and these differences indicate that *Pamphilus, Glycerium et Birria* is not part of a lost tradition of Norman satire that can be linked directly back to the early eleventh century. His language is in general far more euphemistic than is Warner's. While the images that the anonymous author paints are quite explicit, his language lacks the aggression that comes through in Warner's text. While I have argued that Allen is wrong to see Warner's derision of sex as a

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<sup>579</sup> Elisabeth van Houts, stated in private conversation on August 24, 2015. She has a forthcoming book on medieval marriage and marriage customs.

<sup>580</sup> James Brundage has argued that twelfth-century jurists worked to differentiate between sexual crimes and sexual sins, and in the end of the twelfth-century, Pope Alexander III began to develop mechanisms for pursuing legal action against clerics and laypeople who committed sexual crimes (James Brundage, "Playing by the Rules: Sexual Behaviour and Legal Norms in Medieval Europe" in Jacqueline Murray and Konrad Eisenbichler (ed.), *Desire and discipline : sex and sexuality in the Premodern West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), pp. 23-41 at 25-26.

<sup>581</sup> Moriuh't and Pamphilus, Glycerium, et Birria represent the two ends of the church reform movement. Moriuh't's reveling in the physicality of sexual relations, both official and unofficial, indicates a pre-reform attitude or even a reaction against nascent ecclesiastical sexual regulations. Pamphilus, Glycerium et Birria represents a more relaxed relation to prohibitions against sex, perhaps because the eleventh- and twelfth-century reforms had codified when the relations were appropriate and drawn attention to official mechanisms for legitimating sex among lay people.

condemnation of sexual acts, Warner's depiction is clearly more derisive than what we see in this later play. Warner revels in explicit sexual and bodily descriptions, but they are disgusting, and it is as though he revels in how grotesque they can be. Both authors at once revel in and ridicule their subjects, but Warner derides while the anonymous author gently mocks.

The broad congruence of theme between the anonymous author's and Warner's poetry is significant in largest part because it could be evidence that the poems come from an on-and-off tradition of Norman interest in Roman comedy and satirical writing. BnF lat. 8121A offers evidence of a contact point between Rouennais poetry and Roman comedy in between the composition of the Rouennais satires and *Pamphilus, Glycerium, et Birria*. Nevertheless, these three evidence points are not strong enough to demonstrate a continuous tradition of Norman composition of bawdy satires. Bate's argument that the early eleventh-century poetry represents direct precursors to the *Pamphilus, Glycerium, et Birria* does not account for the significant divergences in tone, and it also does not account for the importance of the *comoedia elegiaca* genre's rise right at the period when *Pamphilus, Glycerium, et Birria* was written. Although scholars disagree about the geographical origins of these plays and poems, which were written under the influence Roman comedies and Ovid's poetry at the beginning of the *aetas Ovidiana*, there is consensus that they were popular and often written in scholarly centers in the Loire Valley and other parts of Northern France.<sup>582</sup> There is also consensus that the anonymous author's poem fits smoothly into this tradition.<sup>583</sup> Bate's connection between the Rouennais poetry and these later plays is intriguing, but given the lack of evidence for a consistent tradition of Norman composition, it is difficult to argue that *Pamphilus, Glycerium, et Birria* is directly related to the early eleventh-century satires. It is more likely, however, that the poem and the

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<sup>582</sup> For a discussion of the possible geographical origins of the genre, see Peter Dronke, "A Note on Pamphilus" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* xlii (London 1979), pp. 225-230 at 230.

<sup>583</sup> Smolak, p. 89.

Rouennais satires are two separate instances of evidence that Roman comedy exerted influence on poetic composition recurrently throughout the Middle Ages. As we have seen, there are many parallels between the bawdiness of the Old French *fabliaux* and the Rouennais poetry. But the congruencies offer useful comparison points rather than evidence that the two genres are causally related. The context in which the *Pamphilus, Glycerium, et Birria* was written is simply too unclear to make too many conclusions regarding its relationship to the Rouennais satires.

### III. Literature and Politics

Whether or not we can trace the roots of *Pamphilus, Glycerium, et Birria* to early eleventh-century Rouen, it is apparent that the role that literature played in political culture had shifted by the mid-twelfth-century and would continue to shift. Unlike *Moriuht* and its ilk, the *Pamphilus, Glycerium, et Birria* does not specifically refer to a literary community in which the author took part. In the Rouennais literature, the authors explicitly try to imbricate their work into or comment on the ruling family's project of political legitimacy. The authors' motivation goes beyond that of a search for patronage to a search for their own artistic legitimacy and meaning. In other words, in early eleventh-century Rouen, the production of literature and political culture were intertwined – each one helped to give the other meaning and legitimacy.

Despite suggestions that Warner's dislike of *Moriuht* came from patronage that *Moriuht* won instead of Warner, there are no direct references to compensation in any of the Rouennais poems. And the suggestion that Dudo was rewarded for his work comes entirely from outside sources. The authors must have been supported somehow, but these authors are not similar to the Archpoet or Wace – complaining constantly that they are singing for their suppers. The hints

of competition among the Rouennais authors are based on gaining literary prestige. Rouen would not be the first or the only intellectual center where pecuniary interests were hidden beneath quests for prestige. Famously, Peter Abelard claims to have sparred with many Parisian masters before his famous showdowns with Bernard of Clairvaux and Pope Urban. In the *Historia calamitatum*, Abelard presents his conflicts with other masters simply as part of his quest for the chance to discover and disseminate philosophical and religious truth. Nevertheless, Constant Mews and John Marenbon have shown that Abelard also courted powerful noble sponsors who never appear in his history.<sup>584</sup> Peter Baldwin has shown that the king and powerful nobles later continued to patronize Parisian scholars, and the intellectual disputes and debates that we see simply ignore the men who facilitated their occurrence.<sup>585</sup> Thus, the Rouennais authors very well may have been competing to gain pecuniary stability, but they couched their competition in intellectual and political terms.

What the dual focus on intellectual activity and politics suggests is that the way that literature gained value in Rouen was through its association with the political elites. The intersection of literature and political culture is thus particularly relevant: it reveals how legitimacy was conceived of in early-eleventh-century Rouen. I have shown throughout this dissertation that the authors portray the ducal family as eloquent and literate. The authors argue that in this early period, literature was a central part of life for the Rouennais political elites. The fact that the Norman political elite understood, as Ziolkowski has argued, that control of language was real power comes through most clearly in the sense that women who speak and

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<sup>584</sup> Constant J. Mews, "Peter Abelard," in *Authors of the Middle Ages: Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West, Volume II, Nos. 5 – 6*, Patrick Geary (ed.) (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate 1995), 1–88 at 11–18, and John Marenbon, *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 11-12.

<sup>585</sup> Peter Baldwin, "Masters at Paris from 1179-1215, A Social Perspective" in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Robert Louis Benson, Giles Constable, Carol Dana Lanham (ed.)(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 138–172 especially at 139-142.

speaking about their sexuality wielded that power dangerously. As the authors portray it, the ducal family's legitimacy was confirmed, at least in part, by the members' own linguistic powers and their power to command a literary community.

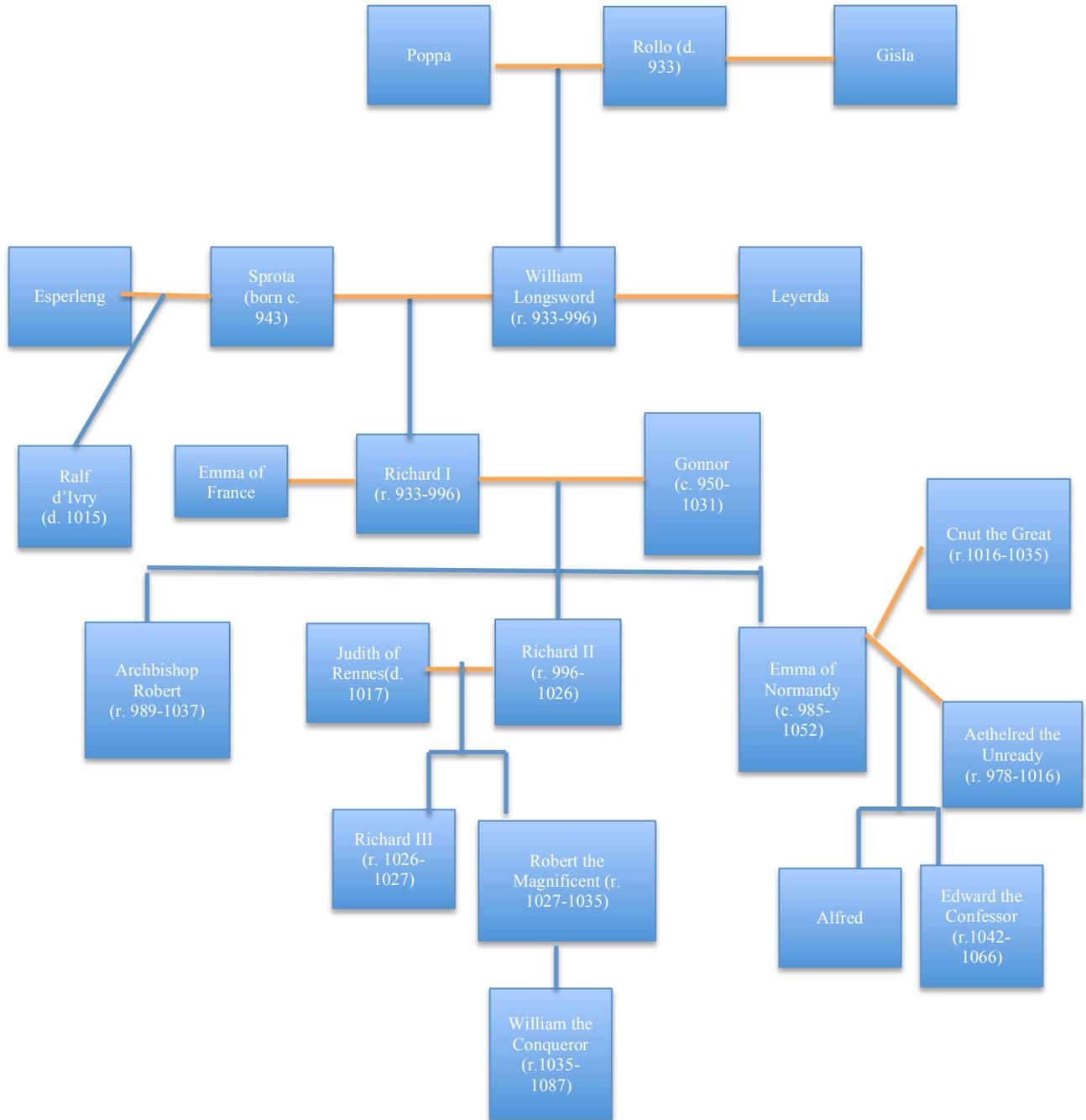
This type of portrayal of Rouennais political culture contrasts with the image that later historians develop for the Vikings who became the early Normans. It is also notable because of the way it does not resemble the powerful bureaucratic government William the Conqueror carried out. From the Rouennais authors' own portrayal, literary production was neither for the sole purpose of political causes nor was it seeking to be free of political powers and constraints. Each one lent legitimacy to the other. The literary movement in Rouen was the counterpart to the role that the monastic reform played throughout the rest of Normandy. In a town dominated by secular clerics, eloquent nobles, and conflicts over reform, a secular and bawdy literary tradition grew up that made room for religious and political debate. The specific situation in Rouen in the early eleventh century – the combination of specific personalities, a newly established family, many languages and literary traditions, and spreading monastic reform – led to the centrality of language and the creation of bizarre literature. If new forms of literature emerge when a rupture in society produces a new type of audience, then that is exactly what happened in Rouen.<sup>586</sup>

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<sup>586</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, "Principles for a Sociology of Cultural Works," in *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, Randal Johnson (ed.) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 176-191 at 184-185.

APPENDIX 1:

SIMPLIFIED DUCAL FAMILY TREE



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### Manuscripts

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