

WHAT WAS EMPEROR AUGUSTUS DOING AT A CAROLINGIAN BANQUET (ANTH. LAT.² 719^f)?

In 1880 Hermann Hagen (1844–1898), professor of classical philology and director of the philology seminar in the University of Bern, published in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* an epigram from a Bern manuscript that he ascribed to Emperor Octavian Augustus.¹ Hagen probably is best remembered today for his still unsurpassed 1875 catalogue of Bern's rich collection of medieval manuscripts, for his contribution to Georg Thilo's edition of Servius' commentary on Vergil, and for his facsimile edition of the "Bern Horace".² He was also the author of numerous other articles and editions, most of them inspired by the more than 700 manuscripts in the Pierre Daniel (ca. 1530–1603) and Jacob Bongars (1554–1612) collection conserved in Bern's *Burgerbibliothek*. The epigram Hagen attributed to Octavian Augustus in these pages more than 120 years ago is easily his most controversial publication. The attribution of a text to Rome's first emperor guaranteed its celebrity, but questions concerning its authenticity also guaranteed its notoriety.

Hagen first came upon the epigram while preparing his catalogue of Bern manuscripts, but other tasks prevented him from sharing his discovery with the scholarly world.³ In 1880 he was ready and actually published three articles on the epigram that year, a kind of scholarly triptych with the *Rheinisches Museum* essay

1) Über ein neues Epigramm mit der Aufschrift: Octaviani Augusti, *RhM* 35 (1880) 569–577. This Hagen is not to be confused with Hermann August Hagen (1817–1893), the distinguished entomologist. Abbreviations: CCCM = *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievals* (Turnhout 1971ff.); MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Berlin etc. 1819 ff.); PL = *Patrologiae cursus completus ... Series Latina* (Paris 1844–1864).

2) H. Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium* (*Bibliotheca Bongarsiana*) (Bern 1875); G. Thilo and H. Hagen (eds.), *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1881–1902); H. Hagen, *Codex Bernensis 363 phototypice editus* (Leiden 1897).

3) His first reference to the epigram: *Catalogus* (note 2) 155, "F. 136ab inserta sunt notis Tironianis concepta excerpta aliquot Ambrosii, Augustini, Salviani ... dicta Marci medici, Octavii Augusti."

serving as its centerpiece. Hagen announced his discovery in the spring, on May 21, in the supplement to Augsburg's *Allgemeine Zeitung*.⁴ In this brief notice, he provided the essential details. The epigram appears in MS Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 109, a Priscian manuscript that belonged at one time to the monastery of Saint-Basle near Reims. The manuscript's Priscian text bears many marginal notes, including on fols. 136rv a long text written on previously unused space in mixed Carolingian minuscule and Tironian notes.⁵ As Hagen reported in his 1875 catalogue, the long text, copied in continuous lines in the manuscript, actually consists of excerpts from nine different texts:⁶

fol. 136r

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|------|---------------------------------|
| I. | Ambrose, In Lucae euang. 15 |
| II. | Augustine, De ciu. Dei 21,9,11 |
| III. | Augustine, De ciu. Dei 21,10 |
| IV. | Augustine, De ciu. Dei 18,17–18 |
| V. | Salvian, De gubern. Dei 7 |

fol. 136v

- | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|
| VI. | Augustine, De mendacio 25, 42 |
| VII. | Dicta Marci medici |
| VIII. | Octauiani Augusti |
| IX. | Augustine, De trinitate 5,2–3 |

The title of the epigram that attracted Hagen's attention is rendered in the manuscript in Carolingian minuscule thus: *Octā auḡ*.

4) Ein neuentdecktes Epigramm des Kaisers Augustus, Beilage zur *Allgemeinen Zeitung* (Augsburg) 142 (Freitag, 21. Mai 1880) 2070.

5) Fol. 136 is the last leaf in the manuscript's eighteenth numbered quire. The scribe finished his portion of the text at fol. 136r9 (Priscian Inst. 14,49) and left the remainder of the recto and the entire verso blank. The Priscian text continues without loss at the beginning of the next quire, fol. 137r1.

6) Hagen identified these texts in the third of his 1880 publications. See note 15 below. I hope to study the significance of the eight other excerpts elsewhere. Suffice it to note here that Hagen's excerpts I–III concern the physical survival of the body after death; excerpt IV reports the physical transformation of drugged humans into pack animals; excerpt V relates desirable and undesirable characteristics to certain ethnic groups such as Goths, Alans, and Franks; excerpt VI describes eight kinds of lies; excerpt VII discusses the significance of the midsummer solstice; and, excerpt IX discusses how humans can understand God.

When he published the epigram for the first time in the *Allgemeinen Zeitung*, he expanded the title and arranged the text in verse form:⁷

Octaviani Augusti

Convivae! Tetricas hodie secludite Curas!
 Ne maculent niveum nubila corda diem!
 Omnia sollicitae pellantur murmura mentis,
 Ut vacet indomitum pectus amicitiae.
 Non semper gaudere licet: fugit hora! Iocemur!
 Difficile est Fatis subripuisse diem.

Hagen knew from Suetonius that Augustus composed epigrams, often when emerging from the baths, and concluded that the Bern epigram was an invitation to a banquet that followed the baths. Although the *conviviae* were not named, Hagen imagined that the emperor's guests would include Maecenas, Horace, Varius, and Vergil. The epigram's "pure Roman simplicity" also put him in mind of Augustus who failed at tragedy, but whose epigrams were celebrated by Martial for their simplicity.⁸

Hagen packed a great deal into his one-column contribution to the Augsburg newspaper. His essay in *Rheinisches Museum* later in 1880 unpacked a great deal of his evidence for attributing the epigram to Augustus. First, he pointed out that all the other excerpts on fols. 136rv of the Bern manuscript attribute their texts to specific authors in much the same manner as the *Octā auḡ* title of the epigram: thus, *Am* for Ambrose; *Aḡ* and *Aurelii aḡ* for

7) Hagen transcribed the following words from their Tironian forms: *hodie; curas; ne maculent; corda diem; omnia sollicitae pellantur; mentis; ut; indomitum pectus; non semper gaudere licet fugit hora; difficile est; diem*. The interpretation of several of the Tironian *notae* as well as the punctuation and capitalization of the epigram will change in subsequent versions. Hagen also provided a translation: "Munter, Genossen! Hinaus schließt heute die grämlichen Sorgen! / Kein umwölktes Gemüth trübe den schneeigen Tag! / Scheuchet hinweg das Geflüster aus angstvoll bebendem Herzen: / Offen der Freundschaft allein sei die entfesselte Brust! / Stets sich zu freun, wem ist es verlihn? Schon fliehet die Stunde: / Scherzt! Einen Tag dem Geschick listig zu rauben ist schwer."

8) Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 85,2: *extat alter aequum modicum epigrammatum, quae fere tempore balinei meditabatur. Nam tragoediam magno impetu exorsus, non succedenti stilo. Martial, 11,21: Absolvit lepidos nimirum, Auguste, libellos, / Qui scis Romana simplicitate loqui.*

Augustine; *Salviani epī dicta* and *Dicta Marci medici* for excerpts V and VII. And, furthermore, all these authors are not contemporaries of the scribe of the Bern manuscript, but writers of the Roman and patristic periods. Even the mysterious Marcus medicus seems to have been an early Christian, not medieval, author. As befitted publication in a scholarly journal, Hagen also explained for the first time the principles of his edition of the epigram and offered a version slightly different from the one published earlier in 1880:⁹

Octaviani Augusti

Convivae, tetricas hodie secludite Curas:
 Ne maculent niveum nubila corda diem.
 Omnia sollicitae vertantur murmura mentis,
 Vt uacet indomitum pectus amicitiae.
 Non semper gaudere licet. Fugit hora: iocemur! 5
 Difficile est Fatis subripuisse diem.

Gone from the first version were most of the exclamation points and the punctuation was slightly changed. As for the text, the editor made two important observations. While the manuscript clearly reads minuscule *nebula* in v. 2, Hagen substituted *nubila* for metrical reasons. He also changed the reading of a Tironian note: in v. 3 *pellantur* became *vertantur*. He also defended the personification of *Curas* (on the precedent of Vergil, *Aen.* 6,274: *Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae*) and of *Fatis*. Additional evidence corroborated Hagen's interpretation of the epigram's title. The scribe of the Bern manuscript wrote *auğ* and *ağ* expressly to distinguish Augustus from Augustinus. He pointed out that the combination *Octavianus Augustus* also appears in other medieval manuscripts¹⁰. But the most impressive new support Hagen brought to his attribution consisted of a series of verbal parallels he used to situate the poem firmly within the context of Roman literature:¹¹

9) Hagen (above, note 1) 573. On p. 571 Hagen published a lithographic reproduction of the three lines in the manuscript that contain the epigram.

10) Hagen (note 1) 575: "Dort lautet die Überschrift im cod. Bembinus s. IX: Octaviani cesaris augusti versus de laudanda ac adfirmanda arte virgilii und im Parisinus m. 7929 s. X: Carmen octaviani caesaris augusti de laudanda arte etc."

11) Hagen (above, note 1) 575–577.

v. 1 *tetricus*] Martial 6,10: *At quam non tetricus quam nulla nubilus ira*. An especially significant parallel given the conjunction of *tetricus* and *nubilus*. Also Martial 4,73, 7,70,90, 11,3; Ovid, A. A. 1,721, Amor. 4,8,61, Trist. 2,397; Livy 1,18.

v. 1 *secludite Curas*] Vergil, Aen. 1,561 (not 592), where the phrase also ends a verse.

v. 2 *maculare*] Cicero, p. Sest. 28,60; p. Plancio 12,30; Horace, ars p. 351; Quintilian, 8,3,18; Pliny, h. n. 2,6.

v. 2 *niveus dies*] Martial, 8,73; Juvenal, 10,45.

v. 2 *nubila corda*] Plautus, Cistell. 2,1,5; Martial 2,11; Ovid, Trist. 1,39,40; Pliny, h. n. 2,4.

v. 3 *murmura*] Ovid, met. 10,702; Propertius 2,5,29.

v. 4 *indomitum*] Plautus, Bacch. 579; Tacitus, Ann. 1,33.

v. 5 *gaudere*] Plautus, Amph. 961, Phaedr. 4,16; Martial 1,69, 12,34, etc.

v. 5 *fugit hora*] Horace, a. m. St.; Vergil, Georg. 3,284; Ovid, Fast. 6,771 ff.; Persius 5,153. Hagen noted the similar use of the phrase in Persius, but thought that Persius' use was "pompous" and "ponderous" compared to the "lightness" of the phrase in the epigram.

v. 5 *iocemur*] Martial, 6,44; Cicero, off. 1,29,104

v. 6 *difficile est Fatis subripuisse diem*] for this perfect infinitive construction, Hagen pointed to Ovid, ars am. 2,19: *Et levis est et habet geminas, quibus avolet, alas: Difficile est illis inposuisse modum*.

All of this evidence led Hagen to but one conclusion: "Das Gedichtchen gehört der guten römischen Zeit an. ... An ein Opus des Mittelalters endlich zu denken verbietet Inhalt, Ton und Sprache."¹² But what seemed transparent to Hagen was not so clear to others. Incredibly, his own article included statements that contradicted his conclusions and dismissed his attribution of the epigram to Augustus. Hagen's last triumphant paragraph, following immediately the line just cited from Ovid, recorded Albert Jahn's description of the epigram as a "counterfeit clumsy piece of work by a not unlettered medieval versifier."¹³ Even the editor of Rhei-

12) Hagen (above, note 1) 573–574.

13) Hagen (above, note 1) 577: "Dies zugleich gegen Herrn Dr. Albert Jahn hierselbst, der in einem umhergesandten Flugblatte zu zeigen versuchte, dass wir es

nisches Museum in a remarkable footnote appended to the end of Hagen's essay disagreed with the author. The editor suggested that future research would be most fruitful if the poet were situated elsewhere, closer to Carolingian literati than to Augustan.¹⁴

The third leaf of Hagen's 1880 triptych was published in November of that year to commemorate the foundation of the University of Bern and the installation of its new rector. The sixteen-page pamphlet he contributed to the celebration focused almost entirely on fols. 136rv of MS Bern, Burgerbibliothek 109.¹⁵ In addition to transcribing each of the leaf's nine texts, he provided readers with clear lithographic reproductions of the texts in Tironian notes. The only comment Hagen made on this occasion "de epigrammate lepidissimo *Octaviani Augusti* nomine insignito" was to refer readers to his *Rheinisches Museum* article. If he knew of the journal editor's closing reservations about his attribution, and he may not have since the commemorative pamphlet was already in press when the article in *Rheinisches Museum* appeared, he did not take the opportunity to rebut the editor's statement.

Despite the cloud of uncertainty that lingered over Hagen's attribution, the epigram of Octavian Augustus achieved near canonical status when it was enrolled in two important collections of Roman literature. In 1882, two years after Hagen's three articles, Emil Baehrens published it under Augustus' name in the

mit einem 'untergeschobenen z. Th. aus Reminiscenzen zusammengestoppelten Machwerk eines nicht unbelesenen mittelalterlichen Versificators' zu thun hätten." I have been unable to locate Jahn's pamphlet.

14) Hagen (above, note 1) 577: "[Für die Mittheilung des Epigramms, die geschickte Lösung der tironischen Schrift werden die Leser dem Hrn. Verfasser Dank wissen. Die weiteren Ausführungen werden am besten erledigt, wenn Jemand im Stande ist dem Dichter mit Sicherheit anderes nachzuweisen: den karolingischen Literaten stand er vermuthlich näher als den augusteischen, wegen der Notae vgl. Ebert *Literatur des Mittelalters* II S. 286. Die Red.]". The editor's reference to Ebert's handbook was prescient. See note 57 below.

15) H. Hagen, *De codicis Bernensis n. CIX tironianis disputatio duabus tabulis lithographica arte depictis adiuta. Sollemnia anniversaria conditae Universitatis et munus auspiciantis novi rectoris una cum certaminibus litterariis die XVII ante kalendas Decembres rite obeunda indicit rector et senatus Universitatis Bernensis* (Bern 1880).

Poetae latini minores volume of the *Anthologia latina*.¹⁶ In 1906 it was registered again as 719^f in the second edition of Riese's *Anthologia latina*.¹⁷ Scholars who studied 719^f, especially those interested in Tironian notes, continued to pass on the attribution to Augustus on the strength of its title.¹⁸ Paul Legendre, a Tironian notes expert, made an important contribution to establishing the text when he suggested new readings for two Tironian words: *ponantur* for Hagen's *vertantur* in v.3 and *totum* for Hagen's *indomitum* in v.4. Legendre also suggested that (*et*) be restored in v.4 between *vacet* and *totum*.¹⁹ Others who thought about the content of the epigram also followed Hagen in accepting its attribution to Augustus. In 1921 Enrica Malcovati entered the epigram into the first of many editions of her collection of Augustan frag-

16) (Leipzig 1882) IV 111 (no. 122). Baehrens changed Hagen's text slightly. *Curas* and *Fatis* became *curas* and *fatis* and he omitted the exclamation point after *iocemur*. In 1892 Ludwig Traube questioned the authenticity of five of the six "Gedichte römischer Kaiser in Baehrens *Anthologia latina*," sparing only no. 122 from comment. See L. Traube, *O Roma nobilis: Philologische Untersuchungen aus dem Mittelalter*, *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XIX 2. Abtheilung (Munich 1892) 320.

17) A. Riese (ed.), *Anthologia Latina sive Poesis Latinae supplementum* ediderunt Franciscus Buechler et Alexander Riese, pars prior: Carmina in codicibus scripta, fasciculus II: Reliquorum librorum carmina, editio altera denuo recognita (Leipzig 1906) 203 (no. 719f).

18) These include É. Chatelain, *Introduction à la lecture des notes tironiennes* (Paris 1900) 142, who reproduced Hagen's version without comment; É. Chatelain and P. Legendre, *Hygini Astronomica: Texte du manuscrit tironien de Milan* (Paris 1909) ix, who noted that Carolingian scribes rarely transcribed texts that were "more or less" classical in Tironian notes and included in their census of rare examples Hagen's "*Octavianii Caesaris* [sic] *epigramma*". See also W. H. Stevenson, *A Poem ascribed to Augustus*, *CQ* 5 (1911) 264–65.

19) P. Legendre, *Glanure Tironienne*, *Revue de philologie* 34 (1910) 173. Legendre thought the epigram was worthy of comparison to Ovid's elegies. He also noted how unusual it was to transmit a classical text in Tironian notes, a writing system usually reserved for homilies, Psalms, biblical and patristic excerpts.

20) E. Malcovati, *Imperatoris Caesaris Augusti Operum fragmenta* (Turin 1921) ix, 2; the second edition bore a slightly different title, *Caesaris Augusti Imperatoris Operum fragmenta* (Turin 1928) xii–xiii, 2; *Imperatoris Caesaris Augusti Operum fragmenta* (Turin 1948) xii–xiii, 2. In her second and third editions, Malcovati acknowledged, but did not comment on, the terse judgment in W. Kroll and F. Skutsch (eds.), *W. S. Teuffel, Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, Bd. 2: *Die Literatur von 43 vor Chr. bis 96 nach Chr.* (Leipzig 1920) 13: "Ein von Hagen, *RhM.* 35, 569 aus Bern 109 s. X herausgegebenes schwächliches Epigramm (Aufforderung zum Lebensgenuss; auch *PLM.* 4, 122) mit dem Titel *Octā aug.* ist wohl mittelalterlich."

ments.²⁰ Despite Carl Hosius's declaration against its authenticity, Arthur Mentz, another master of Tironian notes, remained convinced that the epigram offered a rare insight into the personality of the Roman emperor.²¹ Mentz argued in 1940 that since the excerpts in the Bern manuscript attributed to Ambrose, Augustine, Salvian, and the otherwise unknown Marcus medicus were authentic, the verses attributed to Augustus must be also. He also commented on the reservations expressed by the editor of *Rheinisches Museum* at the end of Hagen's 1880 article. No one had taken up the editor's challenge to look in the direction of Carolingian literati, not even Ludwig Traube, "der große Kritiker".²² Mentz seemed to have had Albert Jahn's judgment that the epigram was a clumsy piece of work in mind when, in his final comment, he wrote that while the poem was not an overwhelming creation, it was nevertheless a very nice occasional piece.²³ Henry Bardon, also writing in 1940, likewise defended the epigram from Hosius' challenge. The witness of the manuscript and Bardon's literary analysis of the poem convinced him, as it had Hagen, that the poem was authentically Augustan.²⁴

21) C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian* von Martin Schanz (Munich 41935) 10: "Ein von Hagen, *RhM.* 35 (1880), 569, veröffentlichtes Epigramm, in dem der Dichter zum Lebengeuß auffordert (Baehrens, *PLM.* 4 n. 122), ist unecht."

22) A. Mentz, *Die Tironischen Noten: Eine Geschichte der römischen Kurzschrift* (Berlin 1944) 67–68. Mentz agreed with Legendre's emendations (note 19 above) and incorporated them in his printing of the epigram (his *iocemus* for *iocemur* was undoubtedly a typographical error). He also published an image of the lines from the Bern manuscript (Tafel 2 after p. 124) and a translation: "Freunde, Genossen, heut' bannet die finsternen Sorgengespenster / Nimmer laßt dunkles Leid schwärzen den strahlenden Tag. / Alle die Seufzer bekümmerten Geistes, sie sollen verschwinden. / Ganz sei das Herz und allein einzig, der Freundschaft geweiht. / Freude beglückt uns nicht immer. Die Stunde verrinnet. Auf, scherzet! / Schwierig ist's, dem Geschick heimlich zu rauben den Tag." "Es [das Gedicht] zeigt den klugen und oft als kalt bezeichneten Regenten als einen Mann, der auch fröhliche Lebensfreude kennt" (67).

23) Mentz (above, note 22) 68: "Mir scheint das Gedicht eine zwar nicht überwältigende Schöpfung, aber ein sehr nettes Gelegenheitswerkchen zu sein." For Jahn, see note 13 above.

24) H. Bardon, *Les Empereurs et les lettres latines d'Auguste à Hadrien* (Paris 1940) 16–20. Unlike Hagen, Bardon saw the poem's call to lay cares aside for the joys of friendship and celebration as a reflection of Rome's civil wars, not its bath house camaraderie. Bardon reiterated his belief in the poem's authenticity in H. Bardon, *La Littérature latine inconnue, tome II: L'Époque impériale* (Paris 1956) 13.

Is it? While pro and con opinions concerning the authenticity of Anth. Lat.² 719^f seem almost evenly balanced numerically, an objective reading of the scholarly trail leading from Hagen's three 1880 publications might well conclude that Augustus' claim to the epigram was indeed authentic. Those who challenged Hagen (Jahn, the editor of *Rheinisches Museum*, Teuffel, Hosius) could offer up no hard evidence to counter Suet. Divus Aug. 85 or the verbal parallels to the literature of the Augustan age discovered by Hagen and supplemented by Bardon. What Hagen's detractors did have amounted to hunches, "gut feelings" that something was not quite right with the epigram.

Inspired perhaps by a desire to get beyond impressionistic concerns about the poem's authenticity, Konrad Müller undertook in 1955 the first detailed critique of the Augustan epigram since Hagen's 1880 studies.²⁵ Müller based his analysis on what amounted to a new and, to this point, definitive edition of the poem (italics indicate Tironian notes):

Octa(uiani) Aug(usti)
 Conuiuę tetricas *hodie* secludite curas,
 ne maculent niueum nebula corda diem.
 Omnia sollicite ponantur murmura mentis,
 ut uacet totum pectus amicitię.
 Non semper gaudere licet. *Fugit hora*: iocemur! 5
 Difficile est fatis subripuisse diem.

For the first time since Hagen's initial publication of the verses, Müller restored the manuscript's *nebula* for Hagen's *nubila* (v. 2). He also accepted Legendre's new readings of two Tironian notes, but rejected Legendre's conjectural restoration of *et* in v. 4. The verse reads satisfactorily as is, he noted, to complete the "pedantically rigorous parallelism" of the first two distichs. But, Müller wondered, what about the long *a* of *uacet* in v. 4? If it were the poet's error rather than a mistake in the transmission of the poem, the case for Emperor Augustus's authorship would collapse without further ado. In fact, Müller found the metrical mistake commonly in Luxorius and the poets represented in the *Salmasianus*

25) K. Müller, *Neue Fragmente in Tironischen Noten aus der Berner Handschriftensammlung*, *Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte* 13 (1955) 16–47, esp. 45–47 = *Zür Kritik des Epigramms Anth. Lat. 719^f R.*

Collection and concluded that the Bern epigram originated not in the Augustan age, but in the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth. The content of the poem has nothing to do with Augustus. It was probably an anonymous piece in some collection of epigrams, Müller wrote, which through some oversight came to be included among other poems bearing the name of Augustus.

Müller's close study of the language of the poem convinced Enrica Malcovati that the poem belonged to the age of Luxorius and could not have been composed before the fifth or sixth century. Nevertheless, she retained the poem, this time with a cautious asterisk, in the 1962 and 1969 editions of her collection because some might still judge the poem a genuine work of Augustus.²⁶ In 2000 Martin Hellmann simply and circumspectly listed the text as "an epigram."²⁷

Well, what can we say about these few lines that have exercised so many for more than 120 years? Should we imagine that Augustus composed them as he welcomed dinner guests, fresh from the baths, urging them to lay aside their cares? Or should we think that some early medieval collector of post-classical verse thought that this was a poem that Augustus could have or should have composed? Or should we, as the editor of this journal suggested in 1880, look in the direction of the Carolingian age?

We can begin with the title of the epigram, which no one has questioned since Hagen expanded the manuscript's *octā auḡ* as *Octaviani Augusti*. But, surely, *Octava Augusti*, "on the octave of [the month of] August," was meant, not "Octavian Augustus." In the medieval liturgy, the octave was the eighth day after a feast-day. Reading *octā* as *octava* in a liturgical sense better fits the

26) E. Malcovati, *Imperatoris Caesaris Augusti Opera fragmenta* (Turin 41962) xv: "Non tamen id omnino explodere ausi sumus, cum sint qui etiam nunc genuinum Augusti opus id iudicent." She cited Bardon and Mentz. See p. 2 for the poem. Same statement in the fifth edition of 1969.

27) M. Hellmann, *Tironische Noten in der Karolingerzeit am Beispiel eines Persius-Komentars aus der Schule von Tours*, MGH, *Studien und Texte* 27 (Hannover 2000) 223 (apropos of the Bern Priscian: "Excerpta patrum, darunter Dicta Marci medici und ein Epigramm.") An American schoolbook continued to publish the epigram under Augustus' name into the 1990s on the authority of the 1928 edition of Malcovati's collection. See H. W. Benario (ed.), R. S. Rogers et al., *Caesaris Augusti Res gestae et fragmenta* (Detroit 21990) 37 (under the title, "Eat, drink, and be merry").

Christian nature of all the other excerpts on fols. 136rv of the Bern manuscript. “On the octave of August” is an especially appropriate title for verses pointed at a particular day, *hodie* (v.1), *diem* (vv.2,6), and a fleeting day at that: *Fugit hora* (v.5). And, the octave of a feastday would also offer an appropriate occasion for the activities suggested by the verses themselves: a meal, the putting away of troublesome cares, and the celebration of friendship. But whose feastday did the verses call the *convivae* to celebrate?

The octave of August is not directly a calendrical date, but the name of an especially significant date that the poem’s audience would recognize immediately, perhaps as modern people know the calendrical dates of New Year’s, Christmas, or of national celebrations (Independence Day, la Fête Nationale, etc.) intuitively. While the octave of any number of saints could be commemorated in August, I believe that the poem refers to the octave of the feast of St. Germanus of Auxerre (c.378–448). Heiric (841–c.877), a monk of the monastery of Saint-Germain in Auxerre and the ninth-century impresario of Germanus’s cult, recorded in the martyrology calendar he annotated that 30 July was the *Vigilia sancti Germani*, 31 July, the saint’s feastday, was simply *Germani*, and eight days later, 7 August, was *Octavę sancti Germani*.²⁸

There are other reasons for thinking that at Auxerre in the ninth century 7 August, or more properly *viii id. augusti*, was known simply as the octave of August and that the verse preserved in mixed Tironian notes and Carolingian minuscule in the Bern manuscript commemorated that important celebration in the life of Auxerre’s monastic community. Tironian notes, the system of Latin stenography named after Tiro, Cicero’s secretary credited with their invention, are ubiquitous in ninth-century manuscripts, especially in schoolbooks such as the Bern Priscian where they provided an efficient and economical means to enter glosses and longer passages in margins, between lines, and in unused spaces.²⁹ To use Arthur

28) MS Melk, Stiftsbibl. 412 (370, G 12), pp. 50–51. See also B. de Gaiffier, *Le Calendrier d’Héric d’Auxerre du manuscrit de Melk 412*, *Analecta Bollandiana* 77 (1959) 418–419.

29) See in Hellmann (above, note 27) 219–264, “Index tironianorum”, for a census of more than 700 manuscripts that contain Tironian notes.

Mentz's happy phrase, we can think of the notes as "Carolingian cursive".³⁰ While Hagen's 1880 pamphlet on the notes in Bern, Burgerbibliothek 109, added little to the discussion of the epigram, his transcriptions of all the texts and the lithographs he published did visually set the poem within the context of all the other excerpts on fols. 136rv of the manuscript. The person responsible for copying the excerpts, probably from individual, loose scraps of parchment, was an accomplished master of Tironian notes. Of the 1648 words of the excerpts, 1348 or 81 % are expressed in Tironian notes. These are not the only examples of Tironian script in the manuscript. Its Priscian text was an important schoolbook of the Carolingian age and its margins are filled with mixed Tironian and minuscule glosses.³¹ As Marina Passalacqua saw, the manuscript is earlier than the tenth-century date usually reported for it. She assigned it to the second half of the ninth century.³² Although the manuscript came to the monastery of Saint-Basle in the tenth or eleventh century, it originated elsewhere, perhaps from somewhere in the region surrounding Paris Bernhard Bischoff thought.³³

The masters who annotated the Bern Priscian during the second half of the ninth century were working during the heyday

30) A. Mentz, *Drei Homilien aus der Karolingerzeit in tironischen Noten: Msc. patr. 46 (Q VI 32) der Staatsbibliothek zu Bamberg*, fol. 41v–45v, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Kuzzschrift 2* (Bayreuth 1942) 15.

31) In addition to the texts on fols. 136rv, the same hand copied marginalia throughout the text. Substantial reading notes on fols. 170v and 191rv include excerpts from Gregory the Great, Prosper of Aquitaine, a poem on the names of Christ (see PL LXXIV 1246C–D), Jerome, the letters of Alcuin, Aldhelm, the *De argumentis lunae libellus*, and a proverb (*Limax in suo conclavi cornipeta sibi esse uidetur*) later cited by Gunzo of Novara and Gerbert of Aurillac and attributed to Aristotle. The excerpt from Jerome's commentary on the epistle to Titus cited Aristophanes' *Nubes* 225. The same excerpt also interested Sedulius Scottus, *Collectaneum Miscellaneum* 80,24,2, D. Simpson (ed.), CCCM (Turnhout 1988) LXVII 344, and *Supplementum ad apparatus fontium Collectanei Sedulii Scotti*, Fr. Dolbeau (ed.), *ibid.* (Turnhout 1990) LXVII Supplementum 36.

32) M. Passalacqua, *I codici di Prisciano, Sussidi Eruditi* 29 (Rome 1978) 20–21 (no. 41). B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, Teil I: Aachen-Lambach (Wiesbaden 1998) 113 (no. 536), also thought the manuscript was ninth century, "ca. 3. Drittel."

33) Bischoff (above, note 32) 113: "Vielleicht weiter Umkreis von Paris (auch Reimser Einfluss?). The *octava Augusti* epigram points in a more southerly direction, toward Auxerre, Fleury, or Orléans.

of Tironian notes. Heiric of Auxerre is the most prominent master explicitly associated with the notes. A peripatetic monk, Heiric studied with some of the major scholars of his day, Lupus of Ferrières, Haimo of Auxerre, and John Scottus. The notes he took as a schoolboy from Lupus and Haimo, scribbling as fast as he could in Tironian notes, were published in 1966 by Riccardo Quadri.³⁴ Heiric's metrical life of Germanus, the patron saint of his monastery, was influenced by the philosophical vocabulary of John Scottus and his own extensive study of the poets.³⁵ Heiric also wrote a fascinating account of miracles attributed to Germanus.³⁶ He was also a student of Bede. His copy of Bede's scientific works survives today in the same Melk manuscript in which he recorded the vigil, feastday, and octave of St. Germanus. The manuscript contains his copious notes on Bede as well as on the important chronological details of his life: birth in 841, tonsure Christmas day in 850 when he was nine years old, subdiaconate nine years later in 859, and ordination as priest in 865.³⁷ Heiric apparently ended his days back in Auxerre where he composed a cycle of 115 sermons for his brethren.³⁸ Much remains to be learned of Heiric and not

34) Heiric of Auxerre, I *Collectanea di Eirico di Auxerre*, R. Quadri (ed.), *Spicilegium Friburgense: Collana di testi per la storia della vita cristiana* 11 (Fribourg 1966) 78,15–16: *Haec ego tum notulas doctus tractare furaces / Stringebam digitis arte favente citis.*

35) Heiric of Auxerre, *Vita s. Germani*, L. Traube (ed.) in *MGH, Poetae latini aevi Carolini* (Berlin 1896) III 428–517. See D. Ganz, *Heiric d'Auxerre glossateur du Liber glossarum*, in D. Iogna-Prat, C. Jeudy, and G. Lobrichon (eds.), *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre de Murethach à Remi, 830–908: Entretiens d'Auxerre 1989* (Paris 1991) 297–312, for Heiric's *Florilegium metricum* (307–309) compiled in MS London, BL, Harley, 2735. Also in the same volume, see J.-Y. Tilliette, *Métrie carolingienne et métrique auxerroise: Quelques réflexions sur la Vita sancti Germani d'Heiric d'Auxerre*, 313–27, and P. C. Jacobsen, *Die Vita s. Germani Heirics von Auxerre: Untersuchungen zu Prosodie und Metrik*, 329–351.

36) Heiric of Auxerre, *Miracula sancti Germani episcopi Autissiodorensis*, PL CXXIV 1207b–1270c.

37) See T. Sicken (ed.), *Heirici monachi S. Germani Autissiodorensis Annales breves*, in *MGH, Scriptores* (Hannover 1881) XIII 80, with the important revisions of E. Freise, "Kalendarische und annalistische Grundformen der Memoria," in K. Schmid and J. Wollasch (eds.), *Memoria: Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter* (Munich 1984) 527–534; also, J. J. Contreni, John Scottus and Bede, in J. McEvoy and M. Dunne (eds.), *History and Eschatology in Erriugena and His Age* (Leuven 2002) 103–109.

38) R. Quadri (ed.), *Heirici Autissiodorensis Homiliae per circulum anni*, in *CCCM* (Turnhout 1992–1994) CXVI, CXVII, CXVIII.

only from the perspective of biography. Heiric was widely read and an inveterate note-maker in the books that came his way. Bernhard Bischoff (1906–1991) detected his characteristic script with its blend of Carolingian minuscule and Tironian notes in some two dozen manuscripts.³⁹ But before Bischoff, Ludwig Traube (1861–1907) was on the trail of Heiric’s script and his books. The notes Traube left behind were destroyed in 1944, but fortunately not before W. M. Lindsay (1858–1937) saw them in 1908 and copied portions of them. One of Traube’s surviving notes is especially intriguing: “*st Typ des Heiric*. Berne 109.”⁴⁰ Traube’s notes, unfortunately, do not describe the characteristics he saw in Heiric’s *st* ligature. If we look at the three manuscripts so far most closely associated with Heiric, the Melk Bede manuscript in which he copied autobiographical details and much other material, the manuscript of Lupus of Ferrières’s correspondence which he partially copied and annotated, and a copy of the *Liber glossarum* which he also annotated we can compare Heiric’s *st* ligature from those books as well as other letter forms with what Traube saw in the Bern manuscript.⁴¹ The absolute identification of Heiric’s script – the key to identifying his library and charting his intellectual formation – can only be achieved after systematic analysis of all the manuscripts associated with him, clearly a task beyond the scope of this essay.⁴² But, if we confine the analysis to the Melk Bede, the Paris letters of

39) B. Bischoff, *Paläographie und frühmittelalterliche Klassikerüberlieferung* in B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart 1966–1981) III 66.

40) D. Ganz discovered Lindsay’s “Notes from Traube’s Library” among Lindsay’s papers in the University of Saint Andrews Library and published them as Traube on “Schrifttypen”, *Scriptorium* 36, no. 2 (1982) 293–303. The reference to Heiric and MS Bern, Burgerbibliothek 109, occurs on p. 298 and is followed by references to eight additional manuscripts Traube connected to the Auxerre master.

41) For the Melk manuscript, see Contreni (above, note 37). Both Traube and Bischoff (notes 40 and 39) connected MS Paris, BNF, lat. 2858 (Lupus’s letters) with Heiric. I believe that he copied fols. 1r2–7r7 and 7v12–17v2 of the text and annotated its margins throughout. For Heiric’s copy of the *Liber glossarum*, MS London, BL, Harley 2735, see Ganz (note 35) and idem, *Liber Glossarum avec notes de la main d’Heiric d’Auxerre*, in *Saint-Germain d’Auxerre: Intellectuels et artistes dans l’Europe carolingienne, IXe–XIe siècles*. Auxerre (Yonne), Abbaye Saint-Germain, juillet–octobre 1990 (Auxerre 1990) 42–44.

42) I have in mind an investigation such as that of É. Jeuneau and P. E. Dutton, *The Autograph of Eriugena* (Turnhout 1996). Bischoff (above, note 39) and Ganz (above, note 35) 298 provided brief, general descriptions of Heiric’s script.

Lupus, and the Harley Liber glossarum, we can see what Traube meant by the “*st Typ des Heiric*.” The loop of the ligature is noticeably elongated as indeed are all the ascenders of Heiric’s letters (*b, d, f, h, l*) relative to other letters. This *st* ligature and other Heirician letter forms appear on the folios of the Bern Priscian, in its margins and between its lines as well as in the texts copied on fols. 136rv.⁴³ All the excerpts copied on fols. 136rv of the Bern Priscian relate to one or another of Heiric’s many interests and broad culture.⁴⁴ In addition to his major works, Heiric’s linguistic skills no doubt were called on for shorter, occasional pieces of prose and poetry such as the *Octava Augusti* verses.⁴⁵ Heiric was well acquainted with the classical authors whose words Hagen and Bar-

43) Briefly, the following letter forms are extremely similar in the four manuscripts: distinctive *a* used as a capital letter; *b* with a tall ascender and a low, squat ‘seat’; *f* with a distinct horizontal bar; ‘weak’ *G*, resembling *C*; exaggerated tails on *e* and the symbol for *pro*; minuscule letters such as *S* and *q* that resemble similar Tironian notes. Apropos of this last comparison, I observe that the forms of Heiric’s minuscule alphabet were generally influenced by his Tironian forms. Finally, the overall appearance of the scripts and the use of mixed minuscule and Tironian notes are common in the four manuscripts. Heiric also had a distinct set of editorial marks. However, the form of the few examples of the ampersand in the Bern Priscian notes seems different than that in the other samples of Heiric’s script.

44) The *Dicta Marci medici*, text VII in Hagen’s transcription, that precedes the *Octava Augusti* verses is actually a computational, not medical, text. Heiric, as far as we know, had no particular interest in medicine, but he was deeply interested in computus as his work in the Melk Bede demonstrates. I would suggest that Marcus medicus was the English bishop, educated in Ireland, who ended his life as a monk in the monastery of Saint-Medard in Soissons. Heiric knew him personally and learned details about St. Germanus’s miracles in Britain from Marcus’ reading of the *Historia Brittonum*. Heiric was deeply impressed by Marcus whom he described as *singularis nostro tempore unice philosophus sanctitatis*: *Miracula sancti Germani* (above, note 36) 1245b. The Persius commentary that Hellmann has connected to Heiric’s teaching explains in a note on Sat. 6.63 that a *medicus* could also be understood as a *magister*: *Per figuram ostendit, quia ante negligentiam et ante adultam aetatem potest ei occurrere medicus, i.e. magister, ut eius curet vulnera instruendo disciplinis, sed postquam adulta fuerit aetas et tempus inane sumptum fuerit sine cura, poscunt amici medicos, i.e. magistros, quia nihil prodest illi, quantum blandierint magistris*; Hellmann (above, note 27) 181.

45) See Th. Delforge, Une «Vita sancti Germani» pour Lothaire II, *Scriptorium* 22 (1968) 39–42; Heiric of Auxerre, *Collectanea* (above, note 34) 157; and perhaps eight short poems from MS London, BL, Harley 2736, fols. 107v–108r published in MGH PAC 4: 1052 and 1032 and by B. Bischoff, *Anecdota carolina*, in W. Stach and H. Walther (eds.), *Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters: Ehrengabe für Karl Strecker* (Dresden 1931) 3–5.

don detected in the verses – Vergil, Ovid, Martial, Persius, Plautus, Horace, and Cicero – and emulated them skillfully in his own verse. Even the language of the *convivium* was familiar to the monk.⁴⁶

Celebrations of feastdays, especially those of a community's patron saint, were significant moments in the liturgical life of monasteries. At Auxerre the celebration of the octave of St. Germanus concluded celebrations spread over eight days, beginning with the vigil of the saint's feastday and the feastday itself. Feasting was very much a part of medieval monastic festivities. The *conviviae* were guests at a banquet where, for the special occasion, rations of food and drink were increased and where the focus fell as much on establishing and renewing friendships among the banqueters (including lay patrons) as it did on memorializing the saint.⁴⁷ *Convivia*, "straightforward dinners or feasts, with both food and drink," were staged in the monastic refectory and began after a member of the community recited a composition to the assembled guests.⁴⁸ Many

46) See note 35 above for his metrical florilegium. *Hae sunt sententiae sapientium qui fuerunt in convivio una cum Metallio*: see Heiric of Auxerre, *Collectanea* (above, note 34) 139,1–2; also 136,4–5; *Miracula sancti Germani* (above, note 36) 1238D.

47) See M. Rouche, *Les Repas de fête à l'époque carolingienne*, in *Manger et boire au Moyen Age: Actes du Colloque de Nice (15–17 octobre 1982)*, t. 1: *Aliments et société* (Paris 1984) 265–296, who calculated that food rations on feastdays increased by 25%–33% and wine allotments by 50%. At Gorze or Saint-Arnulf (Metz) rations for an octave feastday were doubled; see *Lob der Festoktaven* in K. Strecker (ed.), *MGH, Poetae Latinae Medii Aevi* (Berlin 1939) V 498. See also G. Althoff, *Der frieden-, bündnis- und gemeinschaftstiftende Charakter des Mahles im früheren Mittelalter*, in I. Bitsch, T. Ehlert, and X. von Ertzdorff (eds.), *Essen und Trinken in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Sigmaringen² 1990) 13–25; idem, *Fest und Bündnis*, in D. Altenburg, J. Jarnut, and H.-H. Steinhoff (eds.), *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen 1991) 30–38; H.-W. Goetz, *Der kirchliche Festtag im frühmittelalterlichen Alltag*, in *ibid.*, 53–62. The practices Y. Hen described in the Merovingian period were elaborated in the Carolingian age; see *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, A. D. 481–751* (Leiden 1995) 87–88, 97–100 (for Auxerre), 207–211.

48) For the definition, see D.A. Bullough, *Friends, Neighbours and Fellow-Drinkers: Aspects of Community and Conflict in the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge 1991) 9. See also the report of events at the monastery of Saint-Gall when King Conrad (911–918) joined the monks for a celebration: *Aguntur celeres regi missa fratribus super id ipsum altare. Prematuratur prandium; impletur refectorium; vix unum lector recitaverat periodum ...*; from Althoff in *Essen und Trinken* (above, note 47) 20, note 31.

of these poems (Bernhard Bischoff called them *Caritas-Lieder*) survive in circumstances very much like that of the *Octava Augusti* poem, as random additions in manuscripts.⁴⁹ With the Bern poem they share the language of the banquet (*conuiuium; conuiuia; conuiuiae*), play (*iocundus; iocundemur*), friendship (*amor; caritas; amicitia*), and celebration (*celebramus; gaudeamus*). Most are of the *O veni, veni vinum* sort that encouraged one scholar to see in them the precursor of Goliardic verse.⁵⁰ But the Bern poem differs in important respects from these others. While many of the poems allude to Bacchus, none have quite the classical allure of the Bern poem. And, in comparison to the others, the Bern poem seems steeped in an atmosphere of pervasive gloom. It asks the *conuiuiae* not to let problems ruin what should be a glorious day and closes by reminding them that the time for celebration is brief. The last verse is almost jarring and seems to cast a pall over an invitation to celebrate.⁵¹

On the Octave of August

Today, companions, put away [your] gloomy
concerns,
Lest [our] hearts stain [this] snow-white day with
darkness.
Let all the disquieting thoughts of an anxious mind be
laid aside,
So that the whole heart might be open to
friendship.
It is not always possible to rejoice. Time flees. Let us
be happy [today].
It is not easy to steal a day from destiny.

What was that “destiny” or “fate” that required conscious effort to repress, if only for a day?

49) B. Bischoff, *Caritas-Lieder*, in B. Bischoff (above, note 39) II 56–77. Bischoff added twelve new poems to those already published.

50) B. I. Jarcho, *Die Vorläufer des Goliard*, *Speculum* 3 (1928) 523–579. For *O veni, veni vinum* and the examples cited in the previous sentence, see Bischoff (above, note 49).

51) The translation is based on Müller’s edition (p. 380) above. I want to thank Paul Edward Dutton for improving it. *Conuiuiae* might also be translated “banquet guests”, but that term seems too formal for ninth-century usage. “Companions” is meant in its etymological sense to suggest people who eat together.

The monastery of Saint-Germain in Auxerre along with Saint-Martin in Tours and Saint-Denis in Paris was one of the most eminent monasteries in the Carolingian kingdoms, both on account of the renown of its patron and of the important role it played in Carolingian politics. In the 850s, 60s, and 70s monastic life at Saint-Germain was compromised by a succession of lay and nepotistic abbots appointed by King Charles the Bald (840–877). Their support and that of the town's counts and bishops proved crucial to Charles' political survival in the difficult years 858–859 when Auxerre was Charles' Valley Forge.⁵² While Heiric seems to have been a warm supporter of Charles – he dedicated his *Life of St. Germanus* to him and praised the monarch's patronage of scholars – the history of his times weighed on him. His last annalistic entries for 873, 874, and 875 in his Bede manuscript report a plague of locusts, pestilence, large stones falling from the heavens, the appearance for 15 days of a comet, and the death of Louis II.⁵³ In a sermon he composed for the second Sunday in Advent on Lc 21, 25–32 (“And there will be signs in sun and moon and stars, and upon the earth distress of nations in perplexity at the roaring of the sea and the waves, men fainting with fear and with foreboding of what is coming on the world”), Heiric borrowed from Gregory the Great's lugubrious description of the signs evident in the sixth century, but added in his own voice that what Gregory saw beginning, was now being fulfilled in his days. He reminded his brothers of the glaring evidence of “our own troubles” and of the heavenly signs of the coming Day of Judgment.⁵⁴ These are not unusual concerns for monks, to keep one's gaze fixed on the end times. The fear and anxiety, of course, was not of the end, but rather of how one was to fare on Judgment Day. In a sermon delivered on the feast-day of St. Germanus, Heiric told his brethren in terms reminiscent of the octave poem that it was a day of celebration, not of a funeral,

52) J. J. Contreni, “By lions, bishops are meant; by wolves, priests”: History, Exegesis, and the Carolingian Church in Haimo of Auxerre's Commentary on Ezechiel, Francia: Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte 28 (2002) 1–28.

53) Quadri (above, note 34) 6.

54) Homilia 1,2.27–32 (note 38) CXVI 17: *Quae omnia licet beatus Gregorius dicat suo tempore necdum fuisse completa, nos tamen et ex parte maxima iam cernimus adimpleta, et plenius in die iudicii credimus adimplenda. Gentem enim super gentem insurgere quod supra dominus praedixit, ipsa nostra tribulatio nos euidenter docet.*

that it was a happy day, not a mournful one. They could be assured that in Germanus they had an advocate before the tribunal of the Most High.⁵⁵ The Bern poem shares the anxiety and pessimism of these sermons and of the entries of the 870s in his calendar. Henry Bardon was on the right track when he sensed something like Rome's civil wars in the poem's background.⁵⁶

While we must now subtract the poem in the Bern Priscian from among the *Imperatoris Caesaris Augusti Operum fragmenta* and fix it in the world of Carolingian Europe, it nevertheless merits attention.⁵⁷ Heiric of Auxerre's call in phrases borrowed from Roman poets to celebrate a monastic meal on a saint's octave shines new light on a moment in monastic culture and on the mentality of monks struggling for holiness in Carolingian Europe.

Appendix

The *Octava Augusti* poem had a life apart from its appearance in the Bern Priscian. As W. H. Stevenson announced in 1911, the poem's penultimate verse (*Non semper gaudere licet. Fugit hora: iocemur*) was also cited in the preambles of two Anglo-Saxon charters from Worcester.⁵⁸ Following a citation from 1 Cor. 7.31 ("For the form of this world is passing away"), the preambles continue:

*et iterum sagax sophista "qui quondam Solymis dives regnavit in arvis," katolectico versu cecinit dicens, "Non semper licet gaudere fugit hora qua iacemur."*⁵⁹

55) Sermo ejusdem Herici in solemnitate sancti Germani recitandus, in PL CXXIV 1269D–1272D: *Dicam, inquam hunc esse beatissimi Germani diem, non funebrem, sed celebrem; non lugubrem, sed salubrem* (1271A); *Credimus te [Germanus] ad tribunal Altissimi incoinquinatum assistere.*

56) Bardon (above, note 24).

57) The suggestion of the editor of *Rheinisches Museum* in 1880 that the author of epigram was a Carolingian (above, note 14) was more insightful than he may have realized. In his comment on Hagen's article, he referred readers to A. Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*. Zweiter Band: Die Lateinische Literatur vom Zeitalter Karls des Grossen bis zum Tode Karls des Kahlen (Leipzig 1880) 286, where they would have read of Heiric of Auxerre's facility with Tironian notes.

58) See above, note 18.

59) W. D. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History* (London 1887, 1893) II 9 (no. 434) and III 207 (no. 1007).

The first quotation, describing the *sagax sophista* as one “who once ruled as a wealthy man over the fields of Jerusalem,” was borrowed from either the *Carmen ecclesiastica II* or the *Carmen de uirginitate* of Aldhelm of Malmesbury († 709/710).⁶⁰ The second quotation is from the poem for the octave of St. Germanus in slightly altered form. As Stevenson noted, “The quotation of verse in Anglo-Saxon charters is exceptionally rare, and the few instances of it are involved in suspicion.”⁶¹ The inclusion of Carolingian verse in the preambles only deepens the suspicion surrounding the charters, or, at least, their preambles. It is highly unlikely that a Carolingian poet would lift a line from an Anglo-Saxon charter. But, then, how would Carolingian verse make its way into Anglo-Saxon documents?

The cartulary in which the charters are preserved was put together in the eleventh century in an effort by Worcester’s monks to reclaim their estates. But their charters as a group are “untrustworthy”.⁶² The first, earlier part of the cartulary contains documents relating to the time of Bishop Oswald of Worcester (971–992) and York (971–992), including the charter of King Berhtwulf with the *Octava Augusti* verse. Interestingly, Oswald is also mentioned in the second part of the cartulary, “Hemming’s Cartulary,” precisely in connection with the second charter containing the Carolingian verse. The copy of the grant by Wiferd and Alta to the church of Worcester includes an unusual insertion that describes how Oswald was accustomed to preach at the

See also P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London 1968) 120, 349 (nos. 193, 1185). The charters are preserved in an eleventh-century Worcester cartulary. Sawyer 193, in which King Berhtwulf of Mercia granted privileges to the monks of Bredon, purports to date from 841. Sawyer 1185 records a grant of land by Wiferd and Alta to the church of St. Peter, Worcester, and is undated.

60) He used the verse in both poems; see *In basilica beatae Mariae semper uirginis*, R. Ehwald (ed.), *MGH, Auctores antiquissimi* (Berlin 1919) XV 13.19 and *De uirginitate*, *ibid.* 423.1697; also *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, trans. Michael Lapidge and James L. Rosier (Cambridge 1985) 47, 140.

61) Stevenson (above, note 18) 265.

62) For the history of the cartulary, see N. R. Ker, *Hemming’s Cartulary*, in R. W. Hunt et al. (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke* (Oxford 1948) 49–75, who remarked “No doubt the monks were well entitled to their estates, but the charters on which they based their claims are, as a group, untrustworthy” (68).

high cross that marked the couples' gravesite.⁶³ During Oswald's day contacts between England and the Continent were strong, especially with the monastery of St. Benedict at Fleury. As a youth, Oswald studied in the household Archbishop Oda of Canterbury (941–958) with Frithegod, a continental scholar reputed especially for his poetry. Oswald, seeking schooling in monastic discipline, joined the community at Fleury for several years where he gained a reputation as a fine singer. In 985–987, Abbo of Fleury came to teach at the monastery of Ramsey, a new house founded by Oswald in 966. Oswald's biographer, Byrhtferth of Ramsey (c. 970–c. 1020), a prolific author of varied interests, studied with Abbo and perhaps returned with him for a period of time to the Continent.⁶⁴

The monasteries of St. Benedict in Fleury and St. Germanus in Auxerre were close both geographically (90 km) and culturally in the ninth and tenth centuries. Members of each community no doubt shared in the other community's rituals and commemorative festivities. Even their scribes and books commingled.⁶⁵ Opportunities were thus ample for a verse from the *Octava Augusti* poem to find its way into the poetical armamentarium of an Anglo-Saxon redactor of old charters where it could be put to service to embellish the preambles of the documents ascribed to King Berhtwulf and to Wiferd and Alta.

Byrhtferth of Ramsey seems the most likely candidate to have introduced the Carolingian verse from Auxerre into the charters. Byrhtferth's link to continental literary and intellectual traditions was forged by his teacher, Abbo of Fleury (c. 950–1004),⁶⁶ but it is

63) Birch (above, note 59) III 208. For Oswald, see M. Lapidge, Oswald, in M. Lapidge et al. (eds.), *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford 1999) 348, and Ker (above, note 62) 68–70.

64) For Oswald's training at Fleury, see Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita Oswaldi archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, in J. Raine (ed.), *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores LXXI-1* (London 1879) 413–419. See also M. Lapidge, Oda, in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (above, note 63) 339–340; idem, Frithegod, in *ibid.* 196; M. Mostert, Abbo of Fleury, in *ibid.* 3; and M. Lapidge, Byrhtferth, in *ibid.* 78–79.

65) M. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts* (Hilversum 1989) 23.

66) However, Byrhtferth was not the compiler of the so-called Byrhtferth glosses on Bede that owe much to Laon and Auxerre masters; see J.J. Contreni,

the form of the citation in the charters that puts one most in mind of Byrhtferth:

*et iterum sagax sophista “qui quondam Solymis dives
regnavit in arvis,” katolectico versu cecinit dicens, “Non
semper licet gaudere fugit hora qua iacemur.”*

First, there is the citation modifying *sagax sophista* from Aldhelm of Malmesbury, Byrhtferth’s favorite author.⁶⁷ Then, there is Byrhtferth’s fondness for introducing verse into his prose works. In the *vita Oswaldi* he did so at seventeen places.⁶⁸ The references in the charters to *sagax sophista* are also paralleled in the *vita Oswaldi* by Byrhtferth’s introductions to his verse citations. His attributions there are very reticent and attribute the verses most often to “someone” or, with the charters’ *sagax sophista*, employ some honorific (*scolasticus, philosophus, theophilus, poeta*) rather than personal names.⁶⁹ But the most telling link between the charters and Byrhtferth occurs in the *vita* just after Byrhtferth inserted an acrostic poem that Abbo wrote for Dunstan and just before a shorter poem Abbo wrote on the occasion of Dunstan’s death. The linking passage, *Haec de dictis philosophiae satis sint de laude ipsius dicta: quid alius hexametris versibus et catalecticis post obitum ejus proclamat,*

Bede’s Scientific Works in the Carolingian Age, in: S. Lebecq, M. Perrin, and O. Szerwiniack, *Bède le Vénérable: Bilan et perspectives* (forthcoming).

67) Lapidge, Byrhtferth (above, note 64) 78. The Aldhelm verse is also cited in a third charter, attributed to King Eadred (947), but without the *Octava Augusti* verse. Here, Aldhelm’s words were attributed to *psalmista*. See Birch (above, note 59) II 597 (no. 831); and, Sawyer (above, note 59) 194–195 (no. 521).

68) *Vita Oswaldi archiepiscopi Eboracensis* (note 64) 400, 408, 416 (twice), 418 (trice), 431–432, 441, 459–460, 461, 462, 463, 465, 469, 472, 473. This list includes classical and medieval authors, but not the Bible, especially Byrhtferth’s abundant citations from Psalms.

69) *Ibid.*: *illud Scolastici dicentis* (Ambrose) 400; *oblitus penitus quod scriptura ait* (Prudentius) 408; *illud Scolastici dicentis* (Prudentius) 416; *quae de se loquitur his verbis* (Aldhelm) 418; *Haec de Philosophi verbis sufficiunt* (Aldhelm) 418; an unattributed line from Aimoin of Fleury 418; *ab illo Theophilo dicta sufficient* (Abbo of Fleury) 431–432; *sed memento quod scriptum est* (Disticha Catonis) 441; *quibus Philosophus hoc adnexuit* (Abbo of Fleury) 461; *de quibus cecinit poeticus versus* (?) 463; an unattributed line from Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.1 (465); *De quibus, quidam ait gestis* (Moralis Philosophiae) 469; *De quo poeta ait* (?) 472; *Epiaphium, quod quidam ex nostris fratribus edidit* (473). Exceptionally, he did credit Abbo of Fleury’s poems (431; 459–60).

audiamus. Ait enim,⁷⁰ resonates strongly with the description in the charters of the Carolingian verse (*katolectico versu cecinit dicens*). Bizarre in a charter and only slightly less so in a hagiographical work, these pedantic references to the metrical qualities of his verse citations point to an inveterate teacher, someone very like Byrhtferth of Ramsey.⁷¹

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70) Ibid. 462.

71) An earlier version of this research was presented to a Platinum Latin session at the 37th International Congress on Medieval Studies (May 2002), Kalamazoo, Michigan. I want to thank Danuta Shanzer for including my paper in the session and audience members for their helpful questions and comments.