A New Manuscript Witness for the
*Tetrasticon autenticum de singulis mensibus**

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Although when done properly each critical edition is an indispensable tool for historians, philologists and literary critics, nonetheless it is, by implication, an interpretation forced upon the various versions of the text at the cost of ignoring their most individual features. Scholars too often tend to ignore the fact that each version transmitted by the different manuscripts is a unique entity which can profitably be studied as a reflection of the local circumstances which led to its production. An interesting case in point is an hitherto ignored copy of the *Tetrasticon autenticum de singulis mensibus*, more commonly known as *Anthologia Latina* 395.[1]

The *Anthologia Latina* is a *florilegium* of Latin poems and epigrams compiled, most probably, in Vandal North Africa, during the reign of King Hilderich (515-523).[2] The anonymous editor chose old and new material from all around the Latin-speaking world, and compiled what appears to be a collection of poetry

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1   *Anth. Lat.* 395 Riese. The poem is given the number 391 in the new edition by Shackleton-Bailey. I adopt Riese's numeration. For criticism of Shackleton-Bailey's edition and his decision to adopt a different system of numeration see the review by M.D. Reeve, *Phoenix* 39, 1985, 174-7.

2   The starting point on the *Anth. Lat.* should be M. Rosenblum, *Luxorius. A Latin Poet among the Vandals*, 1961, 25-35. See also M. Schanz, C. Hosius and G. Krüger, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian*, vol. IV:2 - *Die Literatur des fünften und sechsten Jahrhunderts*, 1920, 69-76; F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, 1957, vol. 1, 112-16. On the cultural background see P. Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West from the Sixth to the Eighth Century*, tr. J.J. Contreni, 1976, 36-9; F. Clover, 'The *Historia Augusta* and the Latin Anthology', *Antiquitas* IV:21, 1991, 31-9, esp. 34-5; idem, 'Carthage and the Vandals', *Excavations at Carthage conducted by the University of Michigan* VII, 1982, 1-22, at 5-6 and 20-2; A. Cameron, 'Byzantine Africa — the literary evidence', ibid., 29-62, at 30-1.

for use in school.[3] The *Tetrasticon autenticum de singulis mensibus* is only one among several poems dedicated to the Roman months in this perplexing and unusual verse collection from late antiquity.[4] It survives in several manuscripts from the early Middle Ages, most of which can be dated, with more or less certainty, to the second half of the ninth or to the tenth centuries.[5] The relatively large number of manuscripts which transmit this poem signals its popularity in the Carolingian kingdoms throughout the ninth and the tenth centuries, when it was copied, together with other poems on the Roman months (most frequently with *Anth. Lat.* 394), in what may be described, anachronistically, as Carolingian anthologies of secular Latin poetry.[6]

Many variations in the reading of *Anth. Lat.* 395 exist. Yet the variants are neither sufficiently distinct, nor systematically distributed to make possible the reconstruction of a manuscript *stemma* for this particular poem. From all the manuscripts which transmit *Anth. Lat.* 395, two were chosen by Riese as the basis for his edition, namely Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. lat. Q 86 (= Riese's V)[7] and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 7886

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3 This can be deduced from *Anth. Lat.* 90 (entitled *praefatio*) which reads:
   Parvula quod lusit, sensit quod iunior aetas,
   Quod sale Pierio garrula lingua sonat,
   Hoc opus inclusit. tu lector, corde perito
   Omnia perpendens delige quod placeat.

4 These are *Anth. Lat.* 117, 394, 395, 490a, 639, 665, 874a. For an excellent analysis of the background and context of these poems see E. Courtney, 'The Roman months in art and literature', *Museum Helveticum* 45:1, 1988, 33-57. See also: J. Hennig, '*Versus de mensibus*', *Traditio* 11, 1955, 65-90.

5 For a list of the manuscripts see Riese's note to *Anth. Lat.* 394, 307-8, and see his introduction for more details on the manuscripts themselves. See also D. Schaller and E. Könsgen edd., *Initia carminum latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum. Bibliographisches Repertorium für die lateinische Dichtung der Antike und des früheren Mittelalters*, 1971, no. 6489, p. 292. On the general transmission of the *Anth. Lat.* see the invaluable entry by R.J. Tarrant in L.D. Reynolds ed., *Text and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, 1983, 9-13.

6 On such anthologies see B. Bischoff, 'Benedictine monasteries and the survival of classical literature', *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, tr. M. Gorman, 1994, 134-60, at 145 (originally published as 'Das benediktin-ische Mönchtum und die Überlieferung der klassischen Literatur', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 92, 1981, 164-90).

7 It was copied c. 850, either in Fleury as argued by de Meyier, or in Tours as argued by Wilmart. For a detailed description of the manuscript see K.A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, 1975, vol. 2, 197-204; see also A. Wilmart, *Codices Reginensis Vaticani*, 1945, vol. 2, 245.

(= Riese's P),[8] which are by far the best manuscripts of the text.[9] Unfortunately both manuscripts omit lines 29-48, and other manuscripts were used by Riese and Shackleton-Bailey for editing the rest of the poem.[10]

There is, however, one more manuscript of the poem which neither Riese nor Shackleton-Bailey used in their editions, and which adds many more variations to the selection in readings already known. This version of the *Tetrasticon* comes from the abbey of Echternach (Luxembourg) where it was copied during the short reign of King Zwentibold of Lotharingia (895-900), as part of the introductory material to what is now known as the 'Sacramentary of Echternach'.[11] The poem itself was copied in two columns of twenty-four lines each, in a clear Caroline minuscule of the German type, datable to the late ninth and the early tenth century, and characteristic of the region of Trier and the abbey of Echternach.[12] The heading of the poem - *Tetrasticon autenticum de singulis mensibus* - is written in red uncial, and follows the practice of heading the prayers in the sacramentary itself.

In some places the Echternach version of the poem gives readings which are different from any other version of the poem known to us, such as *herbida* (line 12) instead of *herba*, *tenet* (line 14) instead of *nitet*, *hodoris* (line 15) instead of *odoras/odores/odoris*, *legit* (line 26) instead of *ligat/legat*, or *licent* (line 48) instead of *licet*. In other places the Echternach version confirms Riese's decisions in editing the text, for instance, *porpureos* (line 4) which confirms the more stylish ending of *-eos* (instead of *-eis*, *-eus* or *-eum*),[13] chosen by Scaliger and adopted by Riese and Shackleton-Bailey, and of course *calathis* (line 18) and *nudus* (line 21), instead of *calatis* and *nuda*, which is the reading transmitted by all other manuscripts.

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8   It was copied soon after 850 at Corbie. See D. Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Beihefte der Francia 20, 1990, 153-4.

9   Shackleton-Bailey adopted Riese's choice of manuscripts for the basic text. Yet Riese's excellent apparatus cannot be compared with the jejune and unreliable apparatus provided by Shackleton-Bailey.

10   These manuscripts are mainly Cologne, Dombibliothek, MS 186 (*saec*. IX-X) [= Riese's C]; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 319 (*saec*. X) [= Riese's E]; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Durlacensis 36 F (c. 850) [= Riese's D].

11   Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 9433, fol. 13v. The date can be deduced from various prayers to the king himself which are incorporated into this sacramentary. For a detailed study of the manuscript and a critical edition of the sacramentary with the material appended to it see Y. Hen, *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, Henry Bradshaw Society 110, 1997.

12   The hand is very similar to the hand of the Sacramentary itself, and might well be the same.

13   See Courtney (n. 4), 40.

Yet, the most puzzling aspect of the Echternach version is neither its various readings, nor its transmission in a Carolingian manuscript of the late ninth century.[14] It is the context in which this poem is found that might invite surprise. For the poem, although an utterly pagan one, with no Christian context whatsoever, was copied by the monks of Echternach and incorporated into their sacramentary. And once again Tertullian's questions come immediately to mind: *Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis? Quid academiae et ecclesiae? Quid haereticis et christianis?*[15] or in other words, what does an utterly *pagan* poem have to do with a Christian prayer-book?

The ambivalent attitude of Christianity towards classical pagan literature is a story too well known to require rehearsal here.[16] The Carolingians inherited the attitude shaped in previous generations by men such as Tertullian, Jerome or Augustine, who rejected classical literature for its paganism, ethic and moral sense, while regarding it as a model for imitation in style, and a means to an end, that is, the gaining of spiritual wisdom.[17] This ambiguity was articulated by Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856) who, following Jerome, wrote:

> *Itaque et nos haec facere solemus, hocque facere debemus, quando poetas gentiles legimus, quando in manus nostras libri veniunt sapientiae saecularis, si quid in eis utile reperimus, ad nostrum dogma convertimus; si quid vero superfluum de idolis, de*

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14   The crucial role of Carolingian scholars in the transmission and preservation of classical literature is now acknowledged by all scholars. See for example L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars. A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 1991³, 92-109; Bischoff (n. 6), 134-60; idem, 'Palaeography and the transmission of classical texts in the early Middle Ages', *Manuscripts and Libraries*, 115-33 (originally published as 'Paläographie und frühmittelalterliche Klassikerüberlieferung', *La cultura antica nell'Occidente latino dal VII all'XI secolo, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 22, 1975, 59-85; rep. in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 3, Stuttgart, 1981, 55-72).

15   Tertullian, *De Praescriptione Haereticorum* VII:9, ed. R.F. Refoulé, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (hereafter *CCSL*) 1:1, 1954, 193.

16   On this subject see H.I. Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*, 1938; M.L.W. Laistner, *Christianity and Pagan Culture in the Later Roman Empire*, 1951; idem, *Thought and Letters in Christian Europe, 500-900*, 1959, 44-54; H.E. Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition*, 1966; R.A. Markus, 'Paganism, Christianity and the Latin Classics', *Latin Literature of the Fourth Century*, ed. J.W. Binns, 1974, 1-21.

17   See O.F. Long, 'The attitude of Alcuin toward Vergil', *Studies in Honour of Basil L. Gildersleeve*, 1902, 377-86; see also Bischoff (n. 6), 157-8; G. Brown, 'Introduction: the Carolingian Renaissance', *Carolingian Culture. Emulation and Innovation*, ed. R. McKitterick, 1994, 1-51, especially 34-44.

amore, de cura saecularum rerum, haec redamus, his
calvitium inducamus, haec in ungium more ferro
acutissimo descemus.[18]

Pagan literature, therefore, continued to be read in the Carolingian kingdoms, and new copies of classical authors were made in Carolingian *sciptoria* for libraries and private collections. The court library of Charlemagne, we are told, contained a rare collection of classical texts, among them even a copy of Tibullus.[19] No wonder, then, that Alcuin was admonished for being 'Virgilianus'[20] just as Jerome, four centuries earlier, was admonished for being 'Ciceronianus'.[21]

The Carolingian interest in, and fascination with, classical literature, and the open-minded attitude towards the classics which characterised most Carolingian scholars provide a suitable background and a rationale for the copying of the *Tetrasticon* at the abbey of Echternach in the late ninth century. Yet it does not explain unequivocally the unique and unusual case of Echternach's *Tetrasticon*, which is, to the best of my knowledge, the only *pagan* literary composition incorporated as an integral part into a Christian prayer-book. This point merits further discussion.

The short entry in Dieter Schaller's and Ewald Könsgen's list of verse incipits from poems composed before *c.* 1100 leads to several *computus* manuscripts with *Anth. Lat.* 395.[22] In addition to the manuscripts mentioned there, one can add Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica, MS Reg. lat. 441, a martyrology from Fulda, which also transmits *Anth. Lat.* 395. Furthermore, it seems that the poem was quite frequently copied in manuscripts of Bede's computistical works (especially *De temporum ratione* and *De temporibus*),[23] which implies

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18   Hrabanus Maurus, *De Institutione Clericorum* III:18, *PL* 107, 396, and compare to Jerome, *Ep.* 21:13, ed. I. Hilberg, *CSEL* 54, 1910, 122.

19   On the court library of Charlemagne see B. Bischoff, 'The court library of Charlemagne', *Manuscripts and Libraries*, 56-75 (originally published as 'Die Hofbibliothek Karls des Großen', *Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, 1965, vol. 2 - Das geistige Leben, 42-62; rep. in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 3, 1981, 149-69). On the transmission of Tibullus see Reynolds (n. 5), 420-5.

20   *Vita Alcuini* 2, ed. W. Arndt, *MGH SS* XV:1, 1887, 185.

21   Jerome, *Ep.* 22. On Alcuin's attitude towards the Classics see E.M. Sanford, 'Alcuin and the Classics', *The Classical Journal* 20, 1925, 526-33; W.F. Bolton, *Alcuin and Beowulf. An Eighth Century View*, 1978, especially 27-52; and compare these to G. Wieland, 'Alcuin's ambiguous attitude towards the Classics', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 2, 1992, 84-95.

22   Schaller and Könsgen (n. 5), no. 6489, p. 292.

23   See, for example, Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Aug. 167; London, British Library, MS Harley 3091; London, British Library, MS Royal 15 B XIX; Oxford, St. John's College, MS 17; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 5543; Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 26; Vatican, Bibliotheca

that the poem was not regarded as pagan in any religious sense. It was seen as a helpful verse about the months, and it was regularly copied in the context of Christian computistical works.

The incorporation of the *Tetrasticon* into the Sacramentary of Echternach is undoubtedly the result of the compiler's preoccupation with calendars and temporal matters, for it appears immediately after the abbey's calendar of sanctoral feasts, between a comparative table of the Hebrew, Greek, Roman and Egyptian months, and a table of day- and night-hours for each month. This suggests that the poem is transmitted in exactly the sort of computistical context one might expect from an examination of the other manuscripts. This reflects quite accurately the preoccupation of the Carolingian age with *computus*, which had become a science of its own during that period.[24] Many computistical treatises, whose main goal was to determine the dates of Easter, circulated throughout the Carolingian kingdoms, and a few were even composed by prominent scholars of the so-called 'Carolingian Renaissance', like Hrabanus Maurus.[25] Thus, the content of the poem was, most probably, the reason for its inclusion in the Sacramentary of Echternach.[26]

A close examination of the various texts appended to the sacramentary itself reveals a clear tendency on the compiler's part to provide a panoramic compendium of calendaric material. Juxtaposed with the Christian calendar of the monastery are scientific computistical tables, some of which reflect Jewish, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman traditions. To all these, our compiler added the *Tetrasticon* so as to balance the scientific content of these compositions with a more literate and artistic presentation of the same topic.

Apostolica, MS lat. 644; Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica, MS lat. 645; Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica, MS Urb. lat. 290.

24   See A. Borst, *Computus. Zeit und Zahl in der Geschichte Europas*, 1990; A. Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages*, 1978, 151-7; A. Cordoliani, 'Contribution à la littérature du comput ecclésiastique au Moyen Age', *Studi Medievali* 1, 1960, 107-37 and 2, 1961, 167-208; C.W. Jones, 'Polemius Silvius, Bede and the names of the months', *Speculum* 9, 1934, 50-6; B. Bischoff, 'Libraries and schools in the Carolingian revival of learning', *Manuscripts and Libraries*, 93-114, at 107-8 (originally published as 'Die Bibliothek im Dienste der Schule', *La scuola nell'Occidente dell'alto medioevo, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 22, 1972, 385-415; rep. in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 3, 1981, 213-3).

25   Hrabanus Maurus, *Liber de Computo*, ed. W.M. Stevens, *CCCM* 44, 1979. See also W.M. Stevens, 'Computus-Handschriften Walahfrid Strabos', *Science in Western and Eastern Civilisation in Carolingian Time*, edd. P.L. Butzer and D. Lohrmann, 1993, 363-81.

26   This must not be taken to imply that the literary qualities of the poem had nothing to do with the decision to incorporate it in the sacramentary.

Comparable attempts to make some correlation between pagan and Christian traditions by juxtaposing the pagan and the Christian are not rare in late-antique and early medieval art and literature. The most famous example of such a phenomenon is the codex-calendar of 354, which mixes quite lavishly pagan and Christian material.[27] This codex was produced in Rome for a Christian aristocrat, and it reflects its contemporary world, in which Christians still celebrated the traditional games, the pagan festivals and the imperial anniversaries, but made sure to attend church services as well.[28] It is, then, not at all surprising to find a combination of Christian and pagan elements in the codex-calendar of 354.

This devise of parallelism is also apparent in the historiographical tradition of late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.[29] The *Chronicon Paschale* is said to be 'an amalgam of Old and New Testament, Jewish, Christian, and secular material in a mixture that reflects the interests and knowledge of the individual author'.[30] Similar tendencies are recognisable in the Chronicle of Fredegar, where one can find bound together accounts of the legendary origin of the Franks in Troy, the story of Romulus and Remus, the incarnation, the sack of Jerusalem, and the conception of Merovech from a sea-monster.[31]

Yet the most intriguing object of art to which the Echternach *Tetrasticon* can be compared is the Franks Casket in the British Museum.[32] The Franks casket was made in the first half of the eighth century at a learned monastic community in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria, although the exact location is much disputed. Ripon was suggested by Wood.[33] However, other Northumbrian centres, such as Lindisfarne or Monkwearmouth/Jarrow, cannot be ruled out.[34] The casket is carved with scenes from Roman, Jewish, Christian, and Germanic traditions, and it is worth citing its full description:

> *The Front* is divided in two: the left half shows a composite scene from the Weland the Smith legend, the right half, the Adoration of the Magi ... *The*

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27   On the codex-calendar of 354 see: H. Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354. Etudes sur son texte et ses illustrations*, 1953; M.R. Salzman, *On Roman Time. The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity*, 1990.

28   Salzman (n.27), 223-31. It is worth mentioning that *Anth. Lat.* 395 was also added to the codex-calendar of 354, but after the codex's original publication.

29   I.N. Wood, 'Ripon, Francia and the Franks Casket in the early Middle Ages', *Northern History* 26, 1990, 1-19, at 7-8.

30   M. and M. Whitby trs., *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 A.D.*, 1989, ix.

31   *Chronicarum quae dicitur Fredegarii Scholastici Libri IV cum continuatoribus*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* II, 1888, II:4-6 and 8, 16, 33, 36; III:9 respectively.

32   On the Franks Casket see Wood (n. 29); L. Webster, 'Stylistic aspects of the Franks Casket', *The Vikings,* ed. R.T. Farrell, 1982, 20-32; see also L. Webster and J. Backhouse edd., *The Making of England. Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture, A.D. 600-900*, 1991, 101-3, with some excellent reproductions.

33   Wood (n. 29), 8-16.

34   Webster and Backhouse (n. 32), 103.

left-hand end depicts Romulus and Remus nurtured by the wolf ... *The back panel* shows the sack of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 by the Roman general, later emperor, Titus ... *The right-hand end* poses special problems of interpretation. The apparently episodic scene is evidently from Germanic legend but has not been satisfactorily identified. ... *The lid* appears to depict an episode relating to the Germanic hero Egil ... [35]

Such a mixture of episodes, as Ian Wood had already noted,[36] reflects first and foremost an interest in secular literature which characterised seventh- and eighth-century Northumbrian aristocratic and monastic circles.[37] It is exactly this preoccupation with secular literature that led Alcuin to admonish the English Bishop Speratus, telling him that:

> *Verba Dei legantur in sacerdotali convivio: ibi decet lectorem audiri, non citharistam; sermones patrum, non carmina gentilium. Quid Hinieldus cum Christo? Angusta est domus: utrosque tenere non poterit.*[38]

That a predilection characteristic of the aristocratic and ecclesiastical milieu of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria should appear in late ninth-century Echternach is not at all surprising. The diffusion of Insular culture into the Continent, and the strong relations between ecclesiastical foundations on the Continent and centres in Anglo-Saxon England are now acknowledged by most, if not all, scholars.[39] Furthermore, Echternach, one must remember, was founded by a Northumbrian missionary, Willibrord,[40] and was in constant contact with the British Isles.[41]

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35 Ibid., 102-3.
36 Wood (n. 29), 6-8.
37 On this subject see the seminal study by P. Wormald, 'Bede, "Beowulf", and the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy', *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. R.T. Farrell, 1978, 32-94, especially 42-58 and 63-9.
38 Alcuin, *Ep.* 124, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4, 1895, 183. On this letter see D. Bullough, 'What has Ingeld to do with Lindisfarne?', *Anglo-Saxon England* 22, 1993, 93-125.
39 The starting point on this subject is W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, 1946; see also R. McKitterick, 'The diffusion of Insular culture in Neustria between 650-850: the implications of the manuscript evidence', H. Atsma ed., *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, Beihefte der Francia 16, 1989, vol. 2, 395-432; eadem, 'The Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Germany: reflections on the manuscript evidence', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 9, 1989, 291-329; eadem, 'Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Germany: personal connections and local influence', *Vaughan Lecture* 36, 1991, 1-40.
40 The sources for Willibrord's life and activity are Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, edd. and trs. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, 1969, III:13, 27; V:9-11; Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, ed. W. Levison, *MGH SRM VII*, 1920,

The *scriptorium* of Echternach, as shown recently by Nancy Netzer, is an excellent example of the diffusion and preservation of Insular culture in the Frankish kingdoms.[42] Thus, the copying of the *Tetrasticon autenticum de singulis mensibus* into the Sacramentary of Echternach may be ascribed to preoccupations which characterised the aristocratic nature of ecclesiastical culture in Bede's time, and which received their artistic and literary expression in the juxtaposition of learned secular/pagan elements with Christian ones.

The possibility that an Anglo-Saxon tendency stood behind the inclusion of the *Tetrasticon* in the Sacramentary of Echternach gets further support from the interest in computistical works which characterised Anglo-Saxon scholarship.[43] If Carolingian scholars were preoccupied with *computus*, the Anglo-Saxons were obsessed by it, and composed a vast number of computistical treatises,[44] some of them even in verse.[45] Furthermore, the circulation of the *Anthologia Latina* and its popularity among Insular scholars are well attested by the various references to and citations from the *Anthologia Latina*. Columbanus, for instance, cites poems from the *Anthologia Latina* several times,[46] and Aldhelm imitates

113-41; and Willibrord's own autobiographical note in his calendar, H.A. Wilson ed., *The Calendar of St. Willibrrd*, Henry Bradshaw Society 55, 1918, fol. 39v. The amount of secondary literature on Willibrord and his activities is enormous and cannot be listed here. One is advised to consult the various papers collected in *Willibrord, zijn wereld en zijn werk*, edd. P. Bange and A.G. Weiler, 1990; *Willibrord Apostel der Niederlande, Gründer der Abtei Echternach*, edd. G. Kiesel and J. Schroeder, 1989, and see there for further bibliography.

[41] N. Netzer, 'Willibrord's scriptorium at Echternach and its relationship to Ireland and Lindisfarne', *St. Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community*, edd. G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe, 1989, 203-12. It is true that Willibrord went to his mission in Frisia from Ireland. Yet the monastery of Rath-Melsigi, where Willibrord spent some twelve years under the tutelage of Egbert, was basically a Northumbrian colony. Thus, it is impossible to gauge the amount and the intensity of Irish influence on Egbert's community at Rath-Melsigi. Furthermore, it is not always easy to distinguish between what is *purely* Irish and what is Anglo-Saxon.

[42] N. Netzer, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century: the Trier Gospels and the Making of a Scriptorium at Echternach*, 1994.

[43] Some computistical work was carried out in seventh-century Ireland as well. See *Cummean's letter 'De controversia paschali' together with a related Irish Computistical Tract 'De ratione conputandi'*, edd. M. Walsh and D. Ó Cróinín, 1988. Yet the scale and influence of such a work are much disputed.

[44] The most famous of which is Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*, ed. C.W. Jones, *CCSL* 123B, 1977, 263-460.

[45] M. Lapidge, 'A tenth-century metrical calendar from Ramsey', *Revue Bénédictine* 94, 1984, 326-69.

[46] Columbanus, *Versus ad Sethum* 7 and 62-72, ed. G.S.M. Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, 1957, 180 and 190. See also Riché (n. 2), 326, n. 111.

some of the *Anthologia*'s poems.[47] It seems possible, therefore, that Anglo-Saxon tendencies and preoccupations influenced the decision to include *Anth. Lat.* 395 in the Sacramentary of Echternach.

Set against this background, the fact that an unashamedly pagan poem like the *Tetrasticon autenticum de singulis mensibus* was copied as an integral part into a prayer-book at the abbey of Echternach is perhaps rather less problematic than it seems at first sight. It reflects both the interest of the monks at the abbey, which for its part may have been influenced and shaped by the nature of the aristocratic and monastic culture of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria, and the general concern which characterised Carolingian scholarship at the time. Classical literature, although sometimes depicting pagan subjects and mythological themes, was perceived by the Carolingian monks of Echternach, if not by all Christian scholars of the early Middle Ages, as a work of art and a source of knowledge, rather than an expression of religious beliefs and preoccupation. In other words, for the scribe who copied the *Tetrasticon* into the Sacramentary of Echternach classical poetry, although explicitly pagan, did not necessarily bear the heavy charge of religious significance that one might attribute to it in a different context.

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[47]   Aldhelm, *De Metris*, ed. R. Ehwald, *MGH AA* 15, 1919, 80; idem, *Enigmata* V:1, ibid., 100. See also Riché (n. 2), 375. On the poetry of Aldhelm see A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 1994.

Appendix*

TETRASTICON AUTENTICUM DE SINGULIS MENSIBUS

IAN Hic Iani mensis sacer est (en aspice ut aris
   Iura micent, sumant ut pia tura* Lares),
   Annorum saeclique caput, natalis honorum,
   Porpureos fastis qui numerat proceres.

FEB At quem caeruleus nodo constringit amictus   5
   Quique paludicolam prendere gaudet avem,
   Dedala quem iacto pluvio circumvenit Iris,
   Romuleo ritu Februa mensis habet.

MAR Cinctum pelle lupae promptum est cognoscere mensem;
   Mars oli nomen, Mars dedit exubias.   10
   Tempus ver edus petulans et garrula hirundo
   Indicat et sinum lactis et herbida virens.

APL Contectam myrto Venerem veneratur Aprilis;
   Lumen veris habet, quo tenet alma Thetis.
   Caeruleus et dextra flammas diffundit hodoris,   15
   Balsama nec desunt, quis redolet Paphiae.

MAI Cunctas veris opes et picta rosaria gemmis
   Liniger in calathis, aspice, Maius habet,
   Mensis Atlantigenae dictus cognomine Maiae,
   Quem merito multum diligit Uraniae.   20

IUN Nudus membra dehinc solares respicit horas
   Iunius ac Phoebum flectere monstrat iter.
   Lampas maturas Caereris designat aristas
   Floralisque fugas lilia pulchra* docens.

IUL Ecce coloratos ostentat Iulius artus,   25
   Crines cui rutulos spicea serta legit.
   Moros sanguineos praebet gravidata racemos,
   Quae in medio Cancri sidere laeta viret.

AG   Fontanos latices et lucida pocula vitro
      Cerne ut dimerso torridus ore bibat   30
      Aeterno regni signatus nomine mensis,
      Latona gemitum quo perhibent Echaten.

SEP   Surgentes acinos varios et praesecas uvas
      September, sub quo mitia poma iacent,
      Captuam filo gaudens religasse lacertam,   35
      Quae suspensa manu mobile ludit opus.

OCT   Dat praehensum laeporem cumque ipsa palmite foetus
      October, pinguis dat tibi ruris aves.
      Ambromios sinu mare lacus et musta sonare
      Apparet; vino vas calet ecce vino*.   40

NOV   Carbaseos postquam hunc artos indutus amictus
      Memfidus antiqua sacra deamque colit,
      A quo vix avidus sistro compescitur anser
      Devotusque satisque incola, Memphi, deis.

DCB   Annua sulacte coniecti semina terrae   45
      Pascit hiems; pluvio de Iove cuncta madent.
      Aurea nunc revocent Saturno festa December;
      Nunc tibi cum domino ludere, verna licent.

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* I provide here a diplomatic edition of the poem as it appears in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 9433, fol. 13v. I follow the punctuation suggested by Courtney and the capitalisation of Riese. The following abbreviations will be used:

V - Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. lat. Q 86 (*c*. 850)
P - Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 7886 (*saec*. IX)
E - Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 319 (*saec*. X)
C - Cologne, Dombibliothek, MS 186 (*saec*. IX-X)
D - Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Durlacensis 36F (*c*. 850)

[1] an *E*.   [2]   Tura *all MSS*.   iura* *Riese*.   Laris *V P*.   [3]   seculique *P*; saecliquae *V*.   [4]   purpureis *D E*; -reus *C*; -reum *V P*.   numeras *C*.   [5]   Ad *V D*. [7]   Daedala *V P D*; Dedela *C*; Detala *E*.   iactu *some MSS*.   Hiris *C*.   [8]   riti *E*. abet *D*.   [10]   olli *V P D*; illi *C E*.   exuvias *C E*.   [11]   vernum *Scaliger*. aedus *V P C*; hedus *E D*.   garrulo *P*.   [12]   sinus *E C D*; senos *V P*. [13]   venerantur *P*.   [14]   viris *V P C*; iuris *E*.   nitet *all MSS*.   Tetis *P*; Tetris *V*. [15]   Ceruleus *D*; Cereus *V P C E*.   odoras *V C D*; odoris *E*; dodores *P*.

[16] Balsame *D*.   Papiae *C V*; Papie *P*; Pafiae *D*.   [17] pecta rosea *D*.
[18] calatis *all MSS*.   [19] Atlantigine *D*; Adlantigene *C*; Atlentigene *V P*.
dicitur *C*.   Maius *D V P*.   [20] Uranie *C D*; Ur a tuae *E*.   [21] Nuda *all MSS*.
solio *D*.   [23] Iam flax *Shackleton-Bailey*.   Cereris *all MSS*.   aristis *V P*.
[24] fugans *V P*.   fusa* *all MSS*.   docent *Riese*.   [25] coloratus *D V P*.
[26] rutilos *V P*; rutilus *D E*.   legat *most MSS*; ligat *Meermanno*.   [27] Morus *C
E*.   [28] Quem *V P D*.   in *omitted by all MSS*.   sydera *V P*.   [29] *V P omit
lines 29-48*.   Fontanas *E*.   [30] Cernes *D*.   ut *omitted by D*.   demerso *Riese*.
[31] regno *E*.   [32] genitam *C E*; genitum *D*.   quem *D*.   peribent *D*.   Echathen
C; Hecaten *some MSS*.   [33] Turgentes *Hensius*.   acimos *E*.   varias *C*.
praesecat *C E*; persecat *D*.   [34] Sebtember *C*.   [35] Captivam *all MSS*.
[37] prensum *D*; praerisum *C*; prensam *E*.   leporem *all MSS*.   ipso *E*. fetus *Riese*.
[39] Ambromius *E*; Iam Bromius *Valencienne, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 330*; Iam
Bromios *Riese*.   spumare *all MSS*.   [40] Aparet *D*.   novo* *all MSS*.
[41] post *Riese*.   hanc *D*.   artus *C D*; *omitted by E*.   [42] Nemfidus *D*; Memfidis
C; Memfidis *E*; Memphidos *Riese*.   antiquae *all MSS*.   [43] vi avidis *D*.
[44] Devotus *D*.   satis *D E*; sacris *C*; tuis *Shackleton-Bailey*.   [45] sulactae *all
MSS*.   [47] revocet *C E*.   Decembri *D*.   [48] licet *all MSS*.