

# The Transmission of Tibullus in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries

## Robert G. Babcock

Tibullus was not the most widely read of the classical Latin poets during the Middle Ages. The earliest surviving complete copy of his poems dates to the 1370s.<sup>1</sup> The lack of medieval manuscripts of Tibullus' elegies seems to be an accurate reflection of their medieval scarcity, not an unfortunate accident of fate; for he is rarely quoted from or alluded to by medieval authors, and his name seldom occurs in medieval booklists or inventories. Tibullus was not, however, completely unknown to the Middle Ages. His poems are recorded in one of the earliest extant medieval booklists, a manuscript associated with Charlemagne's court circle;<sup>2</sup> and faint echoes of his poems have been adduced in poems written at Charlemagne's court.<sup>3</sup> More significant for medieval knowledge of Tibullus, however, was the inclusion of excerpts of some of his poems in medieval florilegia, in particular in the *Florilegium Gallicum*. Tibullus even enjoyed something of a revival in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries through such anthologies.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the inclusion of his work in various florilegia of that period, Tibullus was also known to several scholars at Fleury and in the Loire valley in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as Richard Rouse and Michael Reeve have documented.<sup>5</sup> His popularity at that time and in that region, as Francis Newton

1. A succinct survey of the Nachleben of Tibullus is provided by Rouse and Reeve, 'Tibullus', 420-5.

2. See note 10, below.

3. Newton, 'Tibullus in Two Grammatical Florilegia', 284 and notes 77 and 78 on the poetic exchange of Paul the Deacon and Peter of Pisa. See also Garrison, 'Alcuin and Tibullus', 749-59, on echoes in Alcuin.

4. Ullman, 'Tibullus in the Mediaeval Florilegia', 128-74; Newton, 'Tibullus in Two Grammatical Florilegia', 253-86; Rouse, 'Florilegia and Latin Classical Authors', 131-60.

5. Rouse and Reeve, 'Tibullus', 421-2.

6. Newton, 'Tibullus in Two Grammatical Florilegia', 283; Ullman, 'Tibullus in the Medieval Florilegia', 131, 133.

7. Newton, 'Tibullus in Two Grammatical Florilegia', 256-86.

8. As Newton notes, ('Tibullus in Two Grammatical Florilegia', 284), the Freising florilegium as a whole combines the grammatical focus with an interest in proverbial *sententiae*, although the Tibullus excerpts in that manuscript show relatively little of the interest in proverbs. The Venice florilegium – in both its Tibullus excerpts and in its excerpts from other authors – is much more narrowly focused on grammatical points.

noted, resulted from the renewed interest in Ovid and in love poetry in general.<sup>6</sup>

Newton also discussed the earlier manuscript evidence for Tibullus, which consists of two eleventh-century florilegia (BSB, Clm. 6292, the Freising florilegium, and Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Z. Lat. 497, the Venice florilegium). These he characterized as grammatical florilegia.<sup>7</sup> They are the oldest manuscript witnesses to Tibullus, and they differ from the later florilegia in treating Tibullus' poems as models for grammar, prosody, and style. They show less interest in the content of his poems.<sup>8</sup> Newton's study documented that we can divide the medieval reception of Tibullus into different periods with varied interests in and understandings of Tibullus' poems. In other words, in spite of the paucity of manuscripts of Tibullus' poems and of documented readers, there were actually distinct schools of interpretation of Tibullus during the Middle Ages.

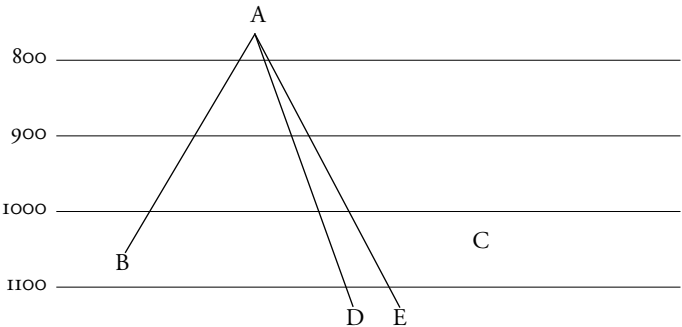
The present study focuses on the reception of Tibullus in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It highlights the crucial, but hitherto neglected, rôle of the schools in the diocese of Liège in the transmission of Tibullus in this period; and it discusses a previously undetected reader of Tibullus, Egbert of Liège (fl. 1020). From various strands of evidence – booklists, manuscripts, readers' annotations, and quotations by medieval writers – I argue that it is possible to identify in tenth- and eleventh-century Liège a new and distinctive school of interpretation of Tibullus.

## The Transmission of Tibullus Before the Twelfth Century

A review of what is known about the transmission of Tibullus before the twelfth century provides a clearer picture of how little known Tibullus was, and consequently, how exception-

al it is that he was read in the Liège schools in the tenth and eleventh centuries. More importantly, this review indicates that the diocese of Liège was central to the transmission of Tibullus before the twelfth century. Table 1 presents the reception of Tibullus between the eighth and the twelfth centuries as outlined in *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, and it illustrates how the authors of the essay on Tibullus in that volume, Richard Rouse and Michael Reeve, understood the relationship of the various bits of evidence from surviving manuscripts and references in medieval booklists.<sup>9</sup> The sigla are explained below the table.

Table 1



- A = a lost Carolingian (or older) manuscript recorded in the booklist in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Diez.
- B. Sant. 66: ‘*Albi Tibulli lib. II. Horatii Flacchi Ars poetica... Glau-diani De raptu Proserpinae lib. III... Ad Rufinum lib. II. Claudii In Eutropium lib. III. De bello Gothico. De bello Gildonico...*’ (Aachen?, late eighth century)
- B = the Freising florilegium with extracts from Tibullus and Claudian’s *In Rufinum*, *In Eutropium*, *De bello Gothico*, and *De bello Gildonico* (BSB, Clm. 6292, eleventh century)<sup>10</sup>

9. This is not a *stemma codicum*, but a graphic illustration of various sorts of evidence for the transmission of the text of Tibullus and how they relate to one another (reflecting the information included in Rouse and Reeve, ‘Tibullus’, 421-2). I am grateful to my son, Joseph J. Babcock, for creating these tables.

10. A complete scan of the manuscript is available online at [http://bibliotheca-lau-reshamensis-digital.de/view/bsb\\_clm6292](http://bibliotheca-lau-reshamensis-digital.de/view/bsb_clm6292), accessed 22 June, 2014.

11. An error in the (seventeenth-century surviving copy of the) Lobbes booklist; read: 'In Eutropium'.

12. The Lobbes booklist was discovered and edited by Dolbeau, 'Un nouveau catalogue', whose transcription I follow. It is also included in Derolez, *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii*, nr. 103. The Lobbes codex also included 'Persius cum Cornuto super ipsum Persium'.

13. Bischoff, 'Die Hofbibliothek Karls des Grossen', 149-69. B.L. Ullman first published a complete scholarly edition of this catalogue, 'A List of Classical Manuscripts', 24-5. Beyond the booklist, the Diez manuscript includes many texts, some of them authored by scholars active at Charlemagne's court; so the manuscript has connections to someone at that court (even if the booklist was added by that person elsewhere). The debate has recently been summarized by Kottje, 'Ein Zeugnis für die Hofbibliothek Karls des Grossen?', 45-9. See also McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 365-8.

C = the florilegium of Lawrence of Amalfi with extracts from Tibullus (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Z. Lat. 497, central or northern Italy, eleventh century)

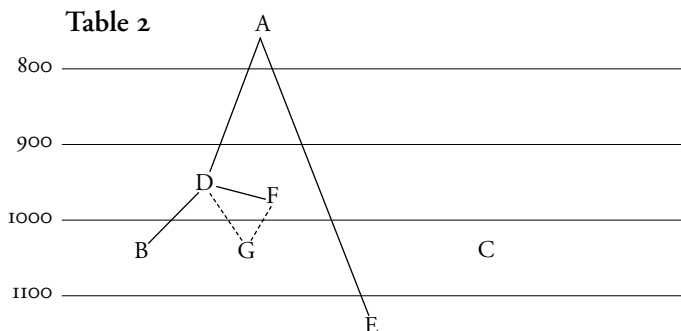
D = a lost manuscript from the abbey of Lobbes, recorded in a booklist of the abbey: '*Claudiani in Rufinum lib II. Eiusdem in Aegyptium*<sup>11</sup> *lib II. Eiusdem de bello gothico lib I. De bello gildonico lib I. Albini Tibulli lib III... Vol I*' (twelfth century)<sup>12</sup>

E = the *Florilegium Gallicum* and other florilegia, excerpts, and annotations (Loire valley, twelfth to thirteenth centuries)

Rouse and Reeve, summarizing earlier work on the reception of Tibullus, present the evidence from this period – aside from the Venice florilegium, here labeled C, whose relation to the other items is unclear – as depending, in some fashion, on a lost manuscript of the late eighth century, labeled A in Table 1. That manuscript is mentioned in a medieval booklist that Bernhard Bischoff connected with the Carolingian court library (c. 800), though this attribution has been much debated in recent years.<sup>13</sup> Leaving aside the question of the location of the library described in that booklist, the important point here is that Rouse and Reeve present this manuscript, perhaps the only one to have survived from antiquity, as the source – after a gap of three or four centuries – for the later dissemination of Tibullus' poems in Germany, Belgium, and France (items B, D, and E, respectively, in Table 1).

The relationship among A, B, and D is revealed by the fact that Tibullus is transmitted in these witnesses in the company of a peculiar group of poems by Claudian (*In Rufinum*, *In Eutropium*, *De bello Gothico*, *De bello Gildonico*, always in that order). There is only one other witness to this particular group of Claudian poems in this particular order, an eleventh-century manuscript, now Brussels, Bibliothèque

royale de Belgique, 5380-84, from the abbey of Gembloux (prov. Namur, diocese of Liège).<sup>14</sup> That the lost Carolingian manuscript lies behind nearly all of the surviving evidence from this period is not in question. It is, however, possible to provide greater detail about how directly some of the descendants of A relate to it, and to each other, and this in turn gives a clearer understanding of the transmission of Tibullus in our period; see Table 2.



F = quotations of Tibullus by Heriger of Lobbes

G = quotations of Tibullus by Egbert of Liège

Table 2 adds two items that are not represented in Table 1: the quotations of Tibullus by Heriger, a monk and later abbot of the monastery at Lobbes (prov. Hainaut, diocese of Liège);<sup>15</sup> and the quotations by Egbert of Liège, whose use of Tibullus is presented below. These are items F and G, respectively. In Table 2, additionally, I have moved D from the twelfth century to the middle of the tenth. Rouse and Reeve present the Lobbes booklist as information on the twelfth-century circulation of Tibullus, following the date of the relevant section of the original compilation of

14. The connection between the Tibullus and Claudian manuscripts recorded in the Carolingian booklist (A) and the contents of the Freising florilegium (C) was first made by Newton, 'Tibullus in Two Grammatical Florilegia', 280-1. The Gembloux Claudian manuscript does not include Tibullus, and there is no evidence that it ever did.

15. First identified by Köpke in his edition of Heriger's *Gesta episcoporum*, 189.

16. Dolbeau, 'Un nouveau catalogue', 8-10. The surviving manuscript of the Lobbes booklist is a seventeenth-century copy of an original that Dolbeau dates before 1160.

17. Babcock, *Heriger of Lobbes and the Freising Florilegium*, 180.

18. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 219-28; Balau, *Les sources de l'histoire de Liège au Moyen Âge*, 118-46.

19. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 535-9; Balau, *Les sources de l'histoire de Liège au Moyen Âge*, 153-4.

20. Rädle, 'Adalbold von Utrecht', 41-2; Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 743.

the Lobbes booklist, according to its discoverer and editor François Dolbeau.<sup>16</sup> The Lobbes manuscript of Tibullus is itself lost, so its date is not known – except that it must be earlier than the booklist in which it is recorded. However, the fact that Heriger quoted from Tibullus in a work he wrote in the 970s, indicates that Lobbes already had a manuscript of Tibullus by that date.<sup>17</sup> Heriger was renowned in his lifetime as a teacher of the liberal arts, and he may have taught both at Lobbes and in the city of Liège, where he was a trusted councilor to bishop Notger (d. 1008).<sup>18</sup>

Egbert was educated in Liège during Notger's episcopacy, and may have encountered Heriger in Notger's retinue.<sup>19</sup> Egbert dedicated his *Fecunda ratis* to Adalbold, bishop of Utrecht (d. 1026), who had been his fellow student when both were young. Adalbold spent some of his career at Lobbes and was connected to Heriger; he may have been one of Heriger's students.<sup>20</sup> Egbert, Adalbold, and Heriger all belonged to the circle of bishop Notger in the last decades of the tenth century and the first years of the eleventh. Heriger must have known Tibullus from the Lobbes manuscript, and the presence of that manuscript at Lobbes may reasonably account for Egbert's knowledge of the poet as well.

Table 2 also differs from Table 1 in showing the Freising florilegium as directly dependent on the Lobbes manuscript, rather than on the Carolingian manuscript (from which it is indirectly descended). This relationship is clear from several circumstances. First, the order of the works in the Freising and Lobbes manuscripts is the same, with Claudian preceding Tibullus. In the Carolingian booklist, by contrast, Tibullus appears first. Further, it seems that the Tibullus and Claudian codices recorded in the eighth-century booklist are not parts of the same volume but rather separate volumes.

The entries for Tibullus and Claudian are not consecutive in that booklist, for there is a Horatian work (the *Ars poetica*) intervening between them,<sup>21</sup> as well as another work of Claudian's, *De raptu Proserpinae*, that is not present in the Lobbes or Freising manuscripts. Even if the court codex was a composite volume that included all four of these texts (which would be an unparalleled combination), the Freising florilegium reflects the composite volume listed in the Lobbes booklist much more closely than it does the entries listed in the Carolingian list.<sup>22</sup> I have argued elsewhere that the Freising florilegium was compiled at Lobbes, that Heriger used an ancestor of it, and that he was possibly himself the compiler of it.<sup>23</sup> In sum, the Freising florilegium is connected more directly to Lobbes than to the library described in the eighth-century booklist.

From Table 2, then, we can see that a far more important rôle in the transmission of Tibullus in this period must be assigned to the Liège schools, in particular to the now lost manuscript that was once in the library of the abbey of Lobbes. The eighth-century codex, wherever it was located, was not directly responsible for the dissemination of the text of Tibullus from Bavaria to Belgium to Central France over a period of three or four centuries. Instead, one of its descendants, a manuscript at Lobbes by the tenth century, accounts for most of the reception of Tibullus in this early period.<sup>24</sup>

### Egbert of Liège and His Borrowings from Tibullus

I now turn to Egbert and his borrowings from Tibullus. Egbert is thought to have been born around 970 in the area of Liège. He became a teacher in one of the schools in the city, and was the author of a schoolbook, the *Fecunda ratis* (*The Well-Laden Ship*), which he wrote for use in his own class-

21. Rouse and Reeve (421) speak of the Tibullus, Claudian, and Horace entries in the Carolingian booklist as parts of a single codex; but there is no evidence that this was so; and for the reasons outlined here, it seems to me improbable. Cf. also Babcock, 'A Revival of Claudian in the Tenth Century', 216.

22. See Babcock, *Heriger of Lobbes and the Freising Florilegium*, 155-58; Babcock, 'A Revival of Claudian in the Tenth Century', 212-5.

23. Babcock, *Heriger of Lobbes and the Freising Florilegium*, 170-96.

24. To be sure, there is no necessary reason that the manuscript at Lobbes could not have been the same manuscript that had been listed earlier in the Carolingian booklist, but there is no evidence one way or the other on this point. Even if it was the same manuscript, it was from Lobbes that the text of Tibullus entered circulation, not from the collection of the eighth century, wherever that was.

25. See Brunhölzl and Worstbrock, 'Egbert von Lüttich', 361-3; Babcock, *The Well-Laden Ship*, xii-xv.

26. Voigt, *Egberts von Lüttich Fecunda ratis*.

27. For example, Peiper, review of *Egberts von Lüttich Fecunda ratis*, 423-30; Manitius, review of *Egberts von Lüttich Fecunda ratis*, 426; Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur*, 538-9; and in the notes in Babcock, *The Well-Laden Ship*, passim.

28. Cited from Babcock, *The Well-Laden Ship*, 188, 236-7.

room.<sup>25</sup> The *Fecunda ratis* is a collection of versified proverbs, folktales, and religious instruction; and Egbert gathered his material from a wide range of biblical, classical, and medieval authors. His quotations and borrowings are extensively catalogued in the apparatus to Ernst Voigt's edition of the work,<sup>26</sup> and additional sources have been identified in subsequent scholarship.<sup>27</sup> Still, much remains to be done in this area. The passages below, drawing on Tibullus, have not, so far as I know, been identified or discussed in previous studies. The words in bold should be compared with the excerpts from Tibullus 1.1 that follow:<sup>28</sup>

*Divitias* mundi cur quisquam colligere instat,  
quandoquidem nec stare potest, qui colligit, auctor?  
Cursum quisque brevem *vitae* consideret huius,  
suffitietque sibi *contento vivere paucis*.  
*Longa* quidem desideria *increpat* haec brevis *hora*,  
cogitur incassum servata pecunia *multa*,  
cum iuxta est, quo pergitur, et non longius absit!  
(Egbert, *Fecunda ratis*, 2.63-69)

Gratia summa dei me suffitienter et apte  
*ditavit* reliqua cessante *cupidine* carnis,  
panniculos prebens panemque, nec amplius opto;  
unde deum, non quemquam hominem formido  
minantem,  
quorum verba, minas *pluviis* et comparo *ventis*.  
Dat natura modum *contento vivere paucis*;  
Qui mundi lucris inhiant, ut corpora curent,  
Non animas, ibi vinea Christi *inculta laborat*.  
(Egbert, *Fecunda ratis*, 2.588-595)

Compare Tibullus 1.1:

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |          |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| <i>Divitias</i> alius fulvo sibi congerat auro<br>Et teneat <i>culti</i> iugera <i>multa</i> soli,<br>Quem <i>labor</i> adsiduus vicino terreat hoste,<br>Martia cui somnos classica pulsa fugent:<br>Me mea paupertas <i>vita</i> traducat inerti,                                         | 5        |
| ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |          |
| Iam modo iam possim <i>contentus vivere</i> parvo<br>Nec semper <i>longae</i> deditus esse viae,<br>Sed Canis aestivos ortus vitare sub umbra<br>Arboris ad rivos praetereuntis aquae.<br>Nec tamen interdum pudeat tenuisse bidentem<br>Aut stimulo tardos <i>inrepuisse</i> boves,        | 25<br>30 |
| ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |          |
| Quam iuvat inmites <i>ventos</i> audire cubantem<br>Et dominam tenero continuisse sinu<br>Aut, gelidas hibernus aquas cum fuderit Auster,<br>Securum somnos igne iuvante sequi.<br>Hoc mihi contingat. Sit <i>dives</i> iure, furorem<br>Qui maris et tristes ferre potest <i>pluvias</i> . | 45<br>50 |
| ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |          |
| Te spectem, suprema mihi cum venerit <i>hora</i> ,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 59       |
| ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |          |
| Hic ego dux milesque bonus: vos, signa tubaeque,<br>Ite procul, <i>cupidis</i> volnera ferte viris,<br>Ferte et opes: ego composito securus acervo<br>Despiciam <i>dites</i> despiciamque famem.                                                                                            | 75       |

In both of these passages, Egbert has created an abbreviated version of Tibullus' first elegy. He reworked the Tibullan poem, taking from it aspects that he considered positive, like the re-

29. An additional encouragement for the change was probably Horace's use of *content[us] paucis* (at *Satires* 1.3.16 and 1.10.74), although Horace uses the phrase in metrical positions in his lines different from the positions in Tibullus and Egbert.

30. Library of Latin texts, [electronic resource], Cross Database Searchtool, Brepolis, <http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/>, accessed 23 February, 2014.

jection of wealth and the praise of a simple life. But whereas Tibullus urges his lover to forsake riches in order to become his mistress in his rustic cottage, Egbert instead proposes rejecting money in order to serve God and ensure salvation.

The half-line *contento vivere paucis* appears in both sections of Egbert, and is the key link to Tibullus. Though taking the phrase from Tibullus, and maintaining the same verse position for it that he had found in Tibullus, Egbert has altered the final word *parvo* to *paucis* – changing the word, but not altering the meaning significantly. In the first instance, we can see, I think, why Egbert made the change. He was multiplying the series of opposites (short/long, many/few, near/far). This encouraged changing *parvo* ('small') to *paucis* ('few') to stand in opposition to *multus* ('many').<sup>29</sup> The change from *parvo* to *paucis* does not hinder our ability to recognize the Tibullan verse that Egbert is quoting. Neither *content[us] vivere parvo* nor *content[o] vivere paucis* occurs elsewhere in the database of the 'Library of Latin Texts'.<sup>30</sup> In the first passage quoted above, Egbert introduces his reworking of Tibullus 1.1 by taking the crucial first word of Tibullus' poem, *Divitias*, and placing it in the same verse position in his line (2.63). Egbert's entire line, in fact, reflects the meaning, but not the exact wording, of Tibullus 1.1.1: 'the amassing of wealth is to be avoided'.

It is a common practice of Egbert's to treat the same subject or material twice, in slightly different ways, in different parts of the *Fecunda ratis*, as he does here in his reworkings of Tibullus. Both of our passages occur in the second book of the *Fecunda ratis*, which is divided into separate poems each with its own title. The first passage above (2.63–69) is part of a poem called *De immundo spiritu*, and Egbert's argument in the poem is that worldly goods impede us in the

struggle against Satan. The second passage (2.590-595) is a poem entitled *De sufficientia vitae*, and as the title indicates, it describes what is truly essential for humans in this life: God's grace, not worldly possessions or pleasures.

Tibullus is certainly not the principal model for these verses of Egbert's; he did not set out to create a version of the Tibullan poem. Like many sections of the *Fecunda ratis*, especially the second book of it, the passages in question here are a versification of moralizing lessons from the Church Fathers. These particular passages are drawn from Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in evangelia*. Egbert seems to have begun with a verse from the Gospel of Luke (9:25): *Quid enim proficit homini si lucretur uniuersum mundum, se autem ipsum perdat et detrimentum sui faciat?* He elaborated this by reference to Gregory's exegesis of the passage in Homily 32 (the passages in bold are borrowed by Egbert):<sup>31</sup>

Nam **cur instet** ad colligendum, **quando stare non potest**  
 ipse **qui colligit?** **Cursum** ergo suum **quisque consideret**  
 et cognoscit sibi posse sufficere  
 parua quae habet. Sed fortasse metuit ne in **huius uitae**  
 itinere sumptus  
 desit. **Longa** nostra **desideria increpat** uia **breuis, incas-**  
**sum multa**  
 portantur **cum iuxta est quo pergitur.**

Egbert takes much of Gregory's wording verbatim. What is fascinating about his composition, however, is that Egbert recognized that similar sentiments had been expressed in a very different context in Tibullus' first elegy. He combined the ideas and language of Gregory with those of Tibullus.

Egbert adapted Tibullus' text in interesting ways, and

31. The portions of Egbert's poem, *De in-mundo spiritu*, that precede the passage from it quoted here, namely, *Fecunda ratis* 2.55-62, are also a versification of a section of Gregory's Homily 32 (ch. 2).

it is useful to examine some of his alterations in greater detail, for they show that Egbert is creatively engaging with the Tibullan text, not simply stealing a few phrases out of context. For instance, in the first line, he modifies Tibullus' *divitias* by adding the term *mundi*. He wants to distinguish between 'the riches of the world', which are bad, and 'the riches' of God's grace, which are good. He may have in mind a passage like Ephesians, 1.7 or 1.18 where the same word, *divitiae*, is used of the riches of God's grace. That Pauline Epistle begins with the word *Gratia*. So also does Egbert's poem *De sufficientia vitae*, in which his second reworking of Tibullus 1.1 occurs: *Gratia summa dei* (2.588). Perhaps Egbert has adapted this from Tibullus 1.4.23: *Gratia magna Iovi*, making the necessary pagan to Christian alterations.

Another example of Egbert's creative adaptation of his model is his alteration of Tibullus 1.1.3. Tibullus says that the fear of war and its endless toil is not for him. Egbert turns this upside down, making the fear a positive thing. He says he fears God – which is proper for a Christian – rather than any threatening man (2.591); but he has no fear of toil, for nature will provide for him the means to live happy on a few things (2.593). The hostile forces of wind and rain, from which Tibullus will take refuge in his cozy cabin (1.1.45–50), are dismissed by Egbert along with the threatening man. Nature for him is a positive force.

Egbert cleverly mirrors Tibullus' *cupidis...viris* (greedy...men) with his own *cupidine carnis* ('lust of the flesh'). Egbert says he will be enriched when he gives up that lust. Tibullus (1.1.15–24, not quoted above) invokes various rural deities (Ceres, Priapus, the Lares), calling on them to give him food and wine. For Tibullus' array of rural gods, Egbert substitutes 'God's grace' (i.e. the Christian God's),

*gratia summa dei*, which he says will provide him with bread and clothing. He draws here especially on Matthew 6:25-31, which asserts that God will provide his followers with the necessary food, drink, and clothing. Tibullus' wine may have seemed to Egbert an inappropriate subject for the school-boys who were his primary audience, so he leaves drink out of the trio of benefits. His substitution of the humble *panniculus* for Matthew's *vestimentum* emphasizes the themes of poverty and sufficiency; it also recalls the *pannis* ('swaddling cloth') in which Mary wrapped her infant. So it is at the same time a more humble and a more 'godly' sort of clothing that Egbert names. Egbert neatly attaches this reference to bread and clothing to the mention of flesh/meat (*carnis*) that he had introduced in the previous line.

Particularly amusing is how Egbert changed Tibullus' 'acres of cultivated soil' (1.1.2) to 'the uncultivated vineyard of Christ' (2.595). Christ has no *iugera* in the Bible, but the Lord does have a *vinea*; so Egbert made the appropriate substitution.

Egbert critiques the details of Tibullus' text by his expansions, substitutions, and omissions. He adapted the pagan text to a specifically Christian context for a Christian audience, frequently by turning Tibullus' statements on their head. Egbert could have simply given his students the passages from Gregory to read; indeed, at some point in their schooling they would have studied Gregory's work. By rendering Gregory's text in meter, however, Egbert made it more attractive for young students and easier to memorize. By his intertextual play with Tibullus he gave his version more polish and more depth – more for his students to think about, analyze, and discuss. He extracts what he sees as good and useful in Tibullus – elegance, style, and adaptable

sentiments – and, at least in his own mind, he outdoes his predecessor by adapting his verses to a Christian message.

### Further Evidence for How Tibullus was Read in the Diocese of Liège in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries

We might well wonder what brought Tibullus to Egbert's mind as an appropriate intertext for a reflection on a passage of Luke (or on Gregory's exegesis of that passage). Obvious parallels between erotic elegy and the Gospel message do not immediately leap to mind. But it seems Egbert had an appreciation of Tibullus different than ours. Egbert borrowed passages from Tibullus attacking riches and in praise of poverty or of a life of poverty. Tibullus, in Egbert's reading, was describing a way of life that resonated with Christian, perhaps especially with monastic, ideals. I do not imagine that many readers today, if asked what Tibullus writes about, would reply 'he attacks wealth and praises poverty'. But that is, I think, how Egbert might have described the content – or at least the interesting or useful content – of Tibullus. Egbert was not alone in reading Tibullus in this way; he shares this approach with Heriger of Lobbes. Heriger quoted verbatim a single line from the Tibullan corpus, 3.3.21: *Non opibus mentes hominum curaeque levantur* ('The minds and cares of men are not lightened by wealth'). Egbert found in Tibullus precisely the same content that Heriger had, suggesting his understanding was influenced by Heriger's teaching, directly or indirectly.

There is further evidence for this reading of the content of Tibullus' poems in contexts related to Heriger. This is provided by the Freising florilegium and by the manuscript of Tibullus listed in the medieval booklist of the abbey of Lobbes. First the Freising florilegium: Newton has described this as a grammatical florilegium, for many of the

extracts from Tibullus, as from the other poets whose work is included, were chosen for grammatical, prosodiacal, or lexical reasons. But as Newton emphasized, the compiler of the Freising florilegium combined an interest in grammatical questions with an interest in moral *sententiae*.<sup>32</sup> Although the latter interest is less pronounced in the extracts from Tibullus than it is in those from some of the other authors included in the Freising florilegium (e.g. Juvenal and Horace), the *sententiae* extracted from Tibullus in the florilegium include: *Divitias alius fuluo sibi congerat auro/ Et teneat culti iugera magna soli* (1.1.1-2); *Me mea paupertas uita traducat inerti* (1.1.5); *Iam modo iam possim contentus uiuere paruo* (1.1.25); *At uos exiguo pecori furesque lupique/ Parcite, de magno preda petenda grege* (1.1.33-34); as well as the line quoted by Heriger (3.3.21).

Many of the phrases imitated by Egbert are also included in the brief extracts from Tibullus in the Freising florilegium. Indeed, the first three passages from Tibullus quoted above from the Freising florilegium occur within the space of four lines in the florilegium, and they incorporate Egbert's most extensive and striking borrowings from Tibullus, including his adaptation of 1.1.25. In light of what was said above about the connection of this florilegium to Lobbes and to Heriger, it is worth asking whether Egbert's familiarity with Tibullus was restricted to the few extracts of his work included in this florilegium. It seems to me that the answer is no, for the florilegium does not include many of the other words and images that Egbert shares with Tibullus' first elegy: fear of an enemy (a threatening man), the wind and rain, God(s) providing a humble sustenance. Egbert mirrors terms and phrases drawn from various parts of Tibullus 1.1, and he could not have gotten them all from the excerpts in

32. Newton, 'Tibullus in Two Grammatical Florilegia', 284. It is not always possible to separate these two interests, since moral *sententiae* can be expressed in language that provides models of grammatical constructions as well as of elegant (in the classical sense) style.

the Freising florilegium alone. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that the florilegium made the first few lines of Tibullus' poem more widely known in Heriger's circle, and that his familiarity with these lines led Egbert to find, read, and rework the entire first elegy.

The Lobbes booklist may be seen as another reflection of the same understanding of Tibullus' poems that we find in Heriger and Egbert. As mentioned above, this booklist indicates that the poems of Tibullus and some of the major poems of Claudian were bound together in the same volume in the Lobbes library. The collocation of the Augustan love poet with the late-antique satirist is not an immediately obvious one; and so far as I know, no one has speculated in print about what led someone to include the two in the same codex. I would repeat again what I argued above, that there is no reason to think these texts were bound together in the eighth-century booklist (A in Tables 1 and 2). The manuscripts listed there seem to be separate codices. It was at Lobbes that these two authors were joined between the same covers.

The reason for associating the two poets, I would suggest, can be glimpsed in a medieval copy of Claudian, the manuscript which is today Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 5380-84. It was written at the Benedictine monastery of St Peter's at Gembloux, an abbey in the Liège diocese near the city of Namur. The collection of manuscripts at Gembloux was formed in the first half of the eleventh century, when one of Heriger's students, Olbert, served as Gembloux's abbot (from 1012-1048). Like many of the classical manuscripts that survive from eleventh-century Gembloux, the Claudian manuscript seems to have been copied from a Lobbes exemplar (the Tibullus portion of the Lobbes manuscript was *not*, unfortunately, copied along with Claudian).

Plate 4 shows an opening from this manuscript, from an early portion of the first work by Claudian in the codex, the first book of *In Rufinum*. Several passages are underlined or bracketed. Starting on the left hand page (fol. 44v), about half way down, the marked passages read: *fluctibus auri / Expleri calor ille nequit*, v. 186 ('Passion cannot be quenched by rivers of gold'); *Numquam diues eris, numquam satiabere quaestu*, v. 199 ('You will never be rich, you will never be sated by profit'); *Semper inops quicumque cupit. Contentus honesto...paruo*, v. 200 ('Whoever is greedy will always be poor. Content with an honest little...'); and *Haec mihi paupertas opulentior*, v. 204 ('This poverty is greater wealth to me'). On the facing page (fol. 45r), we find: *Vivitur exiguo melius*, v. 215 ('It is better to live on a little'). This last phrase is also the first passage from Claudian included in the Freising florilegium.

Few modern readers, I think, would identify attacking wealth and praising poverty as the theme of Claudian's *In Rufinum*. No more would they understand that as the subject of Tibullus' verses. But it appears that the Lobbes and Gembloux readers found this content in both works, and it is perhaps for that reason that the two poets were combined in the Lobbes codex. The date of the underlining and bracketing of lines in the Gembloux Claudian manuscript is not clear, but it is medieval or early modern. There are marginalia on the opening in question (fols. 44v-45r) in a mid-sixteenth-century hand, but it is not clear to me whether the ink used for the marginalia is the same as that used for the underlining. If the underlining is as late as the sixteenth century, we have evidence that this particular reading of Claudian's *In Rufinum* endured at Gembloux for a very long time.

The Liège school's reading of Tibullus as a poet who praises poverty and attacks wealth may have influenced the

medieval reception of Tibullus outside of the diocese and beyond the eleventh century. I mentioned above the *Florilegium Gallicum* (labeled E in Tables 1 and 2), a mid-twelfth century anthology which includes many lines from Tibullus and which was responsible for the wider knowledge of his poems in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Richard Rouse has convincingly associated the compilation and circulation of this florilegium with the Loire valley, in particular with the school at Orléans.<sup>33</sup> The Tibullus extracts in the *Florilegium Gallicum* are very different from those in the Freising florilegium. Instead of the brief, disconnected *sententiae* and grammatical, lexical, and stylistic phrases of the Freising collection, the *Florilegium Gallicum* shortens Tibullus' poems, but creates individual and coherent compositions of them; and it assigns individual titles to many of them. Berthold Ullman published the complete text of these revised, abbreviated Tibullan poems. The first one, drawn from Tibullus 1.1 but reducing the 78 lines of that elegy to 52 by deleting most of the erotic content, has the title *Tibullus libro primo de felicitate pauperis vite*. This title may indicate that the abbreviator of Tibullus who created the compositions in the *Florilegium Gallicum* was influenced to read Tibullus in this way through contact with manuscripts or scholars from the Liège region. If so, Table 2 above should be further modified to indicate that the circulation of Tibullus in the twelfth century in central France was also somehow connected to Lobbes or Liège.

In tracing the influence of the Liège schools on the medieval reception of Tibullus, we should look not only forward to the twelfth century, but also backwards to the eighth. In his review of the recent debates on the origin of the Carolingian booklist mentioned above (A in Tables

1 and 2), Raymond Kottje closes by favoring the association of that booklist with Charlemagne's court at Aachen, returning to the conclusions Bischoff had made decades earlier. And of particular relevance for the present study, Kottje points out that Aachen belonged in the Middle Ages to the diocese of Liège.<sup>34</sup> This region was ground zero for the preservation and circulation of Tibullus before the twelfth century.

34. Kottje, 'Ein Zeugnis für die Hofbibliothek Karls des Grossen?', 49.

35. See, for example, the comments by Putnam, *Tibullus*, 8-11, 49-50.

In conclusion, Egbert's understanding of Tibullus seems to reflect a more wide-spread, but previously unsuspected, reading and interpretation of Tibullus in the tenth- and eleventh-century schools in the diocese of Liège. These early students of Tibullus warrant our attention because they were among the first identifiable medieval readers of his poems. Even if many modern scholars will find their motivations for reading Tibullus alien and strange, most will, I imagine, grant that one of the distinctive things about Tibullus' elegies is that he sets them in the countryside, amidst rural simplicity not urban elegance.<sup>35</sup> The readers in Heriger's circle are not far from appreciating this aspect of his poems, but with a twist. The rural setting is more like a monastery and the Epicurean philosophy is replaced by Christianity. Essential aspects of Tibullus' poetry have been preserved and appreciated, but adapted to a medieval context.

Even after centuries of intensive work in the field of reception history there are still many medieval writers whose borrowings from and reworkings of ancient poetry have never been detected or discussed, medieval manuscripts whose annotations have not been analyzed, and – as the present essay has attempted to show – even schools of readers of ancient poetry who have not been recognized as such and

whose motivations for studying the classical poets have not been fully investigated. Work in this area today is greatly facilitated by the increasingly comprehensive databases of Latin texts, in particular the Library of Latin Texts and dMGH. One of the great pleasures of working in this area is that so many discoveries remain to be made, for much of the ground remains as unploughed as Tibullus' 'vast acres of uncultivated soil'.

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# INUS RETHORICAE

## F C U L T A S

