

IMMO WARNTJES

Augustine vs Wodan

Notker Labeo, Wednesday, and Irish Intellectual Influence at St Gall in the Early Middle Ages

Introduction, p. 39. – The Munich Computus of 718/719 and the Reception of Augustine's Commentary on Psalm 93, p. 43. – Móengal / Marcellus' Intellectual Influence at St Gall, p. 47. – Notker Labeo and Fáelán, p. 63. – Conclusion: Irish Influence at St Gall, p. 67.

ABSTRACT: The change of the weekday terminology for Wednesday from 'Wodan's day' to 'middle of the week' in Old High German around the year 1000 is commonly explained through a rejection of the Germanic god Wodan by Christian intellectuals. This article takes a closer look at the institutional setting and textual context of this change. Effectively, Notker Labeo was following Augustine's comments on Psalm 93 in the same way as Irish intellectuals had already done in the early eighth century. This article demonstrates the vibrancy of Irish teaching at St Gall in the two core areas relevant for this shift, psalm studies and especially calendrical science. Notker's momentous decision can therefore be traced back to strong, and often underrated, Irish intellectual influence at St Gall in the early Middle Ages.

INTRODUCTION

In Roman Late Antiquity, the seven-day week outrivalled its main competitor of eight days¹. The rise of Christianity in the fourth century, from persecution to state religion, was instrumental in this process. One of the pillars of the new religion was the Judeo-Christian creation story in Genesis with its six days of work and one day of rest. In the scripture, these were simply numbered, and this led to the standard medieval denomination system of *feria* 1 (or *dies dominicus/a*) = Sunday to *feria* 7 (or *sabbatum*) = Saturday, which is still represented in Portuguese, Mirandese, and Gallician:

¹ For the rise of the seven-day week, see EMIL SCHÜRER, Die siebentägige Woche im Gebrauche der christlichen Kirche der ersten Jahrhunderte, in: Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 6, 1905, pp. 1–66; MARK ANDERSON, Christianizing the Planetary Week and Globalizing the Seven-Day Cycle, in: Studies in Late Antiquity 3, 2019, pp. 128–191.

Immo Warntjes, E-Mail address: iwarntje@tcd.ie

Latin	Portuguese	Mirandese	Gallician
dies dominicus/a	domingo	deimingo/demingo	domingo
secunda feria	segunda-feira	segunda-feira	segunda feira
tertia feria	terça-feira	terça/tércia-feira	terza feira
quarta feria	quarta-feira	quarta-feira	corta feira
quinta feria	quinta-feira	quinta-feira	quinta feira
sexta feria	sexta-feira	sesta-feira	sexta feira
sabbatum	sábado	sábado	sábado

The Romans, following Hellenistic tradition, preferred to name the seven days after the seven planets, which in turn received their labels from Roman gods: Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, and sun and moon. These remained popular throughout the Middle Ages and can still be found in most Romance languages like French, Spanish, Italian, or Romanian:

Latin	French	Spanish	Italian	Romanian
dies solis	dimanche	domingo	domenica	duminică
dies lunae	lundi	lunes	lunèdi	luni
dies Martis	mardi	martes	martedì	marți
dies Mercurii	mercredi	miércoles	mercoledì	miercuri
dies Iovis	jeudi	jueves	giovedì	joi
dies Veneris	vendredi	viernes	venerdì	vineri
dies Saturni	samedi	sábado	sabato	sâmbătă

When Christianity, and with it the written word and Latinity, spread to the Germanic peoples across the Rhine and in Britain, Roman gods soon gave way to local ones: Tyr, Wodan, Thor, Freya ². These are still represented in modern Germanic languages, like English, German, Dutch, or Danish:

² For this process, see now PHILIP SHAW, *The Origins of the Theophoric Week in the Germanic Languages*, in: *Early Medieval Europe* 15, 2007, pp. 386–401.

English	German	Dutch	Danish
Sunday	Sonntag	zondag	søndag
Monday	Montag	maandag	mandag
Tuesday	Dienstag	dinsdag	tirsdag
Wednesday	Mittwoch	woensdag	onsdag
Thursday	Donnerstag	donderdag	torsdag
Friday	Freitag	vrijdag	fredag
Saturday	Samstag	zaterdag	lørdag

One weekday stands out in this table (besides Danish *lørdag*, the Scandinavian ‘washing-day’), German *Mittwoch*, ‘middle of the week’. Scholarship tends to explain the reason for this shift from Wodan’s day to midweek by focusing on the Germanic pantheon³: Wodan sat at its top, and his cult was and remained so influential that ecclesiastical elites around the turn from the first to the second millennium AD felt the urge to act and wipe his name from daily references; the Scandinavian mission and rivalries between certain cults – Wodan vs Tyr – may have fed into this process. What these interpretations do not appreciate enough is the institutional setting of the first written occurrence of this term, *mittanuechun*, by Notker Labeo of St Gall in his psalms commentary of around the year 1000. This essay will explain Notker’s motivation for replacing Wodan’s day through St Gall’s Irish scholarly tradition.

St Gall has often been considered a prime example of Irish intellectual influence on the Continent, not least because of the survival of some fifteen Irish script codices (or parts thereof) among the St Gall holdings, a unique ninth-century list of books written in Irish script, numerous Irishmen among the St Gall name-lists, and the famous story of the Irish bishop Marcus and his nephew Móengal / Marcellus remaining at St Gall with their book and some retinue, with Móengal / Marcellus becoming the schoolmaster who taught the golden generation of St Gall scholars⁴. Two scholars in particular, the St Gall librarian Johannes Duft in the 1950s and more recently Sven

³ For example, JOACHIM GRZEGA, On the Names for Wednesday in Germanic Dialects with Special Reference to West Germanic, in: *Onomasiology Online* 2, 2001, pp. 1–14; LUDWIG RUEBEKEIL, Wodan und andere forschungsgeschichtliche Leichen exhumiert, in: *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 38, 2003, pp. 25–42. But see also FRIEDRICH KLUGE, Die deutschen Namen der Wochentage, in: *Wissenschaftliche Beihefte zur Zeitschrift des allgemeinen deutschen Sprachvereins* 8, 1895, pp. 89–98, here pp. 93–95; DENNIS GREEN, Zu den germanischen Wochentagsnamen in ihren europäischen Beziehungen, in: WOLFGANG HAUBRICHS et al. (eds.), *Vox Sermo Res. Beiträge zur Sprachreflexion, Literatur- und Sprachgeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, Stuttgart 2001, pp. 223–235, here pp. 225–226, 228.

⁴ See now IMMO WARNTJES, Two Irish Schoolmasters at St Gall. Móengal / Marcellus and Fáelán (forthcoming); for Marcus and Móengal / Marcellus see the section on ‘Móengal / Marcellus’ Intellectual Influence at St Gall’ below.

Meeder in 2018, have questioned this interpretation in some detail⁵. They stress, quite rightly, that one needs to be careful not to overstate the physical presence of Irish monks at St Gall and therefore should avoid the term ‘Irish colony’. More problematic, however, is their view that Irish script books brought to St Gall had no discernible impact; these were considered ornamental at best, but of no use to the community. Meeder additionally argues that there is no evidence that St Gall received Irish texts directly from Ireland. The following analysis will demonstrate, *en passant*, that both assumptions cannot stand.

By focusing on books and texts, these studies have not seriously considered the potential influence of Irish ideas on St Gall intellectual culture. St Gall had two Irish schoolmasters, the above-mentioned Móengal / Marcellus in the third quarter of the ninth century and the less well-known Fáelán towards the end of the tenth⁶. One would expect that their teaching left some mark on the community. This article argues that Notker’s replacement of Wodan’s day with the more neutral ‘middle of the week’ owes to these Irish intellectuals. Identifying the transmission and impact of ideas, especially if conveyed orally, is not a straight-forward task and by definition has to be based on circumstantial evidence. The chain of evidence provided here is as follows: First, replacing Wednesday’s reference to a pagan deity with a more neutral term, and in this following Augustine’s commentary on Psalm 93, happened before Notker Labeo only in Ireland, in a computistical text of 718/719. Second, Móengal / Marcellus had a strong interest in both areas underlying this replacement, the study of the psalms and their commentaries on the one hand and computistical literature on the other; the charter evidence even demonstrates that Augustine’s commentary on Psalm 93 underlay his thinking and that week-day terminology was part of his teaching. Third, Fáelán, a century later, continued Móengal / Marcellus’ teaching, particularly of computistica, from a specific Irish angle; his floruit coincides with the young Notker Labeo, who shared Fáelán’s interest in computistica and was, in this field, particularly fascinated by Irish ideas; he introduced ‘middle of the week’ for Wednesday in his Old High German discussion of Psalm 93, which almost exclusively used the Augustine commentary acquired under Móengal / Marcellus.

⁵ JOHANNES DUFT, Die Beziehungen zwischen Irland und St. Gallen im Rahmen der St. Gallischen Stifts-Geschichte, in: JOHANNES DUFT – PETER MEYER (eds.), Die irischen Miniaturen der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, Olten 1953, pp. 11–61; ID., Iromanie – Irophobie. Fragen um die frühmittelalterliche Irenmission exemplifiziert an St Gallen und Alemannien, in: Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte 50, 1956, pp. 241–262; SVEN MEEDER, Irish Scholarly Presence at St. Gall. Networks of Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages, London 2018. For more details, see ‘Conclusion: Irish Influence at St Gall’ below.

⁶ See now WARNTJES, Two Irish Schoolmasters (as note 4).

THE MUNICH COMPUTUS OF 718/719 AND THE RECEPTION
OF AUGUSTINE'S COMMENTARY ON PSALM 93

Notker and German speakers were not the first to substitute the attribution to a pagan God of the fourth day of the week with a more neutral term. The earliest example comes from an Irish textbook on the reckoning of time. Seventh-century Ireland designed a new Christian curriculum of principally grammar, exegesis, and Christian time-reckoning (*computus*), but also history and music⁷. Computus fulfilled primarily the basic need of structuring the liturgical calendar that revolved around the moveable feast of Easter, but it also had more exegetical overtones in explaining God's creation as manifested in the cosmos. The insular world of the early eighth century produced four extant comprehensive textbooks on this calendrical science, of which Bede's 'De temporum ratione' of 725 soon eclipsed the earlier Irish 'Computus Einsidlensis' of ca. 700 x 718, the 'Munich Computus' of 718/719, and 'De ratione computandi' of the 720s⁸.

The 'Munich Computus' is the only one of these Irish texts that can be dated with certainty, as it incorporates a dating clause to the present year of the author⁹. It applies the standard framework of such textbooks, discussing solar theory first, followed by lunar theory and finally the combination of the two, Easter calculations. Solar theory was structured according to the 14 divisions of time, from the smallest, the indivisible atom, to the largest, the more exegetical *mundus* ('world') that comprised all time. In this last category, the principal focus of the Munich Computist is to demonstrate the chronological parallels between three core events that define the Christian religion: Creation, Exodus, and Crucifixion / Resurrection. The Munich Computist here stands in a tradition of commentators on the question of dating Easter, as similar discussions

⁷ See the Irish computistical textbook 'De ratione computandi' of the 720s, ch. 2 (MAURA WALSH – DÁIBHÍ Ó CRÓINÍN [eds.], *Cummian's Letter De controversia paschali*, together with a related Irish computistical tract, *De ratione computandi*, Toronto 1988, pp. 116–117): *quattuor necessario sunt in ecclesia dei: Canon diuinus, in quo narratur et praedicatur uita futura; historia, in qua narrantur gesta rerum; numerus, in quo facta futuorum et solemnitates diuine enumerantur; grammatica, in qua scientia uerborum intellegitur*. See also Charles W. Jones's assessment of the curriculum at the time of Bede in Bede, *Opera didascalica*, ed. CHARLES W. JONES et al. (CCSL 123), Turnhout 1975–1980, pp. V–XV, and notes 31–42 below.

⁸ See now IMMO WARTJES, *The Formation of Medieval Time-Reckoning as a Scientific Discipline of Christian Learning in Seventh-Century Ireland*, in: *Il tempo nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto 2024, pp. 69–107. Bede's 'De temporum ratione' is ed. by CHARLES W. JONES, *Beda's opera de temporibus*, Cambridge 1943, which is preferable, because of its essential extensive commentary, to his 1977 slightly updated reprint of the edition proper in CCSL 123 (as note 7); the 'Computus Einsidlensis' is ed. by TOBIT LOEVENICH, *The Computus Einsidlensis. First Edition and Translation with an Introductory Commentary*, an unpublished 2023 Trinity College Dublin PhD thesis that is currently being prepared for print; the 'Munich Computus' is ed. by IMMO WARTJES, *The Munich Computus. Text and Translation – Irish Computistics between Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede and its Reception in Carolingian Times*, Stuttgart 2010; 'De ratione computandi' is ed. by DÁIBHÍ Ó CRÓINÍN in: WALSH – Ó CRÓINÍN, *Cummian's Letter* (as note 7), pp. 99–213.

⁹ WARTJES, *Munich Computus* (as note 8), pp. LVI–LXI.

can be found in the fourth-century ‘Cologne Prologue’ to the 84-year Easter cycle called the *Supputatio Romana*¹⁰, and Victorius of Aquitaine’s Prologue to his 532-year Easter cycle of 457¹¹. The Irish authors worked directly from Victorius’ account, but modified it to achieve identical chronological sequences for all three events¹². For this, it was essential to define a day as extending from midday to midday, a custom the author attributes to the Hebrews¹³. The Munich Computist’s schema may best be summarised in table format:

Julian calendar dates and weekdays	Weekday terminology	Creation	Exodus	Easter week
noon 21 March / Sunday – noon 22 March / Monday	<i>dies dominicus</i>	1 st day of Creation	1 st day of Exodus	Curse of the fig tree
noon 22 March / Monday – noon 23 March / Tuesday	<i>dies lunis</i>	2 nd day of Creation	2 nd day of Exodus	Withering of the fig tree
noon 23 March / Tuesday – noon 24 March / Wednesday	<i>dies Martis</i>	3 rd day of Creation	3 rd day of Exodus	
noon 24 March / Wednesday – noon 25 March / Thursday	<i>dies cetene</i>	4 th day of Creation: sun and moon are created, the moon as a full moon (<i>luna</i> 14)	4 th day of Exodus: killing of the lamb	<i>Luna</i> 14
noon 25 March / Thursday – noon 26 March / Friday	<i>feria V</i>	5 th day of Creation	5 th day of Exodus: <i>luna</i> 15	<i>Luna</i> 15: Christ’s Passion
noon 26 March / Friday – noon 27 March / Saturday	<i>feria VI</i>	6 th day of Creation	6 th day of Exodus: <i>luna</i> 16	<i>Luna</i> 16
noon 27 March / Saturday – noon 28 March / Sunday	<i>sabbatum</i>	7 th day of Creation	7 th day of Exodus: <i>luna</i> 17	<i>Luna</i> 17

¹⁰ Cologne Prologue, chs. 4–6, ed. BRUNO KRUSCH, Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie. Der 84jährige Ostercyclus und seine Quellen, Leipzig 1880, pp. 227–235, here pp. 229–232.

¹¹ Victorius of Aquitaine, Prologus, ch. 7–9, ed. BRUNO KRUSCH, Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie. Die Entstehung unserer heutigen Zeitrechnung, Berlin 1938, pp. 17–26, here pp. 22–25.

¹² For the differences between Victorius and the ‘Munich Computus’, compare the edition of Munich Computus ch. 44 with its *apparatus fontium* in WARNTJES, Munich Computus (as note 8), pp. 142–153.

¹³ For the various customs for the beginning of the day known to the Munich Computist, see ch. 8 (WARNTJES, Munich Computus [as note 8], pp. 26–27).

Of interest for the present study is the weekday terminology used throughout this comparison of Biblical weeks. In an earlier chapter, the Munich Computist provides a brief summary of the development of weekday terminology, from the Hebrews through Roman planetary weekdays to the consecutively numbered *feria* system whose introduction is here attributed to Pope Silvester¹⁴. When discussing the three Biblical weeks, however, the author employs what appears on the surface to be some sort of a hybrid system: The Christian *dies dominicus* ('Lord's day') is followed by Roman planetary *dies lunis* ('day of the moon') and *dies Martis* ('day of Mars'), then the bilingual Latin / Old Irish *dies cetene* ('day of fast'), and finally the Christian *feria V*, *feria VI*, and *sabbatum*. The Old Irish names of the week, largely attested in eighth- and ninth-century glosses, are a mix of planetary and Christian terms: *dia domnaig* ('Lord's day'), *dia luain* ('day of the moon'), *dia máirt* ('day of Mars'), *dia cétaíne* ('day of first fast'), *dia dardáin* ('day between the fasts'), *dia oíne didine* ('day of last fast'), *dia sathairnn* ('day of Saturn')¹⁵. Modern commentators on the Munich passage therefore explained bilingual *dies cetene* as a slip by the Irish author of this text, unconsciously reverting back to his native tongue¹⁶.

There are two caveats in this theory. First, this is not an isolated example of Old Irish in the 'Munich Computus', and in the other two instances the purpose appears to be decidedly didactic¹⁷. This is further corroborated by the use of Old Irish in the closely related, slightly earlier 'Computus Einsidlensis' of the early eighth century, where its didactic function rooted in class-room teaching is even more apparent¹⁸. Second, if *dies cetene* was a subconscious slip, one would expect this to have occurred only once; but the entire sequence of planetary weekdays for Monday and Tuesday, *dies cetene* for Wednesday, and Christian terminology for Thursday to Sunday is repeated three times in this passage. This is a deliberate and systematic design, and *dies cetene* fulfils a very specific didactic function in it. The decisive clue is presented by the author himself: When introducing this passage, the Munich Computist does not reference

¹⁴ Munich Computus, ch. 11 (WARNTJES, Munich Computus [as note 8], pp. 36–41); see especially also Bede, De temporum ratione, ch. 8 (JONES, Bedae opera [as note 8], pp. 196–197).

¹⁵ RUDOLF THURNEISEN, Die Namen der Wochentage in den keltischen Dialekten, in: Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung 1, 1901, pp. 186–191, here pp. 189–191; but see also the discussion of a potentially older system of Irish weekdays by DÁIBHÍ Ó CRÓINÍN, The Oldest Irish Names for the Days of the Week?, in: Ériu 32, 1981, pp. 95–114, repr. in: ID., Early Irish History and Chronology, Dublin 2003, pp. 7–27.

¹⁶ BARTHOLOMEW MAC CARTHY, Annals of Ulster, vol. 4, Dublin 1901, p. CLXXX; DÁIBHÍ Ó CRÓINÍN, An Old Irish Gloss in the Munich Computus, in: Éigse 18, 1981, pp. 289–290, repr. in: ID., Early Irish History (as note 15), pp. 131–132; ID., The Earliest Old Irish Glosses, in: ROLF BERGMANN et al. (eds.), Mittelalterliche volkssprachliche Glossen, Heidelberg 2001, pp. 7–31, here pp. 16–17.

¹⁷ JACOPO BISAGNI – IMMO WARNTJES, Latin and Old Irish in the Munich Computus. A Reassessment and Further Evidence, in: Ériu 57, 2007, pp. 1–33.

¹⁸ JACOPO BISAGNI – IMMO WARNTJES, The Early Old Irish Material in the Newly Discovered *Computus Einsidlensis* (ca. AD 700), in: Ériu 58, 2008, pp. 77–105.

Victorius of Aquitaine – whose Prologue underlies this discussion – as the main source for this passage, but Augustine. The bishop of Hippo was considered core reading for any early medieval exegete interested in Biblical events. Besides his more famous texts, especially his Genesis commentaries, one could find additional information in less obvious locations, like his commentary on the psalms. Psalm 93 deals with the fourth day of the Hebrew week (*quarta sabbati*). In his commentary, Augustine provides some details on the first four days of Creation that would have been immediately relevant to the Munich Computist trying to make a case for the chronological parallelism of the weeks of Creation, Exodus, and Crucifixion / Resurrection. Concerning the title of this psalm, Augustine has the following to say ¹⁹:

Quare ergo talem habet titulum: in quarta sabbati? Una sabbati, dies dominicus est; secunda sabbati, secunda feria, quem saeculares diem Lunae uocant; tertia sabbati, tertia feria, quem diem illi Martis uocant. Quarta ergo sabbatorum, quarta feria, qui Mercurii dies dicitur a paganis, et a multis christianis; sed nollemus; atque utinam corrigant, et non dicant sic. Habent enim linguam suam qua utantur. Non enim et in omnibus gentibus ista dicuntur; multae gentes aliae atque aliae aliter atque aliter uocant. Melius ergo de ore christiano ritus loquendi ecclesiasticus procedit.

Why, then, does it have such a title: “on the fourth of the Sabbath”? “One of the Sabbath” is Sunday; “the second of the Sabbath” is Monday, which the pagans call “the day of the moon”; “the third of the Sabbath” is Tuesday, which those [i.e. the pagans] call “the day of Mars”. “The fourth of the Sabbath”, then, is Wednesday, which is called “the day of Mercury” by the pagans, and by many Christians; but we do not want this: may they [the Christians] correct it, and let them not call it thus. In fact, they have their own language, which they should use. In fact, these [days] are not called thus among all people; many different people call them in different ways. An ecclesiastical manner of speaking certainly comes better out of a Christian mouth.

On the surface, this is principally an emphatic statement against the use of Roman planetary weekdays to avoid association with pagan gods. More literally, however, it specifically urges the reader to change the terminology of the fourth day of the week, the subject of this psalm, to a more neutral or Christian vernacular reading. This is exactly what the Munich Computist does by substituting *dies Mercurii* with the bilingual *dies cetene* (‘fast-day’). In this context, the hybridity of terminology in the Munich passage can be read as a didactic tool for conveying Augustine’s message: The same weekdays as listed by Augustine are used first (*dies dominicus, dies Lunae, dies Martis*); then, Augustine’s advice is followed by substituting *dies Mercurii* with a more neutral vernacular term, before continuing with Christian *feria* terminology. For a student having discussed Augustine’s psalm commentary in exegetical class, the didactic message cleverly woven into this passage is clear: there are Roman planetary and Christian *feria* weekdays; remember Augustine’s psalm commentary on the fourth day of the week, in which he called for the use of a vernacular term for this day; Christian terminology is to be preferred over the Roman planetary ones referencing pagan gods. More gen-

¹⁹ Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, *Enarratio in psalmum 93*, sermo 3, eds. ELIGIUS DEKKER – JEAN FRAIPONT, *Augustine, Enarrationes in psalmos LI–C* (CCSL 39), Turnhout 1956, pp. 1302–1303. For the translation, see BISAGNI – WARTNIES, *Latin and Old Irish* (as note 17), p. 12.

erally, this Augustine reception provides an explanatory framework for the origin of the Old Irish hybrid system of planetary and Christian weekdays.

MÓENGAL / MARCELLUS' INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCE AT ST GALL

The 'Munich Computus' had a notable reception in the two centuries after its initial composition²⁰. Its only surviving copy was produced at St Emmeram in Regensburg in the late 810s or early 820s²¹. The earlier 'Computus Einsidlensis' from which the Munich Computist worked, however, left hardly any traces on the Continent²². Its only surviving copy was written at St Gall at some point between 874 and 892. The survival of numerous insular abbreviations in this Continental copy of the text suggests that it was produced directly from an exemplar in an insular hand, which makes it likely that the 'Computus Einsidlensis' reached St Gall directly from Ireland shortly before 874 x 892²³. This links the arrival of this text to a famous episode related in the 'Casus sancti Galli', the house chronicle of the St Gall monastic community.

These 'Fates (of the monastery) of St Gall' were originally composed by the monk Ratpert, who covered the period from St Gall's foundation in 614 to his time of writing in 884²⁴. This was continued to 972 by Ekkehart IV, at some stage after his return to St Gall from Mainz in 1034; the fact that the narrative breaks off more than half a century before the time of composition makes it likely the author's death in the late 1050s was responsible for the unfinished state of this work. Ekkehart covered six abbacies in full (Salomo III, Hartmut, Engilbert, Thieto, Craloh, Purchat) and ends in the second year of Abbot Notker²⁵. His approach differed from Ratpert's in that he moved the focus considerably from politics to culture, from the St Gall abbots to other outstanding members of the community, especially its librarians, schoolmasters, scholars, and artists. This becomes evident immediately at the beginning of his work on the abbacy of Salomo III. The narrative starts by placing Salomo among a group of outstanding scholars and artists of his generation, active in the last quarter of the ninth century: Notker Balbulus, a musical scholar, gifted poet, and biographer of Charlemagne; Tuotilo, a famous musician and sculptor, especially of ivory; and Ratpert, the first author of the 'Fates of the monastery of St Gall' and head of its monastic

²⁰ WARNTJES, *Munich Computus* (as note 8), pp. XCVII–CVI; ID., *Computus Monacensis* (*Munich Computus*), in: LUCIA CASTALDI (ed.), *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo / Medieval Latin Texts and their Transmission*, vol. 8, Florence 2023, pp. 126–132.

²¹ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14456, fols. 8r–46r.

²² IMMO WARNTJES, *Computus Einsidlensis*, in: CASTALDI, *La trasmissione dei testi latini* (as note 20), pp. 119–125.

²³ See below with footnotes 83–87, 122.

²⁴ Ratpert's 'Casus sancti Galli' is ed. and trans. into German by HANNES STEINER, *Ratpert, St. Galler Klostergeschichten* (MGH SS rer. Germ. 75), Hanover 2002.

²⁵ Ekkehart's 'Casus sancti Galli' is ed. and trans. into German by HANS F. HAEFELE et al., *Ekkehard IV., St. Galler Klostergeschichten* (MGH SS rer. Germ. 82), Wiesbaden 2020.

school²⁶. They were able to fulfil their potential only through the teaching, guidance, and influence of the schoolmaster Iso and the Irishman Móengal. It is worth citing Ekkehart's account of Móengal in full²⁷:

Grimaldi temporibus canonici abbatis, Hartmuoto eius quasi proabbate, Marcus quidam Scotigena episcopus Gallum tamquam compatriotam suum Roma rediens visitat. Comitatur eum sororis filius Moengal, postea a nostris Marcellus diminutive a Marco avunculo sic nominatus. Hic erat in divinis et humanis eruditissimus. Rogatur episcopus loco nostro aliquandiu stare allecto nepote. Diu secum deliberantes vis tandem consenserant. Dieque conducto partitur Marcellus nummos avunculi sui multos per fenestram, timens, ne discerperetur ab eis. Fremebant enim in illum, quasi ipsius suasus episcopus restaret. Equos autem et mulos, quibus ipse voluit, nominatim episcopus tradidit. Libros vero, aurum et pallia sibi et sancto Gallo retinuit. Stola tandem indutus abeuntes benedixit. Multis autem lacrimis utrimque discessum est.

Remanserat episcopus cum nepote et paucis suę lingę apparitoribus. Traduntur post tempus Marcello scolę claustra cum Notkero, postea cognomine Balbulo, et ceteris monachici habitus pueris; exteriores autem, id est canonicę, Ysoni cum Salomone et eius comparibus. Iocundum est memorari, quantum cella santi Galli his auspitiis crescere cepit tandemque floruerit Hartmuoto eam, Crimaldi quidem vicario tandemque abbate, omnimodis augmentante.

At the times of Abbot Grimald, a secular canon, while Hartmut was quasi vice-abbot, Marcus, a certain Irish-born bishop, returning from Rome, visited Gallus as his compatriot. His sister's son Móengal, later called by us Marcellus from his uncle Marcus by diminutive, accompanied him. This one was highly erudite in the sacred and the profane. The bishop was asked to stay in our place for a while, the nephew having already been won. Deliberating long among themselves, with difficulty they finally consented. And on the agreed day, Marcellus, being fearful, distributed many coins of his uncle through a window, so that he may not be torn to pieces by them [their companions poised to leave]. For they grumbled about him, as if the bishop stayed on his advice. Horses and mules the bishop personally gave to whoever he deemed worthy. Books, however, gold, and garments he kept for himself and Holy Gallus. Wearing the stola, he eventually blessed those leaving. Both parties, however, parted under many tears.

The bishop stayed with his nephew and some servants of their language. After some time, the cloister schools were given to Marcellus, with Notker, later with the epithet the Stammerer, and others of the monastic habit as students; the exterior, that is the secular canonical schools, however, with Salomo and his companions, were given to Iso. It is uplifting to be reminded how much the cell of St Gall began to grow under these auspices and eventually flourished under Hartmut, the deputy of Grimald and eventually abbot, while enriching the monastery in every way.

Ekkehart treats the arrival of Marcus and Móengal / Marcellus as a new departure in the cultural history of the monastery. Grimald's abbacy started in 841, and Hartmut's caretakership is usually linked to Grimald becoming arch-chaplain at the death of Baturich of Regensburg in 848²⁸. The charter evidence, however, suggests that Marcus

²⁶ See Ekkehart IV of St Gall, *Casus sancti Galli*, chs. 2, 30–46 (as note 25), pp. 116–117, 212–273.

²⁷ Ekkehart IV of St Gall, *Casus sancti Galli*, ch. 2 (as note 25), pp. 118–121; the translation is mine; an English translation can also be found in JAMES M. CLARK, *Abbey of St Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art*, Cambridge 1926, p. 33; WALTER BERSCHIN, *Latin Literature from St. Gall*, in: JAMES C. KING – WERNER VOGLER (eds.), *The Culture of the Abbey of St Gall. An Overview*, Zurich 1991, pp. 145–160, here p. 150.

²⁸ For Grimald, see DIETER GEUENICH, *Beobachtungen zu Grimald von St. Gallen, Erzkaplan und Oberkanzler Ludwigs des Deutschen*, in: MICHAEL BORGOLTE – HERRARD SPILLING (eds.), *Litterae medii aevi. Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, Sigmaringen 1988, pp. 55–68.

and Marcellus had arrived at St Gall by 847²⁹, and Hartmut may well have been caretaker for the busy Grimald at any point in the 840s. The St Gall necrology commemorated Marcellus, using both his Irish and his Latin name, as “most learned and most distinguished man” (*vir doctissimus et optimus*) under his death date of 30 September, no doubt a testimony to the difference this teacher made in the educational programme of this monastery³⁰. Ekkehart’s description of Marcellus’ learning credits him broadly with expertise “in the sacred and the profane” – a reference to Christian and pagan literature –, which is then more clearly specified as comprising the *artes liberales*, and of these particularly music³¹. This is an echo of Notker Balbulus’ ‘Gesta Karoli’, which starts with an account of learning and patronage under Charlemagne³². Famously, the scene is set by two Irishmen – a certain Clemens and an unnamed monk –, who, “incomparably erudite both in secular and sacred writings” (*et in secularibus et in sacris scripturis incomparabiliter eruditos*) arrived in Francia publicly declaring that they would sell their wisdom for lodging and board. Slightly later in the text, Abbot Grimald of St Gall is anachronistically described as a pupil of Alcuin, who instructed him in the *disciplines liberales*. This story culminates in a special appreciation of music, the “modulations of chants” (*cantilenę modulationes*)³³. Notker’s story confirms that Ekkehart’s

²⁹ See WARNTJES, Two Irish Schoolmasters (as note 4). RUPERT SCHAAB, Mönch in Sankt Gallen, Ostfildern 2003, p. 82 dates Marcellus’ profession to St Gall to 852, relying on Wartmann’s late dating of Marcellus’ charters (which Schaab explains pp. 266–267); I find it difficult to accept Wartmann’s emendations (see note 96) when none are needed; if Schaab’s reconstruction is correct, is it not conceivable that Marcus and Marcellus officially joined the St Gall community only after having spent a few years at St Gall, especially considering that Marcus professed, according to Schaab’s chronology, not at the same time as Marcellus, but two years earlier (p. 81)?

³⁰ St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 915, p. 339, available online at www.e-codices.unifr.ch. [last accessed 13/05/2025].

³¹ Ekkehart IV of St Gall, Casus sancti Galli, ch. 33 (as note 25), pp. 224–225: *Qui [Marcellus] in divinis eque potens et humanis, septem liberales eos [Notker, Ratpert, and Tuotilo] duxit ad artes, maxime autem ad musicam*. See also Ekkehart’s preface to Notker Balbulus’ ‘Vita S. Galli metrica’, ed. by KARL STRECKER, in: Poetae Latini aevi Carolini 4,3.2 (MGH Poetae 4,3.2), Berlin 1923, S. 1095.

³² Edited by HANS F. HAEFELE, Notker der Stammeler, Taten Kaiser Karls des Grossen (MGH SS rer. Germ. N.S. 12), Berlin 1959, here chapters I 1–3 and 8, 10 (pp. 1–3, 11–13).

³³ For music at St Gall, see the classic by ANSELM SCHUBINGER, Die Sängerschule St. Gallens vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Gesangsgeschichte des Mittelalters, Einsiedeln 1858; PETER J. WAGNER, St. Gallen und die Musikgeschichte, in: SAMUEL SINGER (ed.), Die Dichterschule von St. Gallen, Leipzig 1922, pp. 8–26; CLARK, Abbey of St Gall (as note 27), pp. 165–201; and more recently JOHANNES DUFT, Der Beitrag des Klosters Sankt Gallen zum kirchlichen Gesang, in: WERNER VÖGLER (ed.), Die Kultur der Abtei Sankt Gallen, Zurich 1990, pp. 57–68; WULF ARLT, Liturgischer Gesang und gesungene Dichtung im Kloster St. Gallen, in: PETER OCHSENBEIN (ed.), Das Kloster St. Gallen im Mittelalter. Die kulturelle Blüte vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert, Stuttgart 1999, pp. 137–165; ANDREAS HAUG, Sankt Gallen. Die mittelalterliche Abtei als Zentrum einstimmigen Gesangs, in: MATTHIAS SCHNEIDER (ed.), Enzyklopädie der Kirchenmusik, vol. 2: Zentren der Kirchenmusik, Laaber 2011, pp. 17–32; SUSAN K. RANKIN, Notker Bibliothecarius, in: KATIE A.-M. BUGYIS et al. (eds.), Medieval Cantors and Their Craft. Music, Liturgy and the Shaping of History, 800–1500, Woodbridge 2017, pp. 41–58; EAD., Writing Sound in Carolingian Europe. The Invention of Musical Notation, Cambridge

eleventh-century description reflects the contemporary ninth-century perception. It will have helped that the developments and traditions initiated by Marcellus in the mid- to late ninth century were still strong in the eleventh. Certainly, in music, the discipline singled out in the two texts, the Lake Constance region was as much a pioneer and powerhouse in Notker's time as in Ekkehart's ³⁴.

The more general mention of the *artes liberales*, however, may be more a statement of ambition or a reference to an idealised curriculum than necessarily a marker of factual school teaching and scholarly activity ³⁵. And it was not the only system of knowledge discussed among the early medieval *literati*. For our context, a division of disciplines referenced in Ermenrich of Ellwangen's Letter to Abbot Grimald of St Gall is of particular interest. Ermenrich received his education at Fulda and is then attested at the court of Louis the Pious in the 830s, in the monasteries of Reichenau and St Gall in the 840s and 850s; from 866 until his death in 874, he was bishop of Passau ³⁶. In the early 850s, he composed a long treatise addressed to Grimald that may best be described as an open letter of (self-)recommendation. His display of knowledge includes a division of philosophy into the three strands ethics, logic, and physics; of these, physics included the quadrivial disciplines of arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, and music, but also astrology, mechanics, and medicine ³⁷. This system of

2018, especially pp. 122–162; HENRY PARKES, Behind Hartker's Antiphoner. Neglected Fragments of the Earliest Sankt Gallen Tonary, in: *Early Music History* 37, 2018, pp. 183–246; SAM BARRETT, Latin Songs at the Abbey of Sankt Gallen from c. 800 to the Liber ymnorum, in: *Early Music History* 38, 2019, pp. 1–50; FELIX HEINZER, Gold in the Sanctuary. Reassessing Notker of St Gall's Liber ymnorum, Toronto 2022.

³⁴ For music in the Lake Constance region of the eleventh century, see more recently especially LORI KRUCKENBERG, *Singing History. Chant in Ekkehard IV's Casus sancti Galli*, in: BUYIS et al., *Medieval Cantors* (as note 33), pp. 59–88; MICHAEL KLAPPER, *Die Musikgeschichte der Abtei Reichenau im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Ein Versuch*, Stuttgart 2003.

³⁵ For early medieval education and its curriculum, see JOHN J. CONTRENI, The Carolingian Renaissance. Education and Literary Culture, in: ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2: c.700–c.900, Cambridge 1995, pp. 709–757, 1013–1024; ID., Learning for God. Education in the Carolingian Age, in: *Journal of Medieval Latin* 24, 2014, pp. 89–130. The St Gall library holdings, to be discussed below, do indicate substantial engagement with texts that cover the *artes*, in full or in individual disciplines.

³⁶ For Ermenrich, see the classics by ERNST DÜMLER, Über Ermenrich von Ellwangen und seine Schriften, in: *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 13, 1873, pp. 473–485, with ID., Nachträgliches über Ermenrich von Ellwangen, in: *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 14, 1874, pp. 403–404; WILHELM FORKE, Studien zu Ermenrich von Ellwangen, in: *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 28, 1969, pp. 1–104.

³⁷ Ermenrich of Ellwangen, *Epistola ad Grimaldum abbatem*, ch. 7, ed. ERNST DÜMLER (MGH Epp. 5), Berlin 1899, pp. 534–580, here p. 541. Dümmler's edition is preferable to the more recent one by MONIQUE GOULLET, *Ermenrich d'Ellwangen. Lettre à Grimald*, Paris 2008; see GERHARD SCHMITZ, Ermenrich von Ellwangen oder vom Nachteil und Nutzen von Re-Editionen, in: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 66, 2010, pp. 479–511. For this letter, see JOHN J. CONTRENI, The Carolingian School. Letters from the Classroom, in: CLAUDIO LEONARDI – ENRICO MENESTÒ (eds.), *Giovanni Scoto nel suo tempo. L'organizzazione del sapere in età carolingia*, Spoleto 1989, pp. 81–111,

knowledge has a long tradition. Ermenrich likely got acquainted with it in his Fulda days, as Hrabanus Maurus was familiar with it through a set of schemata found in manuscripts containing Alcuin's 'De rhetorica' and 'De dialectica' that also served as Ermenrich's source³⁸. Ultimately, however, as demonstrated by Bernhard Bischoff³⁹, this division of disciplines goes back to earlier Irish sources, as it can be found in the 'Anonymus ad Cuimnannum'⁴⁰, and also in (pseudo?)-Isidore's 'Liber numerorum qui in sanctis scripturis occurrunt'⁴¹ and in Aldhelm's writings (influenced by his Irish teaching?)⁴².

This revived seven-fold division of physics may therefore have resonated well with Marcus and Marcellus, who arrived in St Gall a few years before Ermenrich wrote his letter; in fact, they may well be identified with the Irish scholars whose commission of a new Vita of St Gall Ermenrich hoped to claim for himself, and referencing this division of disciplines would then serve the purpose to demonstrate that Ermenrich was equally up to the task⁴³. But, like the *artes*, this was, first and foremost, a theoretical construct often invoked in narrative sources. More indicative of what was considered relevant and important knowledge are, no doubt, the library holdings. For St Gall we are in the unique position that not only are many of its ninth-century books still *in situ*, but also that six ninth-century library catalogues survived. Their editor, Paul Lehmann, published these in what he considered their chronological order, written over

here pp. 105–109, repr. as article XI in JOHN J. CONTRENI, *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts*, Aldershot 1992.

³⁸ These are published in Alcuin, *Opera omnia*, vol. 2 (Migne PL 101), Paris 1863, cols. 945–950; for their manuscript transmission, see BERNHARD BISCHOFF, *Eine verschollene Einteilung der Wissenschaft*, in ID., *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols., Stuttgart 1966–1981, vol. 1, pp. 273–288, here p. 275; and now ARTUR COSTRINO, *Disputatio de rhetorica et virtutibus de Alcuino de York. Crítica às recepções modernas e hipótese sobre a organização dos dois assuntos do diálogo*, in: *Brathair 20*, 2020, pp. 230–251. Hrabanus Maurus' 'De universo', XV, 1 is ed. in Rabanus Maurus, *Opera omnia*, vol. 5 (Migne PL 111), Paris 1864, cols. 413–419, here col. 413.

³⁹ BISCHOFF, *Eine verschollene Einteilung der Wissenschaft* (as note 38); see also JOHN J. CONTRENI, John Scottus, Martin Hiberniensis, the Liberal Arts, and Teaching, in: MICHAEL W. HERREN (ed.), *Insular Studies. Papers on Latin Texts and Manuscripts of the British Isles, 550–1066*, Toronto 1988, pp. 1–23, here pp. 13–22, repr. as article VI in CONTRENI, *Carolingian Learning* (as note 37).

⁴⁰ *Anonymus ad Cuimnannum*, prologus, eds. BERNHARD BISCHOFF – BENGT LÖFSTEDT (CCSL 133D), Turnhout 1992, p. 3.

⁴¹ *Liber numerorum qui in sanctis scripturis occurrunt*, ch. 8 (§44), ed. in Isidorus Hispalensis, *Opera omnia*, vol. 5 (Migne PL 83), Paris 1850, col. 188. For this work, see JOSÉ CARLOS MARTÍN, *Liber numerorum qui in sanctis scripturis occurrunt*, in: PAOLO CHIESA – LUCIA CASTALDI (eds.), *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo / Medieval Latin Texts and their Transmission*, vol. 2, Florence 2005, pp. 407–411. The attribution to Isidore is doubtful; DONNCHADH Ó CORRÁIN, *Clavis litterarum Hibernensium*, Turnhout 2017, p. 740 does not consider it Irish.

⁴² Aldhelm, *De virginitate*, chs. 35, 58; *De metris et enigmatibus ac pedum regulis*, ch. 3, ed. RUDOLF EHWARD, *Aldhelmi Opera* (MGH AA 15), Berlin 1919, pp. 277, 320, 71. For the Irish influence, see BISCHOFF, *Eine verschollene Einteilung der Wissenschaft* (as note 38), pp. 278–279.

⁴³ Ermenrich of Ellwangen, *Epistola ad Grimaldum abbatem*, ch. 29 (as note 37), p. 567.

the years ca. 850 to 896⁴⁴. Famously and uniquely, these start with “books written in Irish (handwriting)” (*Libri Scottice scripti*)⁴⁵. Lehmann may well be right in dating this list to the mid-ninth century, but there are also good reasons to consider it a later addition, probably at some stage in the 880s⁴⁶. There is no compelling argument, however, not to assume that at least some of these books were part of Marcus and Marcellus’ travel library donated to St Gall.

The list of Irish books is quite substantial, comprising some 31 items. If this could be considered roughly the dimension of the book collection brought by these two Irishmen to St Gall (and even if not all of these books were brought by Marcus and Marcellus, they evidently also brought others, as discussed below, so this number may well be representative), it will have provided a substantial boost to the library holdings, which can be estimated – if surviving manuscripts are representative – at ca. 40 books around 816, and ca. 140 books around 840⁴⁷. The arrival of Marcus’ and Marcellus’ substantial travel library may therefore have been one of the triggers for a first inventory of the St Gall holdings as represented in the oldest library catalogue, the ‘Breviarium librorum’, which lists some 390 items; its core seems to have been written in the 850s, and was then constantly added to until the 870s⁴⁸. Its structure is intriguing. It starts with Scripture, first Old and then New Testament books. This is followed by the church fathers (here Gregory the Great, Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose), authoritative ecclesiastical authors (Prosper, Bede, Isidore, Cassiodorus, Eusebius, *Libri diuersiorum auctorum*, Alcuin), and finally specific subjects (monastic rules, hagiography, laws, glossaries, homilies, orthography, astrology, metrics, hymns). To some degree, this hierarchical structure of knowledge by degree of ecclesiastical authority is very intuitive in a monastic setting⁴⁹, and St Gall will have taken some inspiration from the earlier Reichenau catalogue of 821/822⁵⁰. But, despite some loss of structure towards the end due to continuous additions, the St Gall catalogue arrangement is neater⁵¹,

⁴⁴ These ninth-century St Gall catalogues are ed. by PAUL LEHMANN, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 1: Bistümer Konstanz und Chur, Munich 1918, pp. 55–89.

⁴⁵ For this catalogue of books in Irish script, see especially DUFT, *Beziehungen* (as note 5), pp. 40–44.

⁴⁶ HANNES STEINER, *Buchproduktion und Bibliothekszuwachs im Kloster St. Gallen unter den Äbten Grimald und Hartmut*, in: WILFRIED HARTMANN (ed.), *Ludwig der Deutsche und seine Zeit*, Darmstadt 2004, pp. 161–183, here pp. 169–172.

⁴⁷ STEINER, *Buchproduktion* (as note 46), pp. 162–163, 167–168.

⁴⁸ LEHMANN, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge* (as note 44), p. 70.

⁴⁹ For the structure of these library catalogues, see ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, Cambridge 1989, pp. 165–210; BUFORD SCRIVNER, *Carolingian Monastic Library Catalogues and Medieval Classification of Knowledge*, in: *Journal of Library History* 15, 1980, pp. 427–444. See also the pioneering study, for the entire Middle Ages, by THEODOR GOTTLIEB, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, Leipzig 1890, pp. 299–329.

⁵⁰ Edited by LEHMANN, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge* (as note 44), pp. 240–252.

⁵¹ See JOHANNA JEBE, *Bücherverzeichnisse als Quellen der Wissensorganisation. Organisationspraktiken und Wissensordnungen in den karolingerzeitlichen Klöstern Lorsch und St. Gallen*, in: ANDREAS SPEER – LARS REUKE (eds.), *Die Bibliothek – The Library – La Bibliothèque. Denkräume und Wissensordnungen*, Berlin 2020, pp. 3–28, here pp. 19–26.

and resembles more clearly the Irish system for seeking Christian truth as applied in Cummin's Letter 'De controversia paschali' of the 630s: study the Bible first, then the church fathers, and finally more recent specialist literature⁵².

If Marcus' and Marcellus' influence in the restructuring and systematisation of the St Gall library can better be sensed than grasped, their input in the ensuing acquisition process may be more apparent. Besides the main inventory, the 'Breviarum librorum', the remaining four catalogues record books acquired in the abbacy of Grimald with the help of Hartmut (841–872), books commissioned by Hartmut during his abbacy (872–883), and Hartmut's and Grimald's private collections. Of particular interest for the present study is the fact that the largest acquisition made by either abbot was a six (!)-volume copy of Augustine's commentary on the psalms, and a two-volume excerpted short version⁵³. Five of the six volumes of the full text still survive in St Gall under the modern shelf-marks Cod. Sang. 162–166, the sixth is now, incomplete, in the Zentralbibliothek of Zurich (Car. C 32)⁵⁴. Bischoff dates their script to ca. 850⁵⁵, and the fact that they also appear in the main hand of the initial inventory, the 'Breviarum librorum'⁵⁶, confirms that they should be considered some of the earliest acquisitions made, shortly after the arrival of Marcus and Marcellus. The same holds true for a three-volume edition of Cassiodorus' commentary on the psalms, which appears in Grimald's acquisition catalogue and the 'Breviarum librorum'⁵⁷, and survives as Cod. Sang. 200–202, dated by Bischoff to the mid- or third quarter of the ninth century⁵⁸. Natalia Daniel drew attention to the fact that both the six-volume Augustine and the three-volume Cassiodorus psalm commentaries show Irish palaeographical features⁵⁹. That Marcus had a particular interest in the psalms is

⁵² The letter is ed. and trans. by WALSH – Ó CRÓINÍN, Cummin's Letter (as note 7), pp. 1–97.

⁵³ LEHMANN, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge* (as note 44), pp. 83–84. For the special emphasis on Augustine in the acquisitions under Grimald, see also ALBERT BRUCKNER, *Scriptoria medii aevi Helvetica. Denkmäler schweizerischer Schreibkunst des Mittelalters*, vol. 3: *Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz – St. Gallen II*, Geneva 1938, pp. 32–33.

⁵⁴ The St Gall codices are available online at www.e-codices.unifr.ch [last accessed 13/05/2025]. For the Zurich manuscript as the missing sixth volume, see PETRUS W. TAX, *Die Werke Notkers des Deutschen*, vol. 8A: *Notker latinus. Die Quellen zu den Psalmen. Psalm 1–50*, Tübingen 1972, pp. XIX–XX; and now LUKAS J. DORFBAUER, *Augustinus. Enarrationes in Psalmos 71–80* (CSEL 94/3), Berlin 2022, p. 15.

⁵⁵ BERNHARD BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts* (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen), 4 vols., Wiesbaden 1992–2017, vol. 3, p. 311 (no. 5624) and p. 538 (no. 7590, dated later by Bischoff, but he was not aware of the connection between the volumes). SCHAAB, *Mönch in Sankt Gallen* (as note 29), p. 183 dates these manuscripts to the first half of the 860s.

⁵⁶ LEHMANN, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge* (as note 44), p. 74.

⁵⁷ LEHMANN, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge* (as note 44), pp. 84, 76.

⁵⁸ BISCHOFF, *Katalog* (as note 55), vol. 3, p. 314 (no. 5658). SCHAAB, *Mönch in Sankt Gallen* (as note 29), p. 183 dates these manuscripts to 856 x ca. 865.

⁵⁹ NATALIA DANIEL, *Handschriften des zehnten Jahrhunderts aus der Freisinger Dombibliothek. Studien über Schriftcharakter und Herkunft der nachkarolingischen und ottonischen Handschriften einer bayrischen Bibliothek*, Munich 1973, pp. 14, 17–18.

corroborated by the note in Grimald's list that the abbot "gave a good psalter to the Irish Marcus, which was deposited in the church" (*Psalterium bonum Marco Hibernensi dedit, quod est positum in ecclesia*)⁶⁰, the only direct reference to Marcus or Marcellus in the St Gall catalogues. Though this appears not to have been Cod. Sang. 27 produced at this time⁶¹ – a beautifully scholastic psalter, with the main text *per cola et commata* (like Irish psalters⁶²) in the centre, and commentary in the extensive margins on the left and right –, the arrival of the Irish scholars at St Gall coincides with a new stage of psalter writing on the Continent that was initiated in this monastery in the mid-ninth century⁶³. Marcellus can be identified as one of the named copyists in the mid-ninth century Greek psalter with Latin interlinear glossing (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A VII 3, fol. 23r)⁶⁴. This codex belongs to a group of three Greek manuscripts with interlinear Latin translation, the other two covering the Gospels (St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 48) and the Pauline Epistles (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, A.145.b). A text by a *Marcus monachus*, at the end of the Dresden codex, with cross-reference under that name on fol. 36r, was considered by Traube and others to be the St Gall Marcus, but more recent scholarship has identified this as a fragment of 'On the spiritual law' by the early fifth-century Greek author Mark the Hermit⁶⁵. Marcellus is also one of two St Gall scribes of a codex with New Testament texts other than the Gospels (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C 57, fol. 73r)⁶⁶.

⁶⁰ LEHMANN, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge* (as note 44), p. 89.

⁶¹ For the dating of this manuscript, see BISCHOFF, *Katalog* (as note 55), vol. 3, p. 300 (no. 5519).

⁶² MARTIN McNAMARA, *Psalter Text and Psalter Study in the Early Irish Church (600–1200 CE)*, in: ID., *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church*, Sheffield 2000, pp. 19–142, here p. 111.

⁶³ MARGARET GIBSON, *Carolingian Glossed Psalters*, in: RICHARD GAMESON (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible. Its Production, Decoration and Use*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 78–100, here pp. 80–86.

⁶⁴ LUDWIG BIELER, *Psalterium Graeco-Latinum. Codex Basilensis A. VII 3*, Amsterdam 1960, pp. XIII–XIV, XIX–XX; BERNHARD BISCHOFF, *Irische Schreiber im Karolingerreich*, in: ID., *Mittelalterliche Studien* (as note 38), vol. 3, pp. 39–54, here pp. 45–47; DUFT, *Beziehungen* (as note 5), p. 37; McNAMARA, *Psalter Text* (as note 62), p. 60. The codex is available online at www.e-codices.unifr.ch [last accessed 13/05/2025].

⁶⁵ The facsimile edition of the Dresden codex in ALEXANDER REICHARDT, *Der Codex Boernerianus der Briefe des Apostels Paulus* (MSC. DRESD. A 145^b), Leipzig 1908, reproduces only the cross-reference on 36r, but the text at the end of the codex is discussed with authorship pp. 7–14. The entire codex is now online at: <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/2966/1> [last accessed 13/05/2025]. See LUDWIG TRAUBE, *O Roma nobilis. Philologische Untersuchungen aus dem Mittelalter*, Munich 1891, pp. 348, 353; and also the earlier HEINRICH ZIMMER, *Glossae Hibernicae*, Berlin 1881, pp. XXXIII–XXXVII, who links the entire codex closely with Marcus and Marcellus. Doubt about identifying *Marcus monachus* with the St Gall Marcus has been expressed by DUFT, *Beziehungen* (as note 5), pp. 37, 44; less sceptical MEEDER, *Irish Scholarly Presence* (as note 5), pp. 48–51. Mark the Hermit is identified as the author by BERNICE M. KACZYNSKI, *A Ninth-Century Latin Translation of Mark the Hermit's Περὶ νόμου πνευματικού* (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mscr. A 145b), in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 89, 1996, pp. 379–388; I owe this reference to Pádraic Moran.

⁶⁶ See LEO C. MOHLBERG, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, vol. 1: *Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, Zurich 1951, p. 31; DUFT, *Beziehungen* (as note 5), pp. 37, 44–45.

This demonstrates a deep-rooted interest by Marcus and Marcellus in Biblical studies and especially the psalter. It may therefore not be a coincidence that their arrival at St Gall coincided with an unprecedented level of engagement with the psalter in that monastery as evidenced by the acquisition for the St Gall library of the main psalter commentaries (including Augustine's), the design of a new scholastic layout for the psalter proper, and a comparison between the Greek and the Latin text. An insight into how an Irish schoolmaster like Marcellus would have taught the psalter, however, can better be gleaned from the heavily glossed copies of essential school texts. Irish scholars produced a number of these, most famously for the grammarian Priscian and for Bede's scientific works. The most heavily glossed to survive, however, is the famous Ambrosian psalter commentary (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 301 inf.). It was written in the early ninth century, in Ireland or Bobbio⁶⁷, and may be representative of what Irish scholars considered important to convey in the classroom in psalter studies⁶⁸. For Psalm 93, the explanation to *quarta sabati* in the Latin title starts with the Irish term for the fourth day of the week: *dia cétaíne rogabad insalmo t. Is dingnim forchomnaccuir is ind laithiu sin is immaircide .i. duchsad chríst* ("this psalm was sung on a Wednesday; or it is appropriate to the deed which happened on that day, to wit, to the Passion of Christ")⁶⁹. This will have reminded the reader of Augustine's advice to use the vernacular for this weekday to avoid reference to a pagan god.

It is quite remarkable that the main St Gall catalogues, the 'Breviarum librorum' and the acquisition lists, do not place much emphasis on schoolbooks, particularly in the 'quadrivial' or 'physical' disciplines. The personal inventories for Grimald and Hartmut, on the other hand, are full of them⁷⁰. This is a good reminder that in any given monastery, books obviously also existed outside of the main library, in private collections, but presumably also on the shelves of the monastic classroom. If one is interested in a particular discipline, the wider monastic holdings, as long as they can be reconstructed, will provide a better and fuller insight than library catalogues. For the present study, the calendrical science of computus is of special interest⁷¹. St Gall certainly had

⁶⁷ See especially RICHARD I. BEST, *The Commentary on the Psalms with Glosses in Old-Irish Preserved in the Ambrosian Library* (MS. C 301 inf.), Dublin 1936, pp. 36–37; McNAMARA, *Psalter Text* (as note 62), pp. 43–49.

⁶⁸ For the teaching of the psalms, see McNAMARA, *Psalter Text* (as note 62), pp. 20–27, 95–98, and pp. 48, 106–107 for the Ambrosian commentary; for the Ambrosian glosses and their functions, see ALDERIK H. BLOM, *Glossing the Psalms. The Emergence of the Written Vernaculars in Western Europe from the Seventh to the Twelfth Centuries*, Berlin 2017, pp. 91–112.

⁶⁹ Facsimile in BEST, *Commentary* (as note 67), fol. 116v. The gloss is ed. and trans. in WHITLEY STOKES – JOHN STRACHAN (eds.), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus. A Collection of Old-Irish Glosses, Scholia, Prose and Verse*, vol. 1: *Biblical Glosses and Scholia*, Cambridge 1901, p. 384.

⁷⁰ See STEINER, *Buchproduktion* (as note 46), p. 174.

⁷¹ For computistica at St Gall, see the pioneering but outdated studies by ALFRED CORDOLIANI, *L'évolution du comput ecclésiastique à Saint Gall du VIII^e au XI^e siècle*, in: *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 49, 1955, pp. 288–323; ID., *Les manuscrits de comput ecclésiastique de l'Abbaye de Saint Gall du VIII^e au XII^e siècle*, in: *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 49, 1955,

a decent computistical collection at the time when Marcus and Marcellus arrived. The oldest manuscript of computistical content is the famous Cod. Sang. 225, written in 760 x 778, possibly 773⁷². It combines in one volume grammar, computus, medicine, exegesis, and other subjects, and is very much reminiscent of schoolbooks before the Carolingian Renaissance, before individual disciplines were separated into dedicated books. Similarly, a scholar writing in insular script included computistica, some of which Irish, in a notebook of the late eighth century that included the famous ‘Vocabularius St Galli’ and that was soon incorporated in the St Gall holdings (Cod. Sang. 913)⁷³.

A new departure was heralded by the momentous computistical year 816, for which the St Gall community imported latest calendrical theory from St Denis, no doubt facilitated by their former Abbot Waldo (abbot of St Gall 782, of Reichenau 786, of St Denis 806)⁷⁴. Two copies of this St Denis collection were made, which in subsequent years – before the middle of the century – were bound with what were to become the standard handbooks of the ninth century, Bede’s ‘De temporum ratione’

pp. 161–200; with corrections by JOHANNES DUFT, *Berichtigungen zu A. Cordoliani, Les manuscrits de comput ecclésiastique de l’Abbaye de Saint Gall du VIII^e au XII^e siècle*, in: *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 50, 1956, pp. 388–394. See now also the overview in HEDWIG RÖCKELEIN, *Medizin und Astronomie in der Karolingerzeit. Bibliotheken als Speicher antiken Wissens*, Tübingen 2023, pp. 53–64.

⁷² For this manuscript see especially KERSTIN SPRINGSFELD, *Eine Beschreibung der Handschrift St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 225*, in: IMMO WARNTJES – DÁIBHÍ Ó CRÓINÍN (eds.), *Computus and its Cultural Context in the Latin West, AD 300–1200*, Turnhout 2010, pp. 204–237; it is available online at www.e-codices.unifr.ch. [last accessed 13/05/2025]. In the Easter table for 760–797 on pp. 114–117, a cross marked the year 773, which may be an indicator of the *annus praesens* of the copyist; for this practice, see HENRY M. BANNISTER, *Signs in Kalendrical Tables*, in: *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Chatelain*, Paris 1910, pp. 141–149 (without reference to this manuscript).

⁷³ This codex is available online at www.e-codices.unifr.ch [last accessed 13/05/2025]. For localisation and dating of the script, see ELIAS A. LOWE, *Codices latini antiquiores*, vol. 7: Switzerland, Oxford 1956, p. 36 (no. 976); BERNHARD BISCHOFF, *Paläographische Fragen deutscher Denkmäler der Karolingerzeit*, in: ID., *Mittelalterliche Studien* (as note 38), vol. 3, pp. 73–111, here p. 94. For its content, see especially GEORG BAESECKE, *Der Vocabularius Sti. Galli in der angelsächsischen Mission*, Halle 1933, pp. 1–10; for the computistica, CORDOLIANI, *Manuscrits Saint Gall* (as note 71), pp. 162–164; for the Irish background, IMMO WARNTJES, *Die Verwendung der Volkssprache in frühmittelalterlichen Klosterschulen*, in: GESINE MIERKE – CHRISTOPH FASBENDER (eds.), *Wissenspaläste. Räume des Wissens in der Vormoderne*, Würzburg 2013, pp. 153–183, here pp. 163–166.

⁷⁴ For Waldo’s contribution to St Gall’s written culture, see CLARK, *Abbey of St Gall* (as note 27), pp. 58–61; ALBERT BRUCKNER, *Scriptoria medii aevi Helvetica. Denkmäler schweizerischer Schreibkunst des Mittelalters*, vol. 2: *Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz – St. Gallen I*, Geneva 1936, pp. 23–24; vol. 3: *Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz – St. Gallen II* (as note 53), pp. 18–20; WERNER VOGLER, *L’abbé Waldo de Saint-Denis, scribe et archiviste à Saint Gall*, in: CAROL HEITZ (ed.), *Le rayonnement spirituel et culturel de l’abbaye de Saint-Gall*, Paris 2000, pp. 59–71. For the import to St Gall of St Denis computistica during Waldo’s St Denis abbacy, see IMMO WARNTJES, *Reichenauer Wissensnetzwerke im Spiegel zeitrechnerischer Schriften und Kodizes*, in: *Welterbe des Mittelalters – 1300 Jahre Klosterinsel Reichenau*, Karlsruhe 2024, pp. 68–81, here pp. 74–75. CORDOLIANI, *Manuscrits Saint Gall* (as note 71), pp. 177–179, 188–190 does not note the dependency between Cod. Sang. 251 and 902, but hints at it in ID., *L’évolution* (as note 71), pp. 288, 300–301, 312–313, 317–318, 320–321.

and Hrabanus Maurus' 'De computo', respectively. The manuscript transmitting Hrabanus' text, Cod. Sang. 902, falls into three parts, the 'Aratus Latinus', Hrabanus' 'De computo', and the computistical collection from St Denis, which neatly fits the description in the initial St Gall inventory, the 'Breviarum librorum', of *Liber astrologiae et computus Rabani et alius compotus in volumine I*⁷⁵. The Bedan manuscript, Cod. Sang. 251, is more interesting for our context. This copy of 'De temporum ratione' sporadically includes insular abbreviations, also in its glosses⁷⁶, and is closely related to a Bobbio (?) copy of 836 x 854 (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 30 inf.)⁷⁷. This may not be enough to argue that the St Gall text was copied from an exemplar in an Irish hand in Marcus' and Marcellus' possession, or even that either of them is one of the correcting and glossing hands⁷⁸. But it certainly wetted the appetite of the St Gall librarian to acquire a full – and clean⁷⁹ – set of Bede's scientific works ('De natura rerum', 'De temporibus', and 'De temporum ratione'). Significantly, this was done through Irish channels at roughly the time of Marcus' and Marcellus' arrival, by the St Gall sister codex (Cod. Sang. 248) in Caroline minuscule of the famous Karlsruhe Bede (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 167) in Irish script with Old Irish glosses that Irish scholars brought from north-eastern France (Soissons?) to Lake Constance in the 840s⁸⁰.

This acquisition of essential computistical literature was surely supported by Abbot Grimald, who had a keen interest in computistica as evidenced by his *vademecum* (Cod. Sang. 397⁸¹; much of this material was later, towards the end of ninth

⁷⁵ LEHMANN, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge* (as note 44), p. 80.

⁷⁶ St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 251 is available online at www.e-codices.unifr.ch [last accessed 13/05/2025]. A good sample incorporating Irish abbreviations, for *secundum, autem, vel, eius, per, est*, is pp. 98–105. Among the glosses, which also include the Irish abbreviation for *con* (e.g., p. 117), note the conversion of Roman dates into consecutive day count (*XI kalendas apriles* = 22 March) on p. 68, which is an Irish practice. See also JOHANNE AUTENRIETH, *Insulare Spuren in Handschriften aus dem Bodenseegebiet bis zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts*, in: GABRIEL SILAGI (ed.), *Paläographie 1981. Colloquium des Comité International de Paléographie*, München, 15.–18. September 1981, Munich 1982, pp. 144–157 (+ Images XVI–XX), here pp. 151–152, no. 23.

⁷⁷ JONES, *Beda's opera* (as note 8), pp. 142–143, 147–149; the date is suggested by the Easter table on fols. 11r–24v. See also BISCHOFF, *Katalog* (as note 55), vol. 2, p. 154 (no. 2615).

⁷⁸ BISCHOFF, *Katalog* (as note 55), vol. 3, p. 318 (no. 5691) dates this copy of Bede's 'De temporum ratione' to the second quarter of the ninth century, which coincides with Marcus' and Marcellus' arrival in the 840s.

⁷⁹ See FAITH WALLIS, *Bede. The Reckoning of Time. Translated, with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*, Liverpool 1999, p. lxxxvii.

⁸⁰ Cod. Sang. 248 is available online at www.e-codices.unifr.ch [last accessed 13/05/2025], Aug. perg. 167 at <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/titleinfo/20736> [last accessed 13/05/2025]. For the relationship between the two codices see JONES, *Beda's opera* (as note 8), pp. 145–146, 156; ARNO BORST, *Der karolingische Reichskalender und seine Überlieferung bis ins 12. Jahrhundert*, Hanover 2001, pp. 230–231; *Id.*, *Schriften zur Computistik im Frankenreich von 721 bis 818*, Hanover 2006, pp. 234–235, 288.

⁸¹ See the classic by BERNHARD BISCHOFF, *Bücher am Hofe Ludwigs des Deutschen und die Privatbibliothek des Kanzlers Grimald*, in: *Id.*, *Mittelalterliche Studien* (as note 38), vol. 3, pp. 187–212, here pp. 201–210. The personal nature of this codex may have been overstated, but it certainly served

century, integrated in a similar type of compilation, but larger in format, in Cod. Sang. 184⁸²). A systematic review of the computistical holdings at St Gall, however, was only started after Grimald's death by his successor Hartmut, whose private library not only contained core literature on the *artes liberales*, but also "Bede's two booklets on the nature of things and on times; also a large one and other argumenta for calculation in one volume" (*Bedae libelli duo de natura rerum et temporibus; item unus grandis et alia argumenta computandi in volumine I*)⁸³. The description of the second of these fits quite neatly the content of the St Gall codex⁸⁴ Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 321 (647), pp. 27–156, which does not contain a major text of a known author. The Easter table covering 874–1101 suggests that the codex was written in its first 19 years, 874 x 892⁸⁵. This compilation draws on the existing St Gall holdings by incorporating material from Cod. Sang. 225 and 251/902, and it integrates the more practical chapters of Bede's 'De temporum ratione' (chs. 1, 3, 19, 23, 56). Literally the heart of this codex, however, is the Irish 'Computus Einsidlensis' on pp. 83–125. Significantly, the beginning of this text contains insular abbreviation (particularly for *autem*, *con*, *est*, *haec*, *per*, *vel*), but these peter out after the first few pages. Clearly, the copyist realised soon after starting his work on this text that the insular abbreviations may pose problems to a Continental reader. The conversion of these abbreviations was not always successful⁸⁶, but on balance the scribe was very careful, especially with the few Old

Grimald in one way or another; see now UWE GRUPP, *Der Codex Sangallensis 397. Ein persönliches Handbuch Grimalds von St. Gallen?*, in: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 70, 2014, pp. 425–463. See also ROLAND ZINGG, *St. Galler Annalistik, Ostfildern* 2019, pp. 244–255. Cod. Sang. 397 is available online at www.e-codices.unifr.ch [last accessed 13/05/2025].

⁸² See especially BORST, *Schriften* (as note 80), p. 287, and also ID., *Reichskalender* (as note 80), pp. 192–193; for the annals attached to its Easter table, the 'Annales Sangallenses brevissimi I', see now ZINGG, *St. Galler Annalistik* (as note 81), pp. 230–235. Cod. Sang. 184 is available online at www.e-codices.unifr.ch [last accessed 13/05/2025]. Of a similar nature is Cod. Sang. 878 often attributed to Walahfrid Strabo (BERNHARD BISCHOFF, *Eine Sammelhandschrift Walahfrid Strabos* [Cod. Sangall. 878], in: ID., *Mittelalterliche Studien* [as note 38], vol. 2, pp. 34–51; WESLEY M. STEVENS, *Rhetoric and Reckoning in the Ninth Century. The Vademecum of Walahfrid Strabo*, Turnhout 2018), but this attribution cannot stand any longer (TINO LICHT, *Revisiting the Question of Walahfrid Strabo's Autograph. New Evidence and a New Conclusion*, in: *Journal of Medieval Latin* 32, 2022, pp. 65–80).

⁸³ LEHMANN, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge* (as note 44), pp. 86–87.

⁸⁴ BISCHOFF, *Katalog* (as note 55), vol. 1, p. 242 (no. 1131) suggests that this codex was written in the Lake Constance area, which Matthias M. Tischler further specified to St Gall; see MATTHIAS M. TISCHLER, *Die ottonische Klosterschule in Einsiedeln zur Zeit Abt Gregors. Zum Bildungsprofil des hl. Wolfgang*, in: *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 107, 1996, pp. 93–181, here pp. 120, no. 109, 161; ID., *Der ottonische Heilige und sein karolingischer Heiliger. St. Wolfgang, St. Otmar und das Problem der historischen Wahrnehmungsfähigkeit im Frühmittelalter*, in: *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 112, 2001, pp. 7–52, here pp. 35, 37.

⁸⁵ For the dating of the manuscript, see also BISCHOFF, *Katalog* (as note 55), vol. 1, p. 242 (no. 1131); BORST, *Reichskalender* (as note 80), pp. 152–153; ID., *Schriften* (as note 80), pp. 227–228. The codex is available online at www.e-codices.unifr.ch [last accessed 13/05/2025].

⁸⁶ LOEVENICH, *Computus Einsidlensis* (as note 8), p. CX.

Irish phrases and words scattered throughout the Latin text⁸⁷. This evidence suggests that Hartmut was impressed by this Irish computistical textbook brought to St Gall by Marcellus, and asked for it to be included in a compilation of principally non-Bedan / non-Hrabanian computistica.

In this reading, an open discussion of this discipline appears to have taken place between the abbot and his schoolmaster in the years of Hartmut's abbacy (872–883). That this was a time of intensive computistical debate at St Gall is evidenced by two original texts on this calendrical science written in 877 and 882, which remain extremely understudied⁸⁸. The first was composed by an anonymous monk under the heading 'Adbreviatio de pluribus compoti maioris necessitatibus', and survives only in Cod. Sang. 459. The second, called 'Interrogationes et responsiones de compoto Bedae', was more popular, and the copies written for export name the author as Wichram, monk of St Gall. The 'Adbreviatio' shows some Irish features, which were also included by Wichram, who relied heavily on the earlier text. Notker Balbulus' short note at the end of his Letter to Lantbert, urging the recipient to apply correctly the structure of the 19-year lunar cycle (the sequence of common and embolismic years)⁸⁹, is reminiscent of one chapter in both texts, headed *De ciclo decennovenali et mensibus embolismis*, which explains just that; one wonders if Notker himself could have been the author of the 'Adbreviatio'. The 'Adbreviatio' was incorporated in a compilation that otherwise principally contains a calendar and a collection of computistical verse (including those by Walahfrid Strabo), while Wichram's text was appended to a copy of Bede's 'De temporum ratione' to which it was supposed to be a commentary. These two units (calendar + 'Adbreviatio' + verses and 'De temporum ratione' + Wichram) were written more or less at the time of composition of these two texts (877 and 882), and were soon thereafter bound together, with a full Easter table and its marginal 'Annales Sangallenses brevissimi III' additionally prefixed (Cod. Sang. 459)⁹⁰. Together this formed an impressive collection of Easter table, calendar, original St Gall

⁸⁷ BISAGNI – WARNTJES, Early Old Irish Material (as note 18), especially p. 93.

⁸⁸ For these two texts, see now especially ARNO BORST – IMMO WARNTJES, Hermann der Lahme. Schriften zur Zeitrechnung, mit Vorläufern und Bearbeitern, Wiesbaden 2025, pp. 282–283.

⁸⁹ Epistolae Karolini aevi, vol. 7: Epistolae variorum 798–923, ed. ISOLDE SCHRÖDER (MGH Epp. 9), Wiesbaden 2022, pp. 99–104, here p. 104: *Salutant te ellinici fratres, monentes sollicitum te fieri de ratione embolismi triennis, ut absque errore gnarus esse valeas biennis, contempto precio divitarum xercis*. For this passage, which has been discussed numerous times, see more recently CONSTANTIN FLOROS, The Origins of Western Notation, rev. and trans. NEIL MORAN, Frankfurt 2011, pp. 284–289; MARIAN WEISS, Zu den Griechischkenntnissen in St. Gallen um 900. Die *ellinici fratres* bei Notker Balbulus, in: FRANK HENTSCHEL (ed.), "Nationes"-Begriffe im mittelalterlichen Musikschrifttum. Politische und regionale Gemeinschaftsnamen in musikbezogenen Quellen, 800–1400, Berlin 2016, pp. 11–14; none of these discussions of the *ellinici fratres* take, as far as I can see, its computistical context into account.

⁹⁰ Cod. Sang. 459 is available online at www.e-codices.unifr.ch [last accessed 13/05/2025]. See BISCHOFF, Katalog (as note 55), vol. 3, pp. 324–325 (nos. 5756–5758); BORST, Schriften (as note 80), p. 290; CORDOLIANI, Manuscripts Saint Gall (as note 71), pp. 190–192; for the 'Annales Sangallenses brevissimi III', see now ZINGG, St. Galler Annalistik (as note 81), pp. 240–243.

texts, verses, and Bede's 'De temporum ratione'. Cod. Sang. 459 is therefore beautifully complimentary to Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 321 (647), both being written in the decade of Hartmut's abbacy (872–883).

This new focus on calendrical science under Hartmut translated more broadly into the 'quadrivial' or 'physical' arts right after his resignation, as impressively witnessed by the 645-page strong Cod. Sang. 250 of 889⁹¹. The first 450 pages deal with computus, followed by the 'Aratus Latinus' under the rubric *Astrologia* and Hyginus, who was surely considered *Astronomia*. The computistical part contains an Easter table with the 'Annales Sangallenses brevissimi II' of 768–889 in the margin, Wandalbert of Prüm's 'Martyrologium', a calendar with additional tables, and Bede's three scientific works. More unusual are two shorter texts, the oldest surviving copy of the Irish pseudo-Columbanus 'De saltu lunae' and Ceolfrid's paschal letter to the Pictish King Nechtan in a rare transmission separate from Bede's 'Historia ecclesiastica'. The main Bedan texts are closely related to Cod. Sang. 251, but here the insular abbreviations, source marks, and glosses are gone⁹².

By the end of the ninth century, therefore, the St Gall holdings contained all of the essential computistical literature – and more – post ca. 700. What was missing was a collection of late antique texts on the subject. In the early Middle Ages, these circulated as a rather loosely defined corpus in what modern scholarship has termed the 'Sirmond group of manuscripts'⁹³. The Reichenau had acquired such a collection in the early ninth century (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 586, then included in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 4860 of the late ninth century⁹⁴), while at St Gall it can only be found in a codex of ca. 900 (Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, msc 0046). There is some overlap between the Reichenau and the St Gall collections, but the St Gall manuscript also contains some extremely rare texts, especially excerpts from a treatise on the Old Roman Easter reckoning abolished by Leo I in the mid-fifth century, the letter of the Spanish monk Leo of 627, and a Prologue to a Victorian Easter table of 699. The first two can also be found in the famous Hildebald Codex Cologne, Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 83-II of 805, but the last

⁹¹ Cod. Sang. 250 is available online at www.e-codices.unifr.ch [last accessed 13/05/2025]. See BORST, Reichskalender (as note 80), pp. 240–241; ID., Schriften (as note 80), pp. 288–289; CORDOLIANI, Manuscripts Saint Gall (as note 71), pp. 184–186; for the 'Annales Sangallenses brevissimi II', see now ZINGG, St. Galler Annalistik (as note 81), pp. 236–239.

⁹² JONES, Bedae opera (as note 8), pp. 147–148, 156.

⁹³ See especially CHARLES W. JONES, The 'Lost' Sirmond Manuscript of Bede's Computus, in: English Historical Review 52, 1937, pp. 204–219; DÁIBHÍ Ó CRÓINÍN, Bede's Irish Computus, in: ID., Early Irish History (as note 15), pp. 201–212; WALLIS, Bede (as note 79), pp. lxxii–lxxix; KERSTIN SPRINGSFELD, Alkuins Einfluß auf die Komputistik Karls des Großen, Stuttgart 2002, pp. 66–80; ERIC GRAFF, The Recension of Two Sirmond Texts. *Disputatio Morini* and *De divisionibus temporum*, in: WARNTJES – Ó CRÓINÍN, Computus and its Cultural Context (as note 72), pp. 112–142; IMMO WARNTJES, A Newly Discovered Prologue of AD 699 to the Easter Table of Victorius of Aquitaine in an Unknown Sirmond Manuscript, in: Peritia 21, 2010, pp. 254–283.

⁹⁴ See WARNTJES, Reichenauer Wissensnetzwerke (as note 74), pp. 75–78.

is otherwise unattested. It has been demonstrated to be an Irish text, and occasional insular abbreviations throughout the manuscript suggest that the whole collection was copied from an insular exemplar⁹⁵. It may be a stretch to argue that the collection as a whole was brought by Marcus and Marcellus to St Gall, and the relationship to the Reichenau codex Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 586 and the Cologne manuscript 83-II needs to be studied in detail. But the fact remains that this St Gall manuscript contains the only existing copy of another Irish text.

Table 1: Overview of manuscripts with computistical content written at St Gall before 900; Irish texts and influence highlighted

Date	Shelfmark	Main content
760 x 778 (773?)	Cod. Sang. 225	Computus of 751, Easter tables 760–797
815?	Cod. Sang. 912, pp. 153–180	Computistical material from Saint Denis; Dionysius; ‘Acta Synodi Caesareae’; Easter table 810–911
816?	Cod. Sang. 251, pp. 1–32	Pope Leo I; Computistical material from Saint Denis; Dionysius; ‘Acta Synodi Caesareae’; Easter table 810–911; Bede’s ‘Chronica minora’ updated to 816
830s/840s	Cod. Sang. 902, pp. 106–152	Hrabanus Maurus’ ‘De computo’
830s/840s	Cod. Sang. 251, pp. 45–181	Bede’s ‘De temporum ratione’ with insular abbreviations
840s	Cod. Sang. 248	Written in Irish circles in north-eastern France: calendar, Bede’s ‘De natura rerum’, ‘De temporibus’, ‘De temporum ratione’
840s–860s	Cod. Sang. 397	‘Grimald’s vademecum’
874 x 892	Einsiedeln 321	Calendar; Computus of 751; ‘Computus Einsidlensis’ of ca. 700; Easter table 874–1101
saec. IX ^{4/4}	Cod. Sang. 459	Calendar; verses; ‘Abbreviatio’; Wichram; Bede’s ‘De temporum ratione’
889	Cod. Sang. 250	Calendar; pseudo-Columbanus’ ‘De saltu lunae’; Bede’s ‘De natura rerum’, ‘De temporibus’, ‘De temporum ratione’; Ceolfrith’s Letter to Nechtan
Shortly before 900?	Cod. Sang. 184	Frankish computistica
ca. 900	Bremen msc 0046	Late antique Easter texts; ‘Victorian Prologue of 699’

⁹⁵ WARNTJES, Newly Discovered Prologue (as note 93), especially pp. 263–268.

In sum, the arrival of Marcus and Marcellus at St Gall marked the beginning of intensified study of calendrical science in this monastery in the second half of the ninth century. The Irish element in this process is unmistakable, as represented by two unique Irish texts ('Computus Einsidlensis' and the 'Victorian Prologue of 699') and one for which the St Gall holdings transmit the oldest surviving full copy (pseudo-Columbanus' 'De saltu lunae'). None of these received any wider reception ('De saltu lunae' only in the eleventh century from St Gall). This suggests that St Gall had direct access to Irish calendrical texts that became available at the time of Marcus and Marcellus' *floruit* at St Gall, and likely have been part of the books brought by them as related by Ekkehart.

For the present study, the 'Computus Einsidlensis' is of primary importance, because it is closely related to the 'Munich Computus' that applied the substitution of *dies Mercurii* with a neutral native term. The Einsiedeln Computus itself, however, does not contain a passage to that effect. Evidence that this was part of Marcellus' thinking, and presumably his teaching as schoolmaster, comes from the best documented of his activities at St Gall, charter writing.

Four St Gall charters were written by a certain Marcellus, all surviving as originals⁹⁶. Some doubt has been expressed in identifying this person with the Irish schoolmaster, principally on account that Marcellus is a common enough name and that the charters were written in Continental script⁹⁷. Neither argument is convincing. In the St Gall 'Necrologium', the name only appears once, and likewise in the St Gall lists in the Reichenau 'Liber confraternitatum' and the Pfäfers 'Liber viventium'⁹⁸. As for script, the learning of a new script is not an impossible task and polygraphism of scribes in the early and high Middle Ages was not unheard of⁹⁹; here, it may be enough to point

⁹⁶ Nos. 424, 429, 441, and 470 in the standard edition by HERMANN WARTMANN, *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sankt Gallen*, vol. 2: 840–920, Zurich 1866, pp. 43–44, 47–48, 59–60, 86–87; all four charters are available online under their shelf marks Bremen 30, St Gall III 210, St Gall III 215, and St Gall III 233 at www.e-chartae.ch/de/charters [last accessed 13/05/2025]. Additionally, Marcellus is also named as scribe supervisor in nos. 509, St Gall III 247, and 510, St Gall III 248 (WARTMANN, *Urkundenbuch* [this note above], pp. 122–124), both of 11 June 865.

⁹⁷ See, e.g., DUFT, *Beziehungen* (as note 5), p. 36, but less sceptical p. 45; MEEDER, *Irish Scholarly Presence* (as note 5), p. 47; see also note 99.

⁹⁸ See SCHAAB, *Mönch* (as note 29), p. 82.

⁹⁹ See BERNHARD BISCHOFF, *Die Rolle von Einflüssen in der Schriftgeschichte*, in: SILAGI, *Paläographie* 1981 (as note 76), pp. 93–105 (+ Images III–X), with special reference to Marcellus pp. 96–97, arguing that he influenced St Gall script of the second half of the ninth century through the introduction of specific ligatures and open "a", from where it spread more broadly in southern Germany (I owe this reference to Peter Fraundorfer). Bischoff here summarises and therewith accepts the findings of his student DANIEL, *Handschriften* (as note 59), pp. 1–44, who credits Marcellus with the reform of St Gall script that would become highly influential in southern Germany, but doubts that the charters signed by him came from his pen (p. 39). The transition from one script to another and polygraphism of scribes in the process has received some attention recently for the Iberian peninsula; see AINOA CASTRO CORRERA, *Visigothic Script vs Caroline Minuscule. The Collision of Two Cultural Worlds in Twelfth-Century Galicia*, in: *Medieval Studies* 78, 2016, pp. 203–242; EAD., *Leaving the Past Behind*,

to the Irish teacher Martin at the Cathedral school of Laon at roughly the same time, who exclusively wrote in Caroline minuscule ¹⁰⁰.

Marcellus' charters are often dated to 853–860, but their dating criteria are more easily aligned with 847–853 ¹⁰¹. In the second of his charters (St Gall III 210), Marcellus added a unique remark on the weekday descriptor for Monday: “day of the moon, which Christianity better calls second feria” (*diem lunae, quam Christianitas melius secundam feriam vocat*). This very much echoes Augustine's comment on the naming of Wednesday after a pagan God: “an ecclesiastical manner of speaking certainly comes better out of a Christian mouth” (*melius ergo de ore christiano ritus loquendi ecclesiasticus procedit*). Classroom teaching translated here into charter writing. The Irish schoolmaster initiated a fundamental change in dating terminology in St Gall charter writing, as from the 850s/860s the use of Roman planetary weekdays turned from dominant to occasional practice. His last charter suggests that Marcellus may not have applied this practice systematically himself, but his students did, especially Notker Balbulus, whose numerous charters all use the *feria* terminology. Borgolte is very much to the point in his summary of this process ¹⁰²: “Der irische Mönch hat also nicht konsequent auf eine Datierungsreform hingesteuert, sondern in einer von ihm geschriebenen Urkunde und sicher auch in der mündlichen Unterweisung seiner Schüler den nichtchristlichen Ursprung der gebräuchlichen Wochentagsnamen ins Bewußtsein gehoben.”

NOTKER LABEO AND FÁELÁN

The impact of St Gall's vibrant intellectual endeavour of the second half of the ninth century was still felt a century later. St Gall scholarship reached a new height under Notker Labeo (†1022), who is especially known for his unprecedented translations from Latin into Old High German of Biblical and mid- to higher educational texts. In

Adapting to the Future. Transitional and Polygraphic Visigothic-Caroline Minuscule Scribes, in: *Anuario de estudios medievales* 50, 2020, pp. 631–664; and also THOMAS DESWARTE, Polygraphisme et mixité graphique. Note sur les additions d'Arias (1060–1070) dans l'Antiphonaire de León, in: *Territorio, sociedad y poder* 8, 2013, pp. 67–84. For Irish scribes adopting Caroline script in the eleventh century see HARTMUT HOFFMANN, *Irische Schreiber in Deutschland im 11. Jahrhundert*, in: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 59, 2003, pp. 97–120; for an Irish scribe of the twelfth century learning Caroline minuscule, see MARTIN HELLMANN, *Schreibübungen in karolingischer Minuskel und grammatische Merkverse eines Iren aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*, in: *Scriptorium* 59, 2005, pp. 74–82.

¹⁰⁰ JOHN J. CONTRENI, The Irish 'Colony' at Laon during the Time of John Scottus, in: RENÉ ROQUES (ed.), *Jean Scot Erigène et l'histoire de la philosophie*, Paris 1977, pp. 59–68, here pp. 63–66; ID., *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930. Its Manuscripts and Masters*, Munich 1978, pp. 55–58, 95–99; BISCHOFF, *Irische Schreiber* (as note 64), p. 51; TRAUBE, *O Roma nobilis* (as note 65), pp. 66–67.

¹⁰¹ See the discussion in WARNTJES, *Two Irish Schoolmasters* (as note 4).

¹⁰² MICHAEL BORGOLTE, *Chronologische Studien an den alemannischen Urkunden des Stiftsarchivs St. Gallen*, in: *Archiv für Diplomatik* 24, 1978, pp. 54–201, here p. 86.

a letter to Bishop Hugo of Sion, written towards the end of Notker's life, the St Gall schoolmaster gives a detailed account of his translation activity ¹⁰³:

Sunt enim ecclesiastici libri – et precipue quidem in scholis legendi –, quos impossibile est sine illis prelibatis ad intellectum integrum duci. Ad quos, dum accessum habere nostros uellem scolasticos, ausus sum facere rem pene inusitatam, ut latine scripta in nostram [linguam] conatus sim uetere, et syllogistice aut figurate aut suasorie dicta per Aristotelem uel Ciceronem uel alium artigraphum elucidare.

Quod dum agerem in duobus libris Boetii, – qui est ‘De consolatione Philosophiae’ et in aliquantis ‘De sancta trinitate’, – rogatus [sum] et metrica quedam scripta in hanc eandem linguam traducere, ‘Catonem’ scilicet ut ‘Bucolica’ Vergilii et ‘Andriam’ Terentii. Mox et prosam et artes temptare me uoluerunt, et transtuli ‘Nuptias Philologię’ et ‘Cathegorias’ Aristotilis et ‘Pergermenias’ et principia arithmetice. Hinc reuersus ad diuina totum psalterium et interpretando et secundum Augustinum exponendo consummaui; ‘Iob’ quoque incepti, licet uix tertiam partem exegerim. – Nec solum hec sed et nouam rhetoricam et computum nouum et alia quedam opuscula latine conscripsi.

For there are ecclesiastical books – and particularly those to be read in the schools – that are impossible to be led to a full understanding without those [books on the arts] having been enjoyed before. As I wished our students to have access to these, I dared to do something almost unprecedented in that I tried to turn texts in Latin into our language, and to elucidate something expressed syllogistically or figuratively or exhortatively through Aristotle or Cicero or other authors of the arts.

While doing this for two books of Boethius – who is (known) for the ‘On the Consolation of Philosophy’ and the considerable ‘On the Holy Trinity’ –, I was asked to translate certain works in metre into the very same language, namely the ‘Cato’ as well as Vergil’s ‘Bucolica’ and Terentius’ ‘Andria’. Soon, they wanted me to try prose and the arts, and I translated ‘The Marriage of Philosophy’, Aristotle’s ‘Categories’ and ‘Peri Hermeneias’ and the principles of arithmetic. Then I returned to the divine, and completed the entire psalter by both translating and explaining according to Augustine; I also began ‘Job’, even if I have hardly completed a third of it. – Not only these, but I composed a new rhetoric, a new computus, and some other little works in Latin.

For the purposes of the present study, the references to the computus and the psalter are of particular interest. The ‘computus novus’ – the only of Notker’s original works that survive in both Latin and Old High German – is more appropriately entitled “On four questions of computus” (‘De quatuor quaestionibus compoti’) after its heading, with one of its witnesses (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nal 229, fols. 10v–14v – Weissenburg?, ca. 1100) identifying not only Notker as author (as do other copies written for export), but also his pupil Ekkehart, the author of the ‘Casus sancti Galli’ cited above, as recipient ¹⁰⁴. Notker’s intention was not to write a textbook on this discipline for the St Gall school, but a commentary to Helperich’s Computus of

¹⁰³ The letter is ed. and trans. into German in ERNST HELLGARDT, Vom St. Galler Abrogans zum Erfurter Judeneid. Frühe deutsche Prosa von ca. 800 bis ca. 1200. Texte, Übersetzungen, Einführungen und Erläuterungen, Berlin 2022, pp. 467–471, here p. 468; the translation is mine.

¹⁰⁴ The Paris codex is available online at gallica.bnf.fr [last accessed 13/05/2025]. Notker’s ‘Computus’ is ed. by Petrus W. Tax in JAMES C. KING – PETRUS W. TAX (eds.), Die Werke Notkers des Deutschen, vol. 7: Die kleineren Schriften, Tübingen 1996, pp. CV–CXVI, 315–328, and JAMES C. KING – PETRUS W. TAX, Die Werke Notkers des Deutschen, vol. 7A: Notker latinus zu den kleineren Schriften, Tübingen 2003, pp. 163–171, with additions in PETRUS W. TAX, Über neue Funde zu Notkers Computus (Ncom) und dem sog. St. Galler Traktat (Ntr), in: Sprachwissenschaften 45, 2020, pp. 473–482; see now the new edition in BORST – WARNTJES, Hermann der Lahme (as note 88), pp. 269–311, with commentary on the scientific context. For the discovery of the Old High German fragment of

903, which seems to have arrived in the Lake Constance region only in the second half of the tenth century¹⁰⁵. The four questions raised by Notker concern the principles of Easter at the beginning of his work and the intercalated day (*bissexstus*) at the end, while the core – the predominant reason for writing this commentary – focusses on the structure of the 19-year lunar cycle and the length of the synodic lunar month (the period from one new or full moon to the next). For these two central themes, Notker and his students found in the St Gall library holdings better and much more detailed explanations than those provided by Helperich. The pseudo-Columbanus tract ‘De saltu lunae’ calculates the mean synodic lunar month as 29 days, 12 ½ hours, and almost 10 moments. It appears that Notker was challenged by his students who argued that this was only an approximation, and that an exact value can surely be calculated. Notker had none of this, and in true schoolmaster fashion reverted back to authority, declaring that those who would consider themselves wiser than Columbanus may try to arrive at a more precise result. Ekkehart’s contemporary Hermann of Reichenau accepted this challenge in the 1040s, which famously led him to the construction of a new lunar calendar based on exact data¹⁰⁶.

This episode shows that an Irish text that – uniquely – entered the St Gall library holdings and curriculum at the time of Marcellus and his students in the mid- to late ninth century was still taught at St Gall in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries and initiated one of the best documented scientific debates of that time. It will not be a coincidence that during Notker’s formative years an Irish schoolmaster, Fáelán, was active at St Gall, who died on 3 June 991 according to the necrology and the ‘Annales Sangallenses Maiores’¹⁰⁷. In the necrology, he is remembered as a “most learned and most kind teacher” (*doctissimus et benignissimus magister*) and, significantly, Hermann of

Notker’s ‘Computus’, see especially NORBERT KRUSE, Eine neue Schrift Notkers des Deutschen. Der althochdeutsche Computus, in: Sprachwissenschaften 28, 2003, pp. 123–155.

¹⁰⁵ No St Gall copy survives, but the codex Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 29 (878) that contains Helperich’s ‘Computus’ on pp. 174–236 (Einsiedeln, saec. X^{3/4}) with an updated *annus praesens* of 946 may be representative for the wider region. Helperich’s ‘Computus’ is ed. in Hrotsvitha, Opera omnia, vol. 1 (Migne PL 137), Paris 1879, cols. 17–48; for its transmission, see FLORENCE TESSIER, La tradition manuscrite du traité de comput d’Héléric d’Auxerre. Thèse pour le diplôme d’archiviste paléographe, École nationale des chartes 1994; MARIE-HÉLÈNE JULLIEN, Clavis des auteurs latins du Moyen Âge. Territoire français, 735–987, 4 vols., Turnhout 1994–2015, vol. 3, pp. 425–428.

¹⁰⁶ Hermann’s Computistica are now ed. in BORST – WARTJES, Hermann der Lahme (as note 88), pp. 312–519. For these, see especially NADJA GERMANN, De temporum ratione. Quadrivium und Gotteserkenntnis am Beispiel Abbos von Fleury und Hermanns von Reichenau, Leiden 2006; IMMO WARTJES, Hermann der Lahme und die Zeitrechnung. Bedeutung seiner Computistica und Forschungsperspektiven, in: FELIX HEINZER – THOMAS ZOTZ (eds.), Hermannus Contractus. Reichenauer Mönch und Universalgelehrter des 11. Jahrhunderts, Stuttgart 2016, pp. 285–321.

¹⁰⁷ St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 915, pp. 219, 321; ZINGG, St. Galler Annalistik (as note 81), pp. 182–183. Fáelán is also mentioned in the famous late tenth-century poem by the Irish Dubduin complaining about his reception at St Gall; Die lateinischen Dichter des deutschen Mittelalters, vol. 5: Die Ottonenzeit, ed. KARL STRECKER (MGH Poet. 5), Leipzig 1937, p. 527; for an English translation, see CLARK, Abbey of St Gall (as note 27), p. 29.

Reichenau was aware of Fáelán's reputation, calling him "erudite Irishman" (*Scottus eruditus*) in his Chronicle ¹⁰⁸. Unfortunately, Ekkehart's narrative in the 'Casus sancti Galli' breaks off at 972, and therefore does not mention Fáelán, whose floruit at St Gall coincides with a renewed interest in calendrical science, with a decidedly Irish flavour.

Two copies of 'De saltu lunae' were made at St Gall in the 970s or 980s, one of which was incorporated – incomplete – in Cod. Sang. 459 (pp. 125–126). The other is Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C 62, fol. 127r–v, which is related to another St Gall codex of the last third of the tenth century: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 644 ¹⁰⁹. In its tabular material, Vat. lat. 644 is based strongly on the Karlsruhe Bede (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 167) of the 840s ¹¹⁰. It is important that the scribe of Vat. lat. 644 evidently worked from Aug. perg. 167 in an Irish hand, and not from its sister codex Cod. Sang. 248 in Continental script ¹¹¹. Evidently, the scribe of Vat. lat. 644 had no problems reading Irish script, and may even have preferred it. By copying the feastdays of the three Irish national saints Brigit (1 February), Patrick (17 March), and Columba (9 June) and also St Gall (16 Oct), and adding Abbot Otmar of St Gall (16 November) and Pirmin of Reichenau (3 November), the calendar of Vat. lat. 644 tells the story of copying an Irish script book at the Reichenau (?) for St Gall consumption.

Some of the tables of the contemporary St Gall manuscript Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C 62 that contains pseudo-Columbanus 'De saltu lunae' are also directly copied from Aug. perg. 167, here with some more textual elements ¹¹². The script of C 62 is closer to St Gall style than Vat. lat. 644, so there are at least two scribes at work in the later tenth century turning Irish script tables and texts into Caroline minuscule. The scribe of C 62 also revises the material copied, including 'De saltu lunae', demonstrating that the copyist was a well-trained computist.

From this evidence, it appears that Fáelán was eager to include Irish material in his St Gall teaching, and this may well have extended to other essential calendrical

¹⁰⁸ Hermann of Reichenau, *Chronicon*, s. a. 991, ed. GERHARD H. PERTZ (MGH SS 5), Hanover 1844, p. 117. It is also worth noting that both Marcus and *Marcellus alias Moengal* were also commemorated on the Reichenau, in its 'Liber confraternitatum' (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh. hist. 27, fol. 19r–XI, accessible online at www.e-codices.unifr.ch [last accessed 13/05/2025]).

¹⁰⁹ JONES, *Beda's opera* (as note 8), pp. 159, 162–163, 167; CCSL 123 (as note 7), pp. 183, 255; BORST, *Reichskalender* (as note 80), pp. 195–196; ID., *Schriften* (as note 80), p. 311. Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C 62 is available online at www.e-codices.unifr.ch [last accessed 13/05/2025]; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 644 at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.644 [last accessed 13/05/2025].

¹¹⁰ For more details, see WARNTJES, *Two Irish Schoolmasters* (as note 4).

¹¹¹ The statement by JOHANNES DUFT, *Irische Einflüsse auf St. Gallen und Alemannien*, in: ARNO BORST (ed.), *Mönchtum, Episkopat und Adel zur Gründungszeit des Klosters Reichenau*, Sigmaringen 1974, pp. 9–35, here p. 30 that Aug. perg. 167 had no influence on Alemannia needs to be revised on the basis of this find.

¹¹² For more details, see WARNTJES, *Two Irish Schoolmasters* (as note 4).

concepts, like Augustine's warning not to use Roman planetary weekdays and ideally to replace them with more appropriate native terms. This will have influenced Notker, who, in his work on the psalter and probably led by Fáelán, likewise drew on manuscripts and expertise of the time of Marcus and Marcellus. Notker's Letter to Hugo mentions only two Biblical books, Job and the psalter, and for the psalter also Augustine's commentary. The Augustine commentary he used is evidently the six-volume edition of the 850s / 860s mentioned above, and his Old High German discussion of Psalm 93 is based almost exclusively on it¹¹³. Notker starts by reproducing the psalm's Latin title, *Psalmus ipsi David quarta sabbati*, which is then rendered into *Psalmus Christo in mittaunuechun*¹¹⁴. Commentators on this passage have frequently invoked Augustine's commentary as the underlying source for Notker here. But by quoting only Augustine's phrase *quarta feria, qui Mercurii dies dicitur a paganis, et a multis Christianis* and therewith simply stressing that Notker's *mittaunuechun* is a translation of Augustine's *dies Mercurii*, they have somewhat missed the point¹¹⁵. The crucial part in Augustine's commentary is the immediately following sentence, urging Christians to use their own language to replace such a reference to a pagan God. If read literally, as the Irish author of the 'Munich Computus' did in 718/719, this applied only to the topic of this psalm, the fourth day of the week, Wednesday. This solves the historian's and linguist's puzzle of why only the pagan reference of this one weekday was substituted with a more neutral term¹¹⁶. It has nothing to do with the pagan god referenced, Wodan, but with the literary context of its first attested occurrence, a literal application of Augustine's advice given in his commentary on Psalm 93. In this, Notker followed an old Irish tradition introduced into St Gall's intellectual tapestry by Marcellus in the mid-ninth century.

CONCLUSION: IRISH INFLUENCE AT ST GALL

The question of Irish influence on the intellectual culture of early medieval Europe has been widely discussed over the past two centuries, and here is not the place nor space to outline the debate in any meaningful detail. The views range, in the words of the St Gall librarian Johannes Duft in a famous article of 1955, from 'Iromanie' to 'Irophobie'. Duft himself engaged in the debate more than once, principally from a St Gall centred perspective. He rightly warned against the use of the term 'Irish colony' for St Gall (and implicitly other Continental monasteries)¹¹⁷. It is indeed difficult to prove institutionalised and continuous Irish presence over centuries, let alone that any

¹¹³ PETRUS W. TAX, *Die Werke Notkers des Deutschen*, vol. 8A: Notker latinus (as note 54), p. XIX with ID., *Die Werke Notkers des Deutschen*, vol. 9A: Notker latinus – Die Quellen zu den Psalmen. Psalm 51–100, Tübingen 1973, pp. 440–445.

¹¹⁴ St Gall, *Stiftsbibliothek*, Cod. Sang. 21 (Einsiedeln, saec. XII), p. 346; PETRUS W. TAX, *Die Werke Notkers des Deutschen*, vol. 9: Der Psalter. Psalm 51–100, Tübingen 1981, p. 346.

¹¹⁵ For example, TAX, *Werke Notkers*, vol. 9A (as note 113), p. 440.

¹¹⁶ See notes 2–3 above.

¹¹⁷ DUFT, *Iromanie – Irophobie* (as note 5), p. 243. See also earlier ID., *Beziehungen* (as note 5), p. 14.

of these monasteries would have been dominated by Irish monks, if any of this is the definition of a ‘colony’. But he also argued that individual Irish intellectuals asserted some sporadic influence, though he overstressed that most of their knowledge was acquired on the Continent rather than imported from Ireland¹¹⁸. For Irish texts, he rightly observed that these can mostly be found in Continental copies rather than in Irish script (which, it will be noted, implicitly suggests a meaningful number of *literati* on the Continent being able to read and convert Irish into Continental script)¹¹⁹.

In his recent ‘The Irish Scholarly Presence at St. Gall’, Sven Meeder developed many of Duft’s arguments considerably further. First, Meeder shared Duft’s assessment that books in Irish script were widely considered useless by a Continental monastic community and if kept, this happened for not much more than ornamental purposes¹²⁰. This may be true for some of the *literati* of a given community, but it does not take enough into account certain areas that demonstrate substantial engagement with Irish script books, like Continental glosses in them or the vibrant copying activity from Irish into Continental script that required that copyists at least did not have much difficulty reading Irish script. Much more work needs to be done in such areas to fully appreciate the Continental engagement with Irish script books in the early Middle Ages. A good example is the copying from Irish into Continental script of large parts of the Karlsruhe Bede (Aug. perg. 167) of the 840s by two scribes of the second half of the tenth century for consumption at St Gall discussed above. One of the copyists may have been an Irishman, the St Gall schoolmaster Fáelán. If so, this is another interesting example of Irish scholars having no problems writing in Continental script.

Second, Meeder argued that Irish monastic foundations on the Continent received their Irish written knowledge (in form of texts) principally through Continental channels rather than directly from Ireland. This may well be the case, but it will be important to analyse further how ‘Irish’ these ‘Continental’ channels and networks may have been. Often we can date the acquisition of scholarly works and determine their Continental movement, and we need to understand better the role played by personal networks of known Irish scholars working on the Continent. For St Gall and the wider Lake Constance area, e.g. the links to the circle of Sedulius Scottus in Liège – discussed by Meeder¹²¹ – and of Martin of Laon seem to have been instrumental in the distribution of knowledge, be it Irish, English, or Continental. Martin’s example – he wrote exclusively in Caroline minuscule – is also a reminder that script probably is not a good indicator in determining Irish involvement in the transmission of knowledge, as one would expect Irish scribes and scholars working in a Continental setting to apply Irish script for private use, Continental script for wider consumption in

¹¹⁸ DUFT, *Iromanie – Irophonie* (as note 5), p. 252.

¹¹⁹ DUFT, *Iromanie – Irophonie* (as note 5), pp. 261–262. See also especially *Id.*, *Beziehungen* (as note 5), pp. 14, 42, 52–61, and pp. 38–40 for Marcellus’ influence, especially on Notker’s Martyrology.

¹²⁰ MEEDER, *Irish Scholarly Presence* (as note 5), pp. 53–62.

¹²¹ MEEDER, *Irish Scholarly Presence* (as note 5), pp. 48–50.

a given monastic community – in the same way as English is used today by non-native speakers, largely without major difficulties, to reach a wider audience or to fulfil the obligations of their employers. Irish abbreviations in Continental script books may be more indicative of Irish involvement at some stage in the transmission process, and much more wide-spread; when studied carefully, they will reveal, e.g., if a text or a book was directly converted from an Irish script exemplar into Caroline minuscule, as is the case for the ‘*Computus Einsidlensis*’ in this study.

The ‘*Computus Einsidlensis*’ raised doubt about Meeder’s third main argument, that no scholarly work of Irish origin is known to have been brought to St Gall directly from Ireland, particularly by Marcus and Marcellus ¹²². He decided to work from selected examples (‘*De duodecim abusivis*’, the ‘*Collectio canonum Hibernensis*’, Ailcrán’s ‘*Interpretatio*’, and Finian’s and Cumian’s penitentials). The analysis of the transmission of these texts led him to the conclusion that St Gall received these works not from Ireland, but from other Continental centres. It is dangerous to project this conclusion to the entire St Gall holding, though, and to treat St Gall as representative of other centres with Irish connections. In terms of book acquisition – a costly endeavour – St Gall was a latecomer, because its finances were squeezed by the bishop of Constance until the 820s ¹²³. When St Gall had the economic means to stock a library, Irish texts had already widely spread in Europe, and it was only natural to acquire these from the closest libraries and through established channels (of Irish connections?), for Irish texts from the Reichenau, Bobbio, north-eastern France, and other places. A more systematic analysis of the St Gall holdings would surely change the picture painted by Meeder ¹²⁴. Certainly, the computistical evidence underlying the present study leads to different results. The St Gall library held three Irish texts of this monastic discipline. Two of these, the ‘*Computus Einsidlensis*’ of ca. 700 and the ‘*Victorian Prologue of 699*’, are unique witnesses, which in itself suggests that they were probably brought directly from Ireland, certainly in combination with the fact that they left no traces elsewhere. The abbreviations in the ‘*Computus Einsidlensis*’, as mentioned above, prove that it was copied from an insular exemplar, and the context of copying makes it highly likely that this text was in the travel library of Marcus and Marcellus when they arrived at St Gall in the 840s.

The transmission history of the third text, pseudo-Columbanus’ ‘*De saltu lunae*’, is more complex, and leads to Meeder’s fourth main argument, that Irish foundations on the Continent played no major role in the further dissemination of Irish texts. A short version of the core idea of this work circulated widely in the eighth and ninth

¹²² MEEDER, *Irish Scholarly Presence* (as note 5), pp. 50–51, 110.

¹²³ This point has been made many times. See recently STEINER, *Buchproduktion* (as note 46), pp. 161–167.

¹²⁴ For Irish exegetical texts, the study of their transmission and the role of St Gall therein will now be greatly assisted by LUCIA CASTALDI (ed.), *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo / Mediaeval Latin Texts and their Transmission*, vol. 9: *Esegesi ibernica*, Florence 2024, where for some texts the only or the oldest manuscript is from St Gall.

centuries, and the full version left few but regular traces ¹²⁵. Still, the oldest surviving copy of the full text is a St Gall manuscript of 889, and until Notker Labeo started an influential discussion of its content in ca. 1015, the full text is not attested elsewhere. Afterwards, it radiated out from St Gall into southern Germany, often in combination with Notker's 'Quaestiones'; therefore, St Gall did distribute Irish knowledge.

'De saltu lunae' is a classic example of how Irish ideas influenced St Gall's intellectual endeavour, and that of the Lake Constance region more generally. The ascription to Columbanus will have identified this text as Irish to the St Gall community, but this was not the reason for it to be studied. In the discussion of Irish intellectual influence on the Continent, a lot of weight is frequently put on the question if the recipient culture knew that a concept or text was Irish. From the perspective of an historian of ideas, this does not appear to be a very helpful category. Bad ideas need authority, good ones do not. Physicists use the theory of relativity because it is a good idea, not because it is from Einstein. Pseudo-Columbanus had something unique to offer to the computistical thought-world of the early Middle Ages, and Notker, as well as, importantly, very likely his Irish teacher, Fáelán, understood this, as did Hermann of Reichenau a few decades later.

A noticeable scholarly tradition that started with the arrival of Marcus and Marcellus in the mid-ninth century can therefore be reconstructed on various levels, and it helped initiating St Gall's 'Golden Age' of the second half of the ninth century. Some of this tradition can be established through the library holdings, while ideas transmitted through oral teaching are more difficult to grasp. One prime example is the application of Augustine's warning against using attributions to pagan Gods for weekdays in general, for the fourth day of the week, Wednesday, in particular. Marcellus introduced this Irish tradition into St Gall teaching, and it ultimately led, possibly through Fáelán, to Notker substituting German 'Wodan's day' with 'middle of the week'. It is no coincidence that the renaming of Wednesday into 'Mittwoch' in Old High German written culture happened in a centre with Irish connections, without which this would not have happened.

¹²⁵ See BORST – WARNTJES, Hermann der Lahme (as note 88), pp. 79–92.