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Glossing Vergil and Pagan Learning in the Carolingian Age

Though a conventional diatribe against secular studies persisted in the early medieval period, avid glossing of pagan texts demonstrates that early medieval commentators had few qualms about reading them and that crucially the patristic bias against classical learning had been rendered obsolete.¹ This paper focuses on a single ninth-century Vergil manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 8, and its rich scholarly apparatus as an instance of the Carolingian penchant for classical antiquity.² It furnishes evidence for a strong endorsement of pagan learning and shows that it was not only Vergil's style but also his content that engaged Christian readers. It thus challenges the older view of confrontation between pagan and Christian cultures, already undermined by Harald Hagendahl in his reassessment of Jerome's response to the classics.³

¹ Though some Carolingian scholars displayed ambivalent attitudes to the antique heritage, they also expounded with impunity themes of sexual licence and adultery at the heart of pagan mythology, as Mariken Teeuwen notes for glosses on Martianus. See Mariken Teeuwen, "Seduced by pagan poets and philosophers. Suspicious learning in the early Middle Ages," *Limits to Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Concetta Giliberto and Loredana Teresi (Leuven, 2013), 63-80. For an example of the complex attitudes towards classical learning, see Ermenric of Ellwangen's letter to Grimald of St. Gall recounting his apparition of Vergil as discussed by Teeuwen, "Suspicious learning," 63-80, at 67-68; John J. Contreni, "The Carolingian school: letters from the classroom," in *Giovanni Scoto nel suo tempo: l'organizzazione del sapere in età carolingia*, ed. Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò (Spoleto, 1989), 81-111; James Palmer, "Defining paganism in the Carolingian world," *Early Medieval Europe* 15/4 (2007): 402-425, at 420-22; and Anna Lisa Taylor, *Epic Lives and Monasticism in the Middle Ages, 800-1050* (Cambridge, UK, 2013), 154-92. For an instance of the tension between paganism and Christianity, see the discussion of Theodulf's works in Lawrence Nees, *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court* (Philadelphia, PA., 1991), 47-76.

² The Oxford manuscript is fully described in the appendix.

³ Harald Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and Other Christian Writers*, *Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* 6 (Göteborg, 1958), 92, 309-11, observes in Jerome's response to pagan learning an underlying inconsistency and ambivalence to, rather than outright rejection of, the profane past. See also Alan Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford, 2011), who re-

Utility and practice contributed to the lively appropriation of antique learning in the post Roman world. Utilitarian principles generally trumped the strictures of excision with Christian scholars who argued that secular writings could be reframed within a Christian context.⁴ Pagan works also provided Christian writers with models of Latinity.⁵ And secular literature enriched a late antique and medieval hermeneutic centred on uncovering Christian or moral truths. In addition, late antique and early medieval scholarly practices were deeply rooted in the classical past. Amongst these were the encyclopaedic practices which had an ancient pedigree and made comprehensiveness a virtue.⁶ Methodologically, encyclopaedism was founded on the antiquarian practices of organising, excerpting, collecting,

evaluates the traditional notion of stark opposition between pagan and Christian cultures in Late Antiquity.

⁴ See Mark Eugene Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science 44 (Amsterdam, 1989), 86-87, for debate amongst early Christians about whether or not to cut themselves off from the classical learning and how best to utilise the resources of the ancient past.

⁵ David Ganz observes that Vergil furnished *the* model of Latinity for early medieval scholars. See his forthcoming article "Charlemagne in the margin." My thanks to him for sending me a draft of this article, which studies the remarkable collection of material found in the glosses of Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS lat. 407. Patrizia Lendinara notes that figures such as Hrabanus Maurus and the Carolingians more generally "inherited the patristic bias against pagan Latin learning, objecting to its moral sense and ethic, but regarding the classics as a model for imitation in style." See Patrizia Lendinara, "Mixed attitudes to Ovid: The Carolingian poets and the glossographers," in *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court: Proceedings of the Third Germania Latina Conference, 1995*, ed. Luuk A. J. R. Houwen and Alasdair A. MacDonald, *Medievalia Groningana* 22 (Groningen, 1998), 190-92.

⁶ For discussions of encyclopaedism in particular periods, see Jason König and Greg Woolf, "Encyclopaedism in the Roman Empire," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Jason König and Greg Woolf (Cambridge, UK, 2013), 23-63; Myrto Hatzimichali, "Encyclopaedism in the Alexandrian library," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 64-83; Paul Magdalino, "Byzantine encyclopaedism of the ninth and tenth centuries," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 219-31; Andy Merrills, "Isidore's *Etymologies*: on words and things," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 301-24. For *compendia* of knowledge, see Bernard Ribémont, "On the definitions of an encyclopaedic genre in the Middle Ages," in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996*, ed. Peter Binkley, *Brill's Studies in Intellectual History* 79 (Leiden, 1997), 47-61.

summarising, synthesising and citing earlier texts.⁷ Such practices are strikingly evident in early medieval Vergil manuscripts, where compilers extracted information from all of the major available commentaries on the poet, thus demonstrating the ideal of comprehensive coverage, and copied this information as glosses and as full-fledged commentary alongside the text of Vergil in the margins.⁸ Early medieval compilers also surrounded the works of Vergil with extraneous sources and glosses not attested in the extant commentaries, as well as included all kinds of prefatory materials including *vitae* in what Silvia Ottaviano calls “il libro altomedievale di Virgilio.”⁹ The encyclopaedic practices of early medieval compilers provide a context for the gathering together of all sorts of materials around Vergil.

*The Carolingian Reception of Vergil and the Oxford Vergil*¹⁰

⁷ See Hatzimichali, “Encyclopaedism in the Alexandrian library,” 68; Christel Meier, “Organisation of knowledge and encyclopaedic *ordo*: functions and purposes of a universal literary genre,” in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts*, 103-26; Jason König and Tim Whitmarsh, “Ordering knowledge,” in *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire*, ed. Jason König and Tim Whitmarsh (Cambridge, UK, 2007), 3-39.

⁸ For the various uses of the most important and most complete surviving late antique commentary on Vergil’s three major works, see Sinéad O’Sullivan, “Servius in the Carolingian Age: A case study of London, British Library, Harley 2782,” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 26 (2016): 77-123.

⁹ For detailed discussion of “the early medieval book of Vergil”, see Silvia Ottaviano’s unpublished doctoral thesis, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio tra IX e XI sec.* (PhD diss., University of Pisa, 2014). For examination of one of the *vitae Virgilianae*, many of which date from the Carolingian period, see John J. Contreni, “Getting to know Virgil in the Carolingian Age: The *Vitae Publii Virgilii*,” in *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World: Studies in Honor of Thomas F.X. Noble*, ed. Valerie L. Garver and Owen M. Phelan (Farnham, 2014), 21-45.

¹⁰ I coin the term the “Oxford Vergil” to denote the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 8, the oldest Carolingian Vergil manuscript at Oxford. The manuscript is not the only early medieval Vergil manuscript currently housed in Oxford, but it is the oldest Carolingian Vergil manuscript there. For descriptions of the manuscript, see Charles E. Murgia, *Prolegomena to Servius 5: The Manuscripts*, University of California Publications: Classical Studies 11 (Berkeley, 1975), 48-49; Birger Munk Olsen, *L’étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1985), 749-50; Robert A. Kaster, *The Tradition of the Text of the Aeneid in the Ninth Century* (New York, 1990), 22-27; Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen): Teil II: Laon-*

To date, investigation of the early medieval endorsement of the premier poet of antiquity, Jerome's *alter Homerus*, has been hampered by the fact that glosses on Vergil are as yet largely unedited. Additionally, our understanding of the filiations among the annotations, and how the late antique commentaries on Vergil were transmitted to and used by Carolingian scholars (and later to the tenth and eleventh centuries) is still in its infancy.¹¹ For the early medieval reception of Vergil, the value of glosses is manifold. Fragmented, anonymous, marginal and interlinear notes on Vergil were not just ubiquitous but generated a veritable industry of commentary in wide circulation, which helped shape the inheritance of classical antiquity during an important period in cultural and intellectual history. In line with the extensive glossing of authoritative texts that took place on an industrial scale in the ninth century, the reception of Vergil as evidenced by glosses reveals a form of cultural accommodation that was largely unaffected by suspicion of the pagan past.¹² For example, Carolingian glosses on Vergil very often

Paderborn (aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von Birgit Ebersperger), Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe der mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz (Wiesbaden, 2004), Nr. 3771, p. 358; Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 87, 196, 305, 311. See also Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1966-73), Nr. 415, I, p. 32.

¹¹ This problem is being addressed primarily by Silvia Ottaviano, who has done extensive research on early medieval glosses on the *Eclogues*. For Jerome's reference to Vergil as *alter Homerus*, see Jerome, *Epistula* 121.10, in *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, ed. Isidorus Hilberg, CSEL 56/1, 2nd ed. (Vienna, 1996), 42, 18; Hagedahl, *Latin Fathers*, 276. I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for the comments which I have incorporated here.

¹² According to Louis Holtz, for the eighth and the ninth centuries, forty-two manuscripts or fragments of Vergil survive and most originate in France. For Carolingian Vergil manuscripts, see Louis Holtz, "Les manuscrits latins à gloses et à commentaires de l'Antiquité à l'époque carolingienne," in *Atti del*

demonstrate little or no attempt to repurpose the pagan content with a Christian message (even when there was clear potential for Messianic or Christian interpretation).¹³

The Oxford Vergil bears witness to the importance of the poet who enjoyed canonical status in the Carolingian age. According to Bernhard Bischoff, the manuscript was compiled around the second quarter of the ninth century in the Paris region, that is, in an area which became a hub of Vergilian scholarship.¹⁴ Overlap with other ninth- and tenth-century glossed Vergil manuscripts constitutes evidence for the emergence of a flourishing tradition of early medieval commentary on the poet.¹⁵ Ottaviano observes that the reception of Vergil emerged in an initial “French” phase before the wider diffusion of Vergil’s work throughout the Carolingian world and Southern Italy. She notes, in particular, the expansion of scholarly productivity in Northeast France in the second half of the ninth century in the time of Charles

convegno internazionale ‘Il libro e il testo’, ed. Cesare Questa and Renato Raffaelli (Urbino, 1984), 139-67, at 160-66; idem, “La redécouverte de Virgile au VIII^e et IX^e siècles d’après les manuscrits conservés,” in *Lectures médiévales de Virgile: Actes du colloque organisé par l’École française de Rome* (Rome, 1982), ed. Jean-Yves Tilliette (Rome, 1985), 9-30; idem, “Les manuscrits carolingiens de Virgile (X^e et XI^e siècles),” in *La fortuna di Virgilio. Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli 24-26 ottobre 1983)* (Naples, 1986), 127-49.

¹³ There is a striking instance in which Vergil became the focus for Christian interpretation. See the forthcoming article by Ganz, “Charlemagne in the margin,” which demonstrates how in one heavily glossed ninth-century Vergil manuscript quite a number of the glosses transmit a Christian message.

¹⁴ Bischoff dates the manuscript to the second quarter of the ninth century and locates it in the Paris region; Kaster dates the manuscript to the first half of the ninth century and to St. Germain-des-Prés. Bischoff, *Katalog* II, Nr. 3771, p. 358; Kaster, *Tradition*, 22. We know from the work of Ottaviano that Northeast France was a crucial hub of Vergilian scholarship in the ninth century. See Silvia Ottaviano, “Scholia non serviana nei manoscritti carolingi di Virgilio: prime notizie degli scavi,” *Exemplaria Classica: Journal of Classical Philology* 17 (2013): 221-44, at 223.

¹⁵ For a comprehensive study of Carolingian glossed Vergil manuscripts, see Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 141-324.

the Bald.¹⁶ This mirrors the early transmission of Martianus Capella and the oldest strand of glosses on *De nuptiis*. Predating the Carolingian commentaries of John Scottus Eriugena and Remigius of Auxerre, the oldest gloss tradition on Martianus, extant mostly in manuscripts dating to the mid- and second half of the ninth century, initially circulated in major Carolingian scriptoria in the Loire valley, Northern and Northeast France, that is, in the heartland of the Carolingian world.¹⁷ In some sense, the reception histories of Vergil and Martianus may be seen as part of a wider court-sponsored Carolingian programme of *renovatio*, which, however varied in effect, resulted in an emphasis on *litterarum studia*.¹⁸

The Oxford Vergil, supplied early on with contemporary or near-contemporary annotations and emanating from a hub of Carolingian Vergilian scholarship, furnishes an illustrative case study for the reception of Vergil in the Carolingian age. The glosses in the Oxford manuscript provide all kinds of material ranging from explanatory elucidations on metre and language to information on the cities, places, rivers, mountains, heroes,

¹⁶ Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 42, 69-70. For a concentration of scholarly activity in the ninth century and in Northern France, see also David Daintree, "The Virgil commentary of Aelius Donatus – Black hole or *Éminence Grise*?" *Greece and Rome* 37 (1990): 65-79, at 74-75.

¹⁷ See Mariken Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres: The 'Ars Musica' in Ninth-Century Commentaries on Martianus Capella*, *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte* 30 (Leiden, 2002), 33-41; *Glossae Aevi Carolini in Libros I-II Martiani Capellae De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. Sinéad O'Sullivan, CCCM 237 (Turnhout, 2010), v-xxxiv; eadem, "Martianus Capella. Addenda," in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries* 11 (Washington, DC, 2016), 383-400.

¹⁸ For discussion of the limits and achievements of the Carolingian age, see the collection of essays in *'The Gentle Voices of Teachers': Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age*, ed. Richard E. Sullivan (Columbus, OH, 1995). For the *studia litterarum*, see discussion of the *Epistola de litteris colendis* in Albrecht Diem, "The emergence of monastic schools: the role of Alcuin," *Alcuin of York*, 27-44, at 40.

historical and literary figures, gods, deities, myths, and customs of antiquity. Significantly, the material on the ancient world was seldom understood as evidence for moral or Christian truths. In the first instance, the annotators were simply explicating the text and following its lead. The glosses, however, demonstrate a clear interest in the classical world. To this end, the glossators gathered together a vast array of material, both old and new.¹⁹

Vergil, the base text, is of course pagan and hence an early medieval Christian commentator would naturally use pagan material to expound the poet. However, in line with patristic suspicion of secular studies, one would expect, at least at times, some of the material to be refashioned for a Christian readership. The information on the pagan past in the Oxford Vergil, however, is not recast and we find a similar trend in other ninth- and tenth-century glossed Vergil manuscripts. The same phenomenon can be observed in the Carolingian appropriation of Roman astronomy, history and geography.²⁰

What, then, do the glosses in the Oxford Vergil tell us about the early medieval reception of the classics?

¹⁹ The antiquarian efforts of compilation and synthesis are further evidenced by the *mappa mundi* in the manuscript on fol. 18v. Ottaviano has noted that frequently *Georgics* 1, 233 was accompanied by a kind of encyclopaedic kit of astronomical material in Carolingian manuscripts. See Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 305-306.

²⁰ See Bruce S. Eastwood, *Ordering the Heavens: Roman Astronomy and Cosmology in the Carolingian Renaissance*, History of Science and Medicine Library 4 (Leiden, 2007); Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, UK, 2004); Natalia Lozovsky, "Roman geography and ethnography in the Carolingian Empire," *Speculum* 81/2 (2006): 325-64.

The Christian Appropriation of Pagan Learning

Study of the Oxford Vergil contributes to the broader, fundamentally important, question of how Christian scholars absorbed the riches of pagan antiquity, so fundamental for the cultural history of the Latin West. Classical authors were sometimes refashioned for a Christian audience or found alongside Christian authorities in both pagan and Christian texts. These well-attested forms of cultural appropriation are underscored by early medieval booklists and library catalogues where canons of authorities regularly included both pagan and Christian writers. They are also evident in early medieval Vergil manuscripts where extracts from Boethius, Macrobius, Augustine, Isidore and Bede are present,²¹ and where, at least in one glossed Vergil manuscript written in the third quarter of the ninth century, the names of a number of the Church Fathers appear alongside those of Solinus and Macrobius.²² Direct and indirect use of pagan and Christian sources is also attested by early medieval glosses on Christian texts. For example, Servius, Pliny, Isidore and Bede are drawn upon for some of the glosses on

²¹ Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 63 and eadem, "II Reg. lat. 1669: un'edizione di Virgilio d'età carolingia," *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 16 (Rome, 2009): 259-323.

²² In the glosses of Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS lat. 407 (saec. IX², Northeast France), Ganz observes an attempt to compare classical and Christian beliefs. See his forthcoming article (footnote 5). For the manuscript, see also Kaster, *Tradition*, 27; for its provenance, we know it was at St. Amand. Bischoff, *Katalog* III, Nr. 6394, p. 400, locates it in Northeast France.

Prudentius's *Psychomachia* circulating in the late Carolingian and Ottonian worlds.²³

Placing the pagan in a Christian context and vice versa was part of an older programme of valorising pre-Christian works, as witnessed by the endeavours of Alexandrian exegetes to Hellenise or uncover Christian truth behind Hebrew texts and the efforts of Cassiodorus and others to repurpose secular literature.²⁴ Similar manifestations are found in the Carolingian world, for example in early medieval glosses on Martianus Capella, which clothe the pagan work in etymological interpretation, ethical reflection, allegorical signification and references to classical and Christian authorities.²⁵

The Oxford Vergil, however, attests to a form of accommodation that was neither part of a programme of Christian valorisation, nor of an attempt to assimilate the pagan past into a Christian framework. In the manuscript, Vergil was, for the most part, not set within a Christian context, and Christian authorities were not deployed to understand the poet. The Oxford Vergil demonstrates that an inherited patristic prejudice against the classics was ignored by early medieval scholars who, despite the misgivings of a figure

²³ Sinéad O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' 'Psychomachia': The Weitz Tradition*, *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte* 31 (Leiden, 2004), 102-130.

²⁴ Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, 87.

²⁵ Sinéad O'Sullivan, "Obscurity, pagan lore, and secrecy on books I-II from the oldest gloss tradition," in *Carolingian Scholarship and Martianus Capella: Ninth-Century Commentary Traditions on Martianus' "De nuptiis" in Context*, ed. Mariken Teeuwen and Sinéad O'Sullivan, *Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* 12 (Turnhout, 2011), 99-121, at 110; Mariken Teeuwen and Sinéad O'Sullivan, "The harvest of ancient learning: healthy fruits or rotten apples?," in *Fruits of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and Kees Dekker, *Mediaevalia Groningana, New Series* 21 (Leuven, 2016), 303-20.

such as the ninth-century Ermenric of Ellwangen, engaged actively with pagan authors such as Vergil.²⁶

In line with other Carolingian glossed Vergil manuscripts, the Oxford Vergil thus constitutes substantial evidence for a vital form of Christian appropriation – an appropriation untroubled by dissatisfaction or suspicion of the pagan past, its content, ethics or message. In the Oxford manuscript, Vergil and his ancient commentators were fully integrated into contemporary tastes; the poet himself had become a focus for early medieval *compilatio*. This accords with early medieval intellectual culture in which the classics, far from being regarded as rebarbative, not only infused the work of many a grammarian, lexicographer, commentator and compiler, but also inspired a number of classicising Carolingian scholars such as Lupus of Ferrières and Walahfrid Strabo, for whom Vergil, *the poet of antiquity*, was essential.²⁷

²⁶ For Ermenric, see footnote 1.

²⁷ The ninth-century *Ars grammatica* of Hildericus, at one stage abbot of Monte Cassino (where there was an active interest in the classics) includes citations from Vergil. See Lendinara, "Mixed attitudes to Ovid," 179-80; Anselmo Lentini, *Ilderico e la sua 'Ars grammatica,'* Miscellanea Cassinese a cura dei monaci di Montecassino (Monte Cassino, 1975). In the field of glossography, Vergil was extensively quarried for major glossaries, for example, the *Liber glossarum*. See Michael W. Herren, "Storehouses of learning: encyclopaedias and other reference works in Ireland and pre-Bedan Anglo-Saxon England," in *Practice in Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and Kees Dekker, Mediaevalia Groningana New Series 16 (Leuven, 2010), 3. A good example of an early medieval miscellany focussed on the study of a classical author is Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 468, a guide to Vergil amongst others. For the seminal study of this manuscript, see John J. Contreni, *Codex Laudunensis 468: A Ninth-Century Guide to Virgil, Sedulius and the Liberal Arts*, Armarium Codicum Insignium 3 (Turnhout, 1984). For mention of the study of Vergil in the Carolingian period see the letter of Lupus to the monk Reginbert in *Servati Lupi Epistulae*, ed. Peter K. Marshall, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig, 1984), ep. 7, p. 17. I am grateful to Micol Long for this reference. For Walahfrid and Vergil, see Richard C. Dales, *The Intellectual Life of Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 1995), 94 and Eleanor Shipley Duckett, *Carolingian Portraits: A Study in the Ninth Century* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1989), 130. For an interesting use of the antique past by Walahfrid, see Richard Corradini, "Pieces of a puzzle: time and history in Walahfrid's *Vademecum*," *Early Medieval Europe* 22/4 (2014): 476-91.

The Oxford Vergil: Glosses and Affiliations

The sources of the glosses in the Oxford Vergil demonstrate that the Christian compilers of the manuscript drew freely upon pagan learning to understand the poet.²⁸ Late antique commentaries on Vergil figure prominently in the marginal and interlinear glosses. Donatus's prose paraphrase of the *Aeneid*, that is, the *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, is mined for information,²⁹ as are the *Explanationes in Bucolica Vergilii* of Iunius Philargyrius (extant in two recensions called I and II),³⁰ and the closely-related Bern scholia, a collection of glosses on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* which derives its name from two manuscripts now housed in Bern.³¹ The *Explanationes* and Bern scholia are indebted to Servius, but also transmit non-Servian material.³² The attribution of the *Explanationes* to Philargyrius masks the composite nature of these

²⁸ I use the word "compilers", well aware that the material in the Oxford Vergil was very likely copied from an exemplar. The term denotes the tradition of glossing Vergil as instantiated by the Oxford Vergil.

²⁹ For the commentary of Donatus, see Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter, "Tiberius Claudius Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, ca. 400," in *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric. Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD. 300-1475*, ed. Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter (Oxford, 2009), 143-47; Jan M. Ziolkowski and Michael C. J. Putnam, eds., *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years* (New Haven, 2008), 625, 644-49.

³⁰ For discussion of the collection, see David Daintree, "Virgil and Virgil scholia in early medieval Ireland," *Romanobarbarica* 16 (1999): 347-61; David Daintree and Mario Geymonat, "Scholia non serviana," in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana IV* (Rome, 1988), 706-20; Brent Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic in Medieval Ireland*, *Studies in Celtic History* 30 (Cambridge, UK, 2011), 28-33.

³¹ Bern, Burgerbibliothek MS 172 and MS 167. There is evidence that the original collection may also have had scholia on the *Aeneid*, as suggested by Paul Lehmann's study of an Orosius commentary. See Paul Lehmann, "Reste und Spuren antiker Gelehrsamkeit in mittelalterlichen Texte," in *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, ed. Paul Lehmann, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1959-61), 2:29-37.

³² By the term "Servius" I denote Servius's commentary on Vergil. Luca Cadili demonstrates that the Servian copy used by the "Berne compiler" was very ancient. See Luca Cadili, "Scholia and authorial identity: the *Scholia Bernensia* on Vergil's *Georgics* as *Servius auctus*," in *Servio: stratificazioni esegetiche e modelli culturali. Servius: Exegetical Stratifications and Cultural Models*, ed. Sergio Casali and Fabio Stok, *Collection Latomus* 317 (Brussels, 2008), 194-206.

comments many of which are attributed to other late antique shadowy figures such as Gaudentius and Titus Gallus. The transmission of the *Explanations* with its “insular phase”, whether on the continent or in Ireland, also accords with the accretive nature of the Philargyrian tradition.³³ The late antique Vergilian commentaries which have come down to us were evidently subject to accretion, contamination and transformation, and sometimes transmitted much that was new as well as old.³⁴

The glosses in the Oxford Vergil demonstrate close links with other important manuscripts of Vergil. Ottaviano discovered ties between the Oxford glosses and many of those that occur in Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section médecine, MS H 253 (saec. IX^{2/3}, Northeast France?) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 7925 (saec. IX^{ex}, Limoges, Southern France?).³⁵ The similarities between some of the glosses in the

³³ For the “insular phase”, see Daintree, “Virgil and Virgil scholia,” 347-61. Miles argues for more than a phase. See Miles, *Heroic Saga*, 32. Some evidence for the late antique origins of the notes is furnished by Cadili. See Cadili, “Scholia and authorial identity,” 194-206.

³⁴ A good example of how complex the processes of transmission were is to be found in the problems surrounding the so-called *D* scholia, the additional scholia in Servius Danielis, as well as the problems surrounding the lost variorum commentary of Aelius Donatus. See Daintree, “The Virgil commentary of Aelius Donatus,” 65-79.

³⁵ Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 311. A brief description of the Paris manuscript is found in Murgia, *Prolegomena*, 50. See also Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen): Teil III: Padua-Zwickau (aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von Birgit Ebersperger)*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe der mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz (Wiesbaden, 2014), Nr. 4513, p. 136; Martin Hellmann, *Tironische Noten in der Karolingerzeit am Beispiel eines Persius-Kommentars aus der Schule von Tours* (Hanover, 2000), 246 and Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 196-7. For the significance of the neumes in this and other manuscripts, see Jan M. Ziolkowski, “Between text and music: the reception of Virgilian speeches in early medieval manuscripts,” *Materiali e discussioni per l’analisi dei testi classici* 52 (2004): 74-114; idem, *Nota Bene: Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 7 (Turnhout, 2007); Gundela Bobeth, “*Cantare Virgilium*. Neumierte Vergilverse in karolingischen und postkarolingischen Handschriften,” *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* N.F. 23 (2003): 111-137; eadem, *Antike Verse in mittelalterliche Vertonung: Neumierungen in Vergil-, Statius-, Lucan- und Terenz-Handschriften*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Subsidia 5 (Basel

Oxford and Paris manuscripts are not surprising given that, as she notes, both manuscripts share conjunctive errors in their text of Vergil.³⁶ The glosses in both, some of which are unique, furnish further proof of a shared common ancestor. For example, a gloss not drawing directly on Servius, Philargyrius or the Bern scholia and elucidating the Greek myth of Phaethon and his sisters, the Heliades, appears in both manuscripts. It recounts the story of Phaethon who, according to legend, asked his father for permission to drive the sun chariot and unable to control it, fell to his death, whereupon his sisters, the Heliades, mourning their brother, were turned into poplar trees.³⁷

and London, 2013). For an example of overlap in all three manuscripts, see the following gloss, excerpted from the *Explanationes* of Philargyrius: COMPELLERE id est minare (*Eclogue* 2, 30; Oxford, fol. 2r; Montpellier, fol. 5v and Paris 7925, fol. 3r; Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen, eds., *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1881-1902), III.2, 38, 3). Moreover, the gloss is also found in Valenciennes 407, fol. 4r.

³⁶ Moreover, Ottaviano has been able to add the Paris manuscript to a group of Vergil manuscripts already identified by Kaster, namely to the second of three Carolingian groups which he classifies on the grounds of textual similarities. On the basis of her collations of the text, not only can the Paris codex now be included in Kaster's second group, but it has been possible, on the grounds of shared omissions, errors, inversions and corrections, to determine a closer affiliation between the Paris and Oxford manuscripts. See Kaster, *Tradition*, 8 and Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 79, 82, 87-88, 105-109, 311.

³⁷ The gloss is transcribed from the Oxford manuscript on fol. 8v. The same gloss is found in the Paris codex on fol. 7v. The section in quotation marks is in Tironian notes in the Oxford manuscript and in minuscule in the Paris codex (PHAETHONTIADAS Phaeton filius Phoebi rogauit patrem ut dimisisset ei regere suum currum. Post inpetrato non potuit bene regere et praecipitatus in quendam fluuium mortuus est quem flebant nimium sorores Phetontis "et illum sine cessatione plangebant adeo autem misericordia motus vertit eas in" populeas uirgas). Though similar information is found in other sources, the gloss does not draw directly upon Servius (*Eclogue* 6, 62 or *Aeneid* 10, 189; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, II, 411-12; III.1, 76-77), Philargyrius (Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 120, 1-4) or the Bern scholia (*Scholia Bernensia ad Vergili Bucolica atque Georgica*, ed. Hermann Hagen, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplementband 4, Leipzig, 1867; rpt. Hildesheim, 1967, p. 801). I am extremely grateful to Silvia Ottaviano for sending me her as yet unpublished transcription of glosses on the *Eclogues* transcribed from the Oxford manuscript. She includes the glosses copied in a mixture of Tironian notes and minuscule. I have used her transcriptions to check my own.

Ottaviano also demonstrates a close correspondence between some of the glosses in the Oxford and Montpellier manuscripts.³⁸ The same glosses from the *Explanationes* of Philargyrius and from the Bern scholia are often found in both manuscripts.³⁹ Moreover, similar unknown annotations appear in these manuscripts, sometimes in the Oxford Vergil in a mixture of minuscule and Tironian notes, a form of shorthand current in the Carolingian world (see below), and in the Montpellier codex in minuscule.⁴⁰

In addition to the affiliations detailed above, there are notable correspondences between a number of annotations in the Oxford manuscript and those that occur in a later eleventh-century codex: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1670 (saec. XI, Saint-Maur-des-Fossés?).⁴¹ Very similar glosses excerpted from Tiberius Claudius Donatus and Servius,

³⁸ Ottaviano found evidence to indicate that the glossators of the Montpellier manuscript must have drawn on a source other than that used for the text of Vergil and that this source probably coincides with that of the scholia in a now fragmentary Vergil manuscript from St. Emmeram in Regensburg dating to the ninth century. See Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 311; eadem, "Scholia non serviana," 221-44.

³⁹ For example: i) PARCITE OVES NIMIVM PROCEDERE: Parcite oues <procedere>. Similitudinem hic facit ad ciues hoc dicit, ut se custodiant a persecutione (Oxford, fol. 4r); PARCITE OVES NIMIVM PROCEDERE: Ne nimium oues procedare. Similitudinem hic facit ad ciues hoc dicit ut se custodiant a persecutione (Montpellier, fol. 7v) (*Eclogue* 3, 94; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 66-67; see also Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 773); ii) ASTRA Fatum hominis mutant uel implent sicut fingunt mathematici (Oxford, fol. 6r); ASTRA Astra fata appellantur quae fatum hominum mutant sicut fingunt mathematici (Montpellier, fol. 9r) (*Eclogue* 5, 23; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 95, 7-9; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 786).

⁴⁰ i) NVNC ETIAM Nonne loca habemus (*Eclogue* 2, 8; Oxford, fol. 1v; Montpellier, fol. 5r); ii) SVMMA PAPAVERA CARPENS id est tantum illam summitatem (*Eclogue* 2, 47; Oxford, fol. 2r; Montpellier, fol. 5v); iii) NEGABAT Prolongabat quasi dixisset non possunt statim illum agrum reddere propter illos <quibus> traditi sunt (*Eclogue* 3, 24; Oxford, fol. 3r; Montpellier, fol. 6v); iv) BACCARE Bacare de illo fructu hederæ, quia est perfectior in hederæ uel folia maiora (*Eclogue* 7, 27; Oxford, fol. 9r); BACCHARE de illo fructu hederæ, quod est perfectior in edera uel folia maiora (Montpellier, fol. 12r); v) CERTIS PARTIBVS Certis partibus id est per quattuor tempora et duodecim menses propter istas uicissitudines colendæ terræ (*Georgics* 1, 231; Oxford, fol. 18v; Montpellier, fol. 21r).

⁴¹ An *ex libris* on fol. 179v connects the manuscript with the abbey: *hic est liber sancti Petri Fossatis si quis eum furauerit maledictione perpetua*. See Hendrikje A. Bakker, 'Totus quidem Vergilius scientia plenus est': *De glossen bij de vierde Ecloga en het zesde boek van de Aeneis (The Glosses on the Fourth Eclogue and the Sixth Book of the Aeneid)*, (Ph.D diss., Utrecht university, 2007), 366. See also Charlotte Denoël, "Un catalogue des manuscrits de Saint-Maur-des-Fossés au XIIe siècle," *Scriptorium* 60/2 (2006), 186-205.

together with unknown glosses, appear in these manuscripts.⁴² Moreover, a number of parallels are to be found between the glosses in the Oxford Vergil and material that appears in two other manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10307 (saec. IX², Eastern France, Laon) and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 468 (saec. IX^{3/4}, Laon).⁴³

The ties between the Oxford, Montpellier (Northeast France?) and Vatican (North-central France?) manuscripts, as well as the links with Laon, support the conclusion of Bischoff, who locates the Oxford Vergil in the Paris region, that is, in the same area in which the Montpellier and Vatican manuscripts appear to have originated, an area in which the production of glossed Vergil manuscripts was active in the ninth century.⁴⁴ More conclusively, the close affiliations between the glossed Vergil manuscripts

⁴² For Donatus glosses: i) HIC, QVIBVS INVISI FRATRES Hic in illic fuerunt qui odio habuerunt fratres suos et qui patres egerunt manu uel qui pauperibus conflauerunt fraudem (*Aeneid* 6, 608; Oxford, fol. 132r; *Tiberi Claudii Donati Interpretationes Vergilianae*, ed. Heinrich Georgii, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1905-1906, vol. 1, 588). For the gloss in the Vatican manuscript, see Bakker, *Totus quidem Vergilius scientia plenus est*, 268; ii) BIS PATET Bis patet id est quantum ab ipso ore Tartari ad caelum est bis tantum ad inferos pateat retinendum est (*Aeneid* 6, 578; Oxford, fol. 131v; Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 1:584; Bakker, *Totus quidem Vergilius*, 262). For Servius: ALOIDAS GEMINOS Aloidas id est filii Aloii et Fimidiai Lotus et Ephialtus, qui digitos nouem per singulos menses crescebant (*Aeneid* 6, 582; Oxford, fol. 131v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, II, 81, 15-16; Bakker, *Totus quidem Vergilius*, 262). For an unknown gloss found in both manuscripts which discusses Cato and which has similarities to Servius: MAGNE CATO id est Catonem Censorium dicit, qui prudentiae suae tacitis consiliis populum Romam (*lege Romanum*) rexit et multa bella confecit. De eo Catone loquitur qui Censorius cognominatus est bellum ciuile sua manu fecit. Cato Portius senatum sua sententia rexit et fuit omnium prudentissimus Pompeianas partes secutus in Africa ciuili bello se interfecit et ipse interfecit Caesarem Utice ciuitate Africae (*Aeneid* 6, 841; Oxford, fol. 136r; Bakker, *Totus quidem Vergilius*, 316. See also Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, II, 118, 8-12).

⁴³ I am grateful to Silvia Ottaviano for alerting me to the overlap. For Paris 10307, see Bischoff, *Katalog* III, Nr. 4627, pp. 160-61. For Laon 468, see Contreni, *Codex Laudunensis 468*.

⁴⁴ A notable ninth-century glossed Vergil manuscript produced in the Paris region is Bern, Burgerbibliothek MS 172 + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 7929. See Bischoff, *Katalog* I, Nr. 545, p. 115.

mentioned above bear witness to the emergence of a tradition of glossing the poet in Northeast and North-central France in the ninth century.⁴⁵

Tironian notes in the Oxford Vergil

One of the gloss hands in the Oxford Vergil, dated by Robert Kaster to the ninth century (see the appendix), wrote in a mixture of minuscule and Tironian notes, that is, an “ancient stenography revived by Carolingian copyists.”⁴⁶ In a number of cases in the Oxford Vergil the Tironian notes were decoded. Moreover, it would seem that the same hand that copied glosses in a mixture of Tironian notes and minuscule or a very similar hand sometimes decoded the Tironian notes. We find corresponding words in minuscule written directly above the shorthand notes, for example, in a Servian comment on Cacus, son of Vulcan, killed by Hercules.⁴⁷ We even find individual words written in a hybrid of Tironian notes and minuscule.⁴⁸ The appearance of Tironian notes in the Oxford Vergil should not surprise us.

⁴⁵ Though the glosses in the Oxford manuscript were very likely copied from an exemplar, they nevertheless allow us to examine them for insight into wider scholarly practices and interests.

⁴⁶ Kaster, *Tradition*, 27. For the use of Tironian notes, see Michael McCormick, *Five Hundred Unknown Glosses from the Palatine Virgil (The Vatican Library, MS. Pal. Lat. 1631)*, Studi e Testi 343 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, 1992), 31-32.

⁴⁷ I use italics to indicate the Tironian notes: CACI FACIES Cacus secundum fabulam Vulcani filius fuit, ore ignem ac fumum uomens, qui uicino loco omnia populabatur. *ueritas tamen secundum philologos et historicos hoc habet, hunc fuisse Euandri nequissimum seruum ac furem (Aen. 8, 194; Oxford, fol. 154v; Thilo & Hagen, Servii grammatici, II, 227, 8-11).*

⁴⁸ For example, in the following gloss, the first two letters of the word *abauus* are copied in Tironian notes and the remaining letters are written in minuscule: QVARTVS PATER id est abauus *nec est contrarium illud, cui Pilumnus auus: potuit enim fieri ut et auus eius et abauus a Pilumno Pilumni nominarentur (Aen. 10, 619; Oxford, fol. 188v; Thilo & Hagen, Servii grammatici, II, 454, 4-6).*

After all, David Ganz has shown that “during the Carolingian age the Roman shorthand system known as Tironian notes was widely used in chanceries and for various forms of annotation, as well as for the transcripts of texts” and that this system was primarily deployed west of the Rhine.⁴⁹ The function of Tironian notes is less certain. One suggestion is that they were deployed to save space on the manuscript page.⁵⁰ In the Oxford Vergil, the decoding of the Tironian notes may indicate the need for elucidation. The fact that the Tironian notes were decoded must surely have facilitated comprehension of this Roman stenography. Whatever the specific purpose, the presence of these notes, circulating in the Carolingian world and found in all kinds of texts ranging from classical to Christian works, indicates an elite practice and a “high level of written culture.”⁵¹ In the Oxford manuscript, the Tironian notes accompanied by their decoded forms cohere with the general collecting practices of the compilers, who accumulated material of all kinds. In the case of the Oxford Vergil, the Tironian notes provided an opportunity to furnish additional information, this time centred on the decoding of the ancient shorthand.

⁴⁹ David Ganz, “Carolingian manuscripts with substantial glosses in Tironian notes,” in *Mittelalterliche volkssprachige Glossen: Internationale Fachkonferenz des Zentrums für Mittelalterstudien der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg, 2. bis 4. August 1999*, ed. Rolf Bergmann, Elvira Glaser and Claudine Moulin-Fankhänel (Heidelberg, 2001), 101. For the history of Tironian notes, see also David Ganz, “On the history of Tironian notes,” in *Tironische Noten*, ed. Peter Ganz, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter Studien 1 (Wiesbaden, 1990), 35-51; Hellmann, *Tironische Noten*, 242. That the Tironian notes circulated west of the Rhine was a point made by Michael McCormick as one of the pieces used to locate the Palatine Vergil in the early Middle Ages. See McCormick, *Five Hundred Unknown Glosses*, 31-32.

⁵⁰ Ganz, “Carolingian manuscripts with substantial glosses in Tironian notes,” 101. For indications as to the function of Tironian notes, see <http://voicesfromtheedge.huylgens.knaw.nl/?p=36#more-36>.

⁵¹ McCormick, *Five Hundred Unknown Glosses*, 14.

The Oxford Vergil and the Encyclopaedic Tradition

The glosses in the Oxford Vergil demonstrate that considerable effort was expended on gathering information from all of the major available commentaries on Vergil, as well as adding new material relating to the classical world. An important context for this enterprise was the encyclopaedic tradition with its roots in the Graeco-Roman world and with important manifestations in the Alexandrian library, Visigothic Spain, Carolingian Europe and medieval Byzantium.⁵² The encyclopaedic tradition permeated the early medieval world. For instance, it is evident in the earliest textbooks on the reckoning of time;⁵³ Hrabanus Maurus's reworking of Isidore; the compilation of encyclopaedic works such as *Liber glossarum*; Wigbod's commentary on Genesis; and the reception of encyclopaedic texts such as Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*, Servius's commentary on Vergil and Isidore's *Etymologiae*.⁵⁴ An important manifestation of the tradition emerges in

⁵² See footnote 6.

⁵³ Immo Warntjes, *The Munich Computus: Text and Translation: Irish Computistics between Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede and its Reception in Carolingian Times* (Stuttgart, 2010), cxxvi-cxxxi.

⁵⁴ For Hrabanus Maurus's *De universo*, see Elizabeth Keen, "Shifting horizons: the medieval compilation of knowledge as a mirror of a changing world," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance, 277-300*. For Wigbod, see Michael Gorman, "The encyclopaedic commentary on Genesis prepared for Charlemagne by Wigbod," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 17 (1982): 173-201; idem, "From Isidore to Claudius of Turin: The works of Ambrose on Genesis in the early Middle Ages," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 45 (1999): 121-38. Isidore is a staple of medieval library catalogues in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. See, for instance, the appearance of Isidore in places where Prudentius is glossed in O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' 'Psychomachia'*, 110-11. That Isidore was glossed is illustrated by the copy of the *Etymologiae* in a Laon manuscript (Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 447) annotated by the Irish scholar Probus of Mainz and by the appearance of Old High German glosses on

early medieval glosses, which often exhibit, as Mariken Teeuwen observes, a collecting purpose.⁵⁵ Glosses provided an opportunity to include a wide range of materials alongside the primary text.

The glosses in the Oxford Vergil exhibit many encyclopaedic practices (see below “Encyclopaedic practices and the glosses”). Moreover, occasional overlap between the Oxford glosses and collections such as the *Liber glossarum*, which, as Patrizia Lendinara notes, “dominated the field of glossography in the early Middle Ages,” shows that the glosses in the Oxford Vergil inhabit the same world as one of the most impressive encyclopaedic compilations circulating in the Carolingian age.⁵⁶ In what follows, I shall examine the glosses in the Oxford Vergil for insight into their encyclopaedic function and to discover how a premium was placed on the pagan past.

De ecclesiasticis officiis found in ninth-century manuscripts. For the annotations of the Irish master, see John J. Contreni, “The Irish ‘colony’ at Laon during the time of John Scottus,” in *Jean Scot Érigène et l’histoire de la philosophie*, ed. René Roques, Colloques internationaux du centre national de la recherche scientifique 561 (Paris, 1977), 62.

⁵⁵ Mariken Teeuwen, “Glossing in close co-operation: examples from ninth-century Martianus Capella manuscripts,” in *Practice in Learning*, 94. See also Gernot Wieland’s essential typology outlining different categories of annotations, including encyclopaedic glosses. Gernot Rudolf Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library, MS Gg. 5.35*, Studies and Texts 61 (Toronto, 1983).

⁵⁶ Patrizia Lendinara, “A storehouse of learned vocabulary: the Abbo Glossary in Anglo-Saxon England,” in *Practice in Learning*, 104; David Ganz, “The *Liber Glossarum*: A Carolingian Encyclopedia,” in *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times*, ed. Paul Leo Butzer and Dietrich Lohrmann (Basel/Boston, 1993), 127-35. For a sample study of interaction between the *Liber glossarum* and Vergilian commentaries, see Silvia Gorla, “Prime osservazioni sulle glosse *Virgilii* tramandate nel *Liber glossarum*,” *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* 36/1 (2014): 97-118.

Sources of the Glosses

The compilers of the annotations in the Oxford Vergil made every effort to excerpt from a vast array of existing commentary on the poet. Hence comprehensiveness, that is, “the effort to amass and organise all available knowledge,” an important encyclopaedic ideal, seems, in some sense, to underpin the annotations.⁵⁷ In examining the sources of the glosses, the concern is not so much for *Quellenforschung* or what David Daintree calls a fondness for “literary aetiology”, but rather to underscore the importance of the antique heritage.⁵⁸ No surprise that Servius, the most complete surviving late ancient commentary on Vergil, was a firm favourite. His work is extensively mined for glosses on the *Georgics* and *Aeneid*.⁵⁹ Glosses on the *Eclogues* also include Servius.⁶⁰ Mostly, it is the vulgate Servius that is

⁵⁷ Hatzimichali, “Encyclopaedism in the Alexandrian library,” 64.

⁵⁸ Daintree, “The Virgil commentary of Aelius Donatus,” 65-79, at 66.

⁵⁸ Murgia, *Prolegomena*, 49.

⁵⁹ TMOLVS Tmolus id est mons Ciliae (*lege* Ciliciae) ubi crocum nascitur praecipue (*Georgics* 1, 56, fol. 15v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 146, 22-25); SED NEQVE Nec utile est nec possibile; qui enim conatur uniuersa cognoscere, debet etiam impossibilia scire, ut est harenarum uel fluctuum numerus (*Georgics* 2, 103, fol. 25v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 229, 1-3); BELGICA Belgica ciuitas est Galliae, in qua uehiculi repertus est usus (*Georgics* 3, 204, fol. 36v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 293, 20-21); FLAMMAS CVM REGIA PVPPIS More militiae, ut det clarum e puppibus signum (*Aeneid* 2, 256, fol. 72v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, I, 262, 19-20); ET HABENT REDIMICVLA MITRAE Illud dicturus fuerat, habetis in pilleis redimicula, quod conuertit in uituperationem maiorem, dicens “religatas habetis mitras”. Nam pillea uirorum sunt, mitrae feminarum, quas caulaticas (*lege* calauticas) dicunt. Mitra autem proprie Lidorum fuit, ut Meonia mentum mitra, quem habitum imitati sunt Troiani (*Aeneid* 9, 613, fol. 174v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, II, 362, 27-363, 4).

⁶⁰ FONTIBVS Facite nemora circa fontes et hoc ideo, quia, ut diximus, heroum animae habitant uel in fontibus uel in nemoribus, ut “lucis habitamus opacis riparumque toros et prata recentia riuus incolimus” (*Eclogue* 5, 40, fol. 6v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 59, 4-7). That the glosses on the *Eclogues* draw heavily from Philargyrius and the Bern scholia corroborates the conclusions of Charles Murgia, *Prolegomena*, 49, who observes that the scholia on the *Eclogues* “seem closer to Philargyrius than Servius.”

consulted.⁶¹ Excerpts from Servius appear in minuscule, in Tironian notes, and in a mixture of Tironian notes and minuscule.⁶² In a number of cases, glossators may have gleaned their Servian information from other late antique commentaries.⁶³

Servius is certainly not alone but, in accordance with contemporary trends, is transmitted alongside other ancient commentaries.⁶⁴ The non-Servian commentaries enjoyed a *floruit* in the Carolingian world, albeit quite modest in the case of Donatus, though it is interesting to note that Lupus of Ferrières worked on a manuscript with the commentary of Donatus.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Following editorial convention, I record instances from the expanded Servius known as Servius Danielis (DS) in italics. There are some instances of DS in the Oxford manuscript: *POSTHABVI id est postposui uel dispexi* (*Eclogue* 7, 17, fol. 9r; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 84, 16; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 808); *SILIQVA id est folliculo* (*Georgics* 1, 74, fol. 16r; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 151, 6); *RECEPTOS id est liberatos a periculo* (*Aeneid* 1, 583; fol. 64r; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, I, 175, 10).

⁶² The following are written only in Tironian notes which are here indicated by italics: *OAXEN fluuius* (*Eclogue* 1, 65, fol. 1r; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 15, 1); *CYTHISVM herba* (*Eclogue* 1, 78, fol. 1r; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 17, 5); *TRIVISSE pro praesenti* (*Eclogue* 2, 34, fol. 2r; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 24, 10). The following glosses are in a mixture of Tironian notes and minuscule: *BALEARIS FVNDAE* *Balearis fundae, id est Hispaniae ab insulis Balearibus, ubi inuenta est funda* (*Georgics* 1, 309, fol. 20r; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 198, 17-18); *SVO NOMINE PALLAS* *Bene in omnibus filii gratiam facit: nam dicit: dat tibi Pallas milites ducentos suo nomine, ipse uero a me accipiet ducentos* (*Aeneid* 8, 519, fol. 160r; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, II, 273, 4-6). Invaluable in checking the Tironian notes has been Wilhelm Schmitz (ed.), *Commentarii notarum Tironianarum, cum prolegomenis, adnotationibus criticis et exegeticis notarumque indice alphabetico* (Leipzig, 1893).

⁶³ *PELVSIACAE* *Pelusium unum est de septem ostiis Nili, ubi optima lens nascitur* (*Georgics* 1, 228, fol. 18v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 184, 23-24; see also the *Brevis expositio*: Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 242, 10-11); *PROFVERIT MEMINISSE MAGIS* *Ideo 'magis', quia a sole uenientia uespertina signa meliora sunt* (*Georgics* 1, 451, fol. 22v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 211, 19-20; see also similar information in the *Brevis expositio* in Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 272, 16-17; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 880); *FANEVS* *Mons in promontorio Chii, dictus a Phaneo rege, ut autem "adsurgit", tractum est a sedentibus, qui in honorem alicuius surgere consueuerunt* (*Georgics* 2, 98, fol. 25v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 228, 14-16; see also some overlap with the *Brevis expositio* in Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 292, 15-16; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 894; *Ps-Probus* in Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 369, 4-5).

⁶⁴ See, for example, O'Sullivan, "Servius in the Carolingian Age."

⁶⁵ The so-called Bern scholia, which consist of closely related sets of glosses, have survived in Carolingian codices. For a list of manuscripts, see Gino Funaioli, *Esegesi Virgiliana Antica: Prolegomeni alla edizione del commento di Giunio Filargiro e di Tito Gallo* (Milan, 1930), 8-36. See also Sinéad O'Sullivan, "The Scholia Bernensia," in *The Oxford Guide to the Transmission of the Latin Classics*, ed. Justin Stover (forthcoming). For the Donatus commentary, see Ziolkowski and Putnam, *The Virgilian Tradition*, 644. Lupus's copy of Donatus is found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1484.

The *Explanationes* of Philargyrius are heavily consulted for glosses on the *Eclogues*,⁶⁶ and are sometimes copied in a mixture of Tironian notes and minuscule.⁶⁷ The information from Philargyrius may, at times, originate elsewhere, as is likely the case for the gloss on *Aracynthus*, a mountain range located by Philargyrius in Attica, but in *Explanatio* I in Acarnania (and in two witnesses Armenia) and in the Oxford manuscript in Armenia, perhaps a corruption of Acarnania.⁶⁸ The connection between the mountain and Armenia appears also in Laon 468.⁶⁹ Interestingly, the connection with Armenia is attributed in one Vergil manuscript to “Fona”, which recalls the title of *Explanatio* I.⁷⁰ Significantly, in this instance, an authority other than Philargyrius is named as the source of information.⁷¹

Glosses from the Bern scholia also occur in the Oxford Vergil, sometimes in Tironian notes.⁷² Very often near identical information appears

⁶⁶ AVSTRVM id est uentum calidum contrarium floribus (*Eclogue* 2, 58, fol. 2v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 43, 15-16); SVRGET id est reparatur (*Eclogue* 4, 9, fol. 4v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 78, 15); CEDET <ces>sabit a nauigatione mercandi (*Eclogue* 4, 38, fol. 5r; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 84, 17-18); VT LICEAT utinam liceat tua facta meis carminibus digne exponere (*Eclogue* 8, 9, fol. 10r; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 144, 20-21).

⁶⁷ SALTVS ut inueniatur *taurus* (*Eclogue* 6, 56, fol. 8r; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 118, 5-6).

⁶⁸ ACTEO ARACHINTO In monte nemoroso, quia Arachintus mons est in Armenia, non in Attica (*Eclogue* 2, 24, fol. 1v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 36, 20-21). In *Explanatio* I, we find Acarnania in some manuscripts, Armenia in other witnesses. The correlation of Aracynthus and Acarnania is attested in other sources: Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 4, 6, 1 and Martianus, *De nuptiis*, 6, 651.

⁶⁹ IN ACTAEO ARACHINTO id est in monte nemoroso, quia Arachintus mons est in Armenia (Laon 468, fol. 18v).

⁷⁰ In nomine dei summi in *Bucolica pauca ordinantur fona* (Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 1, 1-2).

⁷¹ ACTEO ARACHINTO Vt Filargius dicit mons est in Attica; nam ut Fona dicit non in Attica, sed in Armoenia. Pro eo dictus Arachintus, quia nemorosum accipimus; “in acteo arachinto,” quia nemorosum est. Seruius tamen, quod mons est Tebanus dicit et “acteo” litorali debemus accipere (Valenciennes, fol. 4r7).

⁷² DVRARE id est durescere (*Eclogue* 6, 35, fol. 8r; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 797); NEC MODVS INSERERE Transit ad insertionem (*lege* insitionem), quae duplex est. Nam aut “insitio” dicitur, cum fisco trunco surculus fecundae arboris sterili inseritur, aut “oculorum inpositio” cum inciso cortice libro alienae

in the Oxford glosses, the *Explanationes* of Philargyrius and the Bern scholia,⁷³ information copied in minuscule, Tironian notes,⁷⁴ and a mixture of Tironian notes and minuscule.⁷⁵ For the *Georgics*, there is overlap with the Bern scholia and the closely related commentary, the *Brevis expositio*.⁷⁶

The Oxford Vergil also furnishes evidence for scholarly engagement with the commentary of Tiberius Claudius Donatus. Especially noteworthy is the fact that similar excerpts from Donatus appear in both the Oxford manuscript and in a later eleventh-century Vatican manuscript (Reg. lat. 1670), originating in the same region as the Oxford codex.⁷⁷ Moreover, in the

arboris germen inserimus (*Georgics* 2, 73, fol. 25r; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 892); RELICTVM perditum (*Eclogue* 6, 43, fol. 8r; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 799).

⁷³ 1) CASTANEASQVE NVCES Poma, quae durum (*lege* durum) corticem habent (*Eclogue* 2, 52, fol. 2r; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 42, 5-6; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 762). Similar information occurs in the Montpellier manuscript, fol. 6r: CASTANEASQVE NVCES Fructus uel omnia poma, quae durum corticem habent. 2) NIVEI Quia antiqui lanam albam diligebant uel quia ingenii sui abundantiam ostendit (*Eclogue* 2, 20, fol. 1v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 35, 22-25; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 759). Similar information is found in other manuscripts: NIVEI Quia antiqui lanam albam diligebant; LACTIS ABUNDANS ingenii sui ostendit abundantiam (Montpellier, fol. 5v); NIVEI Quia antiqui lanam albam diligebant uel quia ingenii sui sapientiam abundantiam ostendit (Paris 7925, fol. 3r); NIVEI ingenii sui ostendit abundantiam (Valenciennes, fol. 4r).

⁷⁴ ALTERNA carmina (*Eclogue* 3, 59, fol. 3v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 58, 14; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 770).

⁷⁵ SVB INCERTAS VMBRAS Quia quando ex ventorum flatu arborum rami commouentur umbram mobilem faciunt (*Eclogue* 5, 5, fol. 5v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 90, 11-14; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 784; Montpellier, fol. 9r and Valenciennes, fol. 8r).

⁷⁶ ACHELOIA Achilus id est fluuius in cuius ripa uua fuit primitus inuenta (*Georgics* 1, 9, fol. 14v). For similarities with the *Brevis expositio* and Bern scholia, see *Scholia Bernensia in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica. Vol II. Fasc. I. In Georgica Commentarii (Prooemium/Liber I 1-42)*, ed. Luca Cadili et al. (Amsterdam, 2003), 48-49. For comments on the river Achelous, see also the commentary of Ps-Probus and DS scholia in Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 350, 8-11; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 132, 20-21.

⁷⁷ INFELIX Bene infelicem thalamum dicit, quo malo fato talem induxerat uxorem uel in quo tot supplicia pertulit (*Aeneid* 6, 521; fol. 130v; Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 1:575; Bakker, *Totus quidem Vergilius*, 250); TVLIT praecessit ignaros, ut illis facilitatem itineris demonstraret (*Aeneid* 6, 677; fol. 133r; Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 1:595; Bakker, *Totus quidem Vergilius*, 281); TEMPORA DINVMERANS Tempora dinumerare est aestimare, quando quid possit impleri (*Aeneid* 6, 691; fol. 133r; Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 1:598; Bakker, *Totus quidem Vergilius*, 283); OSTENDENT id est non diu erit iste in luce, sed mox quod monstratus fuerit superis rapietur (*Aeneid* 6, 869; fol. 136v; Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 1:616; Bakker, *Totus quidem Vergilius*, 322).

Oxford Vergil, Donatus is, on occasion, very heavily consulted.⁷⁸ For instance, Donatus is excerpted for all the non-Servian glosses on *Aeneid* 9, 118-133 on fol. 166r, a relatively heavily glossed page with interlinear and marginal annotations.⁷⁹ And as with other glosses in the manuscript, the excerpts from Donatus are sometimes written in a mixture of Tironian notes and minuscule.⁸⁰

The plethora of ancient commentaries deployed by the compilers of the Oxford Vergil appears side-by-side with an abundance of unknown glosses common to many ninth- and tenth-century Vergil manuscripts. The unknown glosses coincide not only, as one would expect, with those in the closely affiliated manuscripts (Montpellier 253 and Paris 7925),⁸¹ but also with comments in other codices (e.g. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 167; Laon 468; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 7926; Reg. lat. 1670 and Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS lat. 407).⁸² The unknown glosses

⁷⁸ He is also used for interlinear glosses. For instance: QUID DVBITAS Dubitare timentis signum; POSCERE CVRRVS id est petere uel arripere; TALI FVGIENTEM id est celeriter recedentem (*Aeneid* 9, 12-17; fol. 164r; Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 2:187-88).

⁷⁹ See Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 2:202-205.

⁸⁰ SALVTATAM *Quod fuit maximi sceleris, ut peregrinae et periculosae moriturus non rettulisset id matri, huius facti inserit purgationem, ne reum laesa pietas retineretur* (*Aeneid* 9, 288; fol. 168v; Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 2:226); PRAECORDIA *Expressum est hic beneficium deae et humanae fortitudinis robur; hastam enim scutum Rutuli Sulmonis excipit* (*Aeneid* 9, 413; fol. 171r; Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 2:244).

⁸¹ See Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 311. Further examples are as follows: DENSAS spissas; CACVMINA fagorum; ADSIDVE frequenter; INCONDITA rustica uel incomposita; MORI Quia opprimit tuus amor (*Eclogue* 2, 3-7; Oxford, fol. 1v; Montpellier, fol. 5r; Paris 7925, fol. 3r); MILLE id est mille sensus uel rationes habeo in mea scientia. Siculis quia T<h>eocritum poetam de Sicilia sequitur (*Eclogue* 2, 21; Oxford, fol. 1v; Paris 7925, fol. 3r); MILLE id est mille sensus uel rationes habeo in mea scientia. Siculis ideo quia Theocritum poetam de Sicilia sequitur (Montpellier, fol. 5v).

⁸² EXACTIS transactis; LAETOS ubi leti habitabant; LARGIOR fertilior; PARS ex illis beatis; GRATIA honestas (*Aeneid* 6, 637-53; Oxford, fol. 132v; for these comments in Bern 167 and Reg. lat. 1670, see Bakker, *Totus quidem Vergilius*, 273-76); PIERIDES Pierides musae a Pierio monte (*Eclogue* 3, 85; 6, 13; Oxford, fols. 4r and

appear in minuscule, in Tironian notes, and in a mixture of Tironian notes and minuscule.⁸³ In some instances, they may contain vestiges of more ancient material, as Ottaviano has demonstrated for glosses on the legendary Teucer and the mythological monster, the Chimaera, in other Vergil manuscripts.⁸⁴ In addition, the glosses in the Oxford Vergil and mythographic, encyclopaedic and other gloss collections overlap, indicating that, at times, common sources very likely underpinned early medieval Vergil glosses and late antique and early medieval compendia.⁸⁵ For example, a comment on Prometheus, also in Laon 468 and Paris 10307, shows parallels with Fulgentius;⁸⁶ annotations on Atlas and Dedalus, overlap with the *Liber glossarum*.⁸⁷ These similarities

7v); PIERIDES deae musarum a Pierio monte (Montpellier, fol. 7v; Valenciennes 407, fol. 6v; Laon 468, fol. 19r); PIERIDES Pierides a Pierio monte (Montpellier, fol. 10v); QVAERIS id est nescis, quam pulchra sapientiam habeo (*Eclogue* 2, 19; Oxford, fol. 1v); QVAERIS curas uel nescis, id est nescis quam pulchram sapientiam habeo (Montpellier, fol. 5v); QVAERIS quam pulchram sapientiam habeo (Paris 7925, fol. 3r); QVAERIS curas uel nescis. Nescis quam pulchram sapientiam habeo (Paris 7926, fol. 3v).

⁸³ DECEDENS *recedens*; DVPLICAT *multiplicat* (*Eclogue* 2, 67, fol. 2v); ALTERNIS *carminibus* (*Eclogue* 3, 59, fol. 3v); LONGVM *sermonem* (*Eclogue* 3, 79, fol. 4r); CARPENS id est *tantum illam* summitatem (*Eclogue* 2, 47, fol. 2r); CONCEDE LABOREM Inuocatio numinis ut illum deae adiuuassent quia poetam Sicilicum imitatus est idcirco *inuocat* nympham de Sicilia (*Eclogue* 10, 1; Oxford, fol. 13r; Montpellier, fol. 16r).

⁸⁴ Ottaviano, "Scholia non serviana," 221-44.

⁸⁵ Quite a number of Vergil glosses are found in other gloss traditions (in some cases excerpted from Servius). For example (i) COTVRNO calciamento poetico (*Eclogue* 8, 10; fol. 10r). See glosses on *De nuptiis* II, 121 in O'Sullivan, *Glossae*, 307, 14; (ii) RETICA...FALERNIS falernus mons Campaniae ubi nascitur optimum uinum (*Georgics* 2, 96; fol. 25v). See similar information in glosses on the *Psychomachia* in O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' 'Psychomachia'*, 244.

⁸⁶ FVRTVMQVE Prometheum aiunt hominem ex luto finxisse quem quidem inanimatum atque insensibilem fecerat. Cuius opus Minerua mirata spondit (*lege* spondit) ei, ut si quid uellet de caelestibus donis ad suum opus adiuuandi inquireret. Ille nihil se scire ait quae bona in caelestibus haberentur sed si fieri posset, se usque ad superos eleuaret, quod cum fecisset Minerua iste uidit omnia caelestia flammatis agitare uaporibus; clam ferulam Phoebiacis applicans rotis ignem furatus, quem pectusculo hominis applicans animatum reddidit corpus. itaque iratus Iouis religauit eum in monte Caucaso et consumitur eius iecur a uulture (*Eclogue* 6, 42; fol. 8r; Fulgentius, *Mitologiae* 2.6.45 in *Fabii Planciadis Fulgentii Opera*, ed. Rudolf Helm (Stuttgart, 1970; ed. stereotypa 1898), 45. See also Laon 468, fol. 8v; Paris 10307, fol. 57v. I am grateful to Silvia Ottaviano for pointing out the links with the Laon and Paris manuscripts.

⁸⁷ For the gloss on Atlas, see footnote 144. *Liber glossarum* AT 32-35 in Wallace M. Lindsay *et al.* ed., *Glossaria Latina iussu Academiae Britannicae edita*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1926), 70; DEDALVS Dedalus Epulami et Casimenae filius artifex genere Atheniensis hic accusabatur ab Atheniensibus quod ad tumulum occidisset filium sororis suae pro inuidia fugit ad Cretam. ibique Minois uxorem Passiphen amantem

support the findings of Ottaviano, who has observed a number of parallels between Vergil glosses in Carolingian manuscripts, the Vatican Mythographers and *Liber glossarum*.⁸⁸

The unknown glosses also reflect the influence of existing commentaries. This would seem to be the case in the following gloss on the myth of Orestes transmitted by the Oxford Vergil and Reg. lat. 1669.⁸⁹ The gloss recounts the tale of Orestes who, having killed his mother, is driven to madness. In the Vatican manuscript we can clearly see how the mother's name became corrupted:

Oxford, fol. 102r (*Aen.* 4, 471)

ORESTES Orestes Agammemnonis et Ditae
(*lege* Clitemnestrae) filius in scena per
tragoediam expositus et agitatus, ^{id est celebratus,}
ultione patris cum adultero Egesto matrem
peremit et ob id insaniuit

Reg. Lat. 1669, fol. 88v (*Aen.* 4, 471)

Orestes Agamennoni[u]s et Ditae
menstrue (*lege* Clitemnestrae) filius; in
scena per tragoediam expositus et
agitatus, ultione patris cum adultero
Egesto matrem peremit et ob id insaniuit

taurum conclusit eam in arcam ligneam et Iouis ueniens concubuit cum ea inde natus est minotaurus. ueritus itaque Minoen regem fabricatis pennis sibi et filio Icaro uolauit a Creta et filio perduto in mari in Campaniam uenit et ibi Apollini templum construxit et pennas quibus uolauerit ei consecrauit (*Aeneid* 6, 14; Oxford, fol. 121v; see Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, II, 6-7). For the comment in Reg. lat. 1670, see Bakker, *Totus quidem Vergilius*, 139; for the *Liber glossarum*, see *Liber glossarum* DE224 in *Glossaria Latina iussu Academiae Britannicae edita*, vol. 1, 163; Dedalus Epolami et Cassimenae filius genere Atheniensis artis fabricae peritissimus; hic, cum accusatus fuisset apud Athenienses quod sororis suae filium unicum Emulum no(min)e interfecisse<t> propter inuidiam, timens futurum iudicium ad Cretam confugit et potentia Minois regis Cretensium aliquandiu tutus erat; et cum uxorem Minois Pasiphen amantem taurum nefando amore potiri fecisset, ueritus iram potentis regis, fabricatis sibi et filio pennis, auolasse a Creta dicitur et in mari filio perduto ad Campaniam uenisse et cemplum (*lege* templum) ibi Apollini fecisse et numini eius pennas consecrasse quibus auolauerat (Montpellier, fol. 119v). I am grateful to Silvia Ottaviano for sending me information on a number of common glosses on the *Aeneid* found in a fragmentary manuscript, as well as in the Montpellier and Oxford codices. Amongst these glosses are transcriptions of comments on Dedalus which are juxtaposed with information in the *Liber glossarum*. For the transcription of the Montpellier gloss, I have relied on Ottaviano.

⁸⁸ Ottaviano, "Scholia non serviana," 221-44.

⁸⁹ I am once again grateful to Silvia Ottaviano for observing the overlap here.

The information in the above annotation is closest to that in Servius Danielis

(DS):

AGAMEMNONIVS SCAENIS AGITATVS ORESTES *hunc Oresten Electra, soror eius, post occisum ab Aegistho dolo Clytemestrae matris Agamemnonem subtraxit, quem Strophio alendum dedit, qui eum cum filio Pylade educatum in adultam perduxit aetatem. qui ut primum de scelere matris ac morte patris agnovit, venit Mycenae et adiuvantibus amico Pylade et sorore Electra, Clytemestram matrem cum adultero Aegistho occidit: ob quam rem aliquamdiu furiis agentibus insaniit.*⁹⁰

Moreover, the superscript gloss annotating the word *agitatus* in the gloss on Orestes in the Oxford Vergil is indebted to Servius and attests to the scholarly impulses of accretion and accumulation.⁹¹ These impulses are reflected not only in the range of sources consulted by the glossators, but also, as we shall see, in *how* the gloss material was compiled.

Encyclopaedic Practices in the Glosses

How information was arranged in the glosses in the Oxford Vergil underscores the encyclopaedic practices of the compilers. It is clear that the annotators did not simply assemble material from a wide range of sources. They also collated, abbreviated, and stockpiled information. Analysis of the glosses provides insight into the ways in which knowledge was systematised and ordered. It also attests to the vigor of well-established encyclopaedic

⁹⁰ Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, I, 549, 23-550, 5.

⁹¹ For example, the superscript gloss *id est celebratus* annotating *agitatus* occurs in the vulgate Servius. For this see Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, I, 550, 7.

techniques, namely those of compilation, excerption and recombination. To these ends, selections from different sources were not only copied alongside one another in the marginal and interlinear space,⁹² but also collated, as in the following largely lexical glosses where information from Servius is conflated with material from Tiberius Claudius Donatus:

Oxford, fol. 129v (*Aen.* 6, 470)
 INCEPTO SERMONE id est, a principio <o>rationis uel ab instituto et dispositione animi sui ne diuelleretur⁹³

Servius, *Aen.* 6, 470
 INCEPTO SERMONE a principio orationis⁹⁴

Donatus, *Aen.* 6, 470
 INCEPTO SERMONE hoc est ab instituto et dispositione animi sui non diuellebatur⁹⁵

Oxford, fol. 164r (*Aen.* 9, 3)
 AVDACEM AD TVRNVM id est animosum, fortem sine felicitate, id est consultum (*lege* inconsultum) temerarium

Servius, *Aen.* 9, 3
 AVDACEM AD TVRNVM fortem sine felicitate⁹⁶

Donatus, *Aen.* 9, 3
 AVDACEM AD TVRNVM audacem ergo inconsultum et temerarium⁹⁷

The practice of conflation is evident in a variety of instances as when material from the Bern scholia is mixed in with Servius. In the annotation below on the river Hermos, mention is made of the tributary river Pactolus, reference to which appears in the Bern scholia but not in the corresponding comment in Servius:

⁹² For instance, we find an interlinear gloss from Servius and a marginal Carolingian addition on *Eclogue* 2, 2, annotating the same lemma: *NEC QUID SPERARET nec spem potiendi habebat* (Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 18, 17; fol. 1v); *NEC QUID SPERARET HABEBAT nec poterat patienter spectare ut illum recepisset vel alio modo quia pollio nullum tam amabat sicut illum puerum ubi tantum habuisset suam spem* (fol. 1v). For the above unknown gloss in other witnesses, see Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 311.

⁹³ The same information is found in Reg. lat. 1670. Bakker, *Totus quidem Vergilius*, 240.

⁹⁴ Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, II, 71, 9.

⁹⁵ Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 1:568.

⁹⁶ Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, II, 308, 1.

⁹⁷ Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 2:184.

<u>Oxford, fol. 26r (Georg. 2, 137)</u>	<u>Servius, Georg. 2, 137</u>	<u>Bern scholia, Georg. 2, 137</u>
HERMVS fluuius Lidiae, harenas aureas trahens; ipse est Pactolus	HERMVS Lydiae fluuius, harenas aureas trahens ⁹⁸	HERMVS fluuius Asiae, eumque dicit auriferum, quia Pactolus aurifer in eum defluit ⁹⁹

Conflation of material from different sources, however, was not the sole preserve of the compilers of the Oxford manuscript. Such practices were standard in Carolingian glossed Vergil manuscripts as is illustrated by the gloss below on Sophocles in Paris 7925, where information from Servius is combined with material from Philargyrius/Bern scholia:

<u>Paris 7925, fol. 8v (Ec. 8, 10)</u>	<u>Servius, Ec. 8, 10</u>	<u>Philargyrius, Ec. 8, 10</u>	<u>Bern scholia, Ec. 8, 10</u>
SOPHOCLEO Sofocleus optimus fuit poeta, qui primus tragoediam scripsit et tragoediografus altisonus	SOPHOCLEO Sophocles autem tragoediographus fuit altisonus ¹⁰⁰	SOPHOCLEO id est ideo eum Sophocli comparabat, quia hic primus tragoediam scripsit ¹⁰¹	SOPHOCLEO Sophocles poeta tragicus, qui primus tragoediam scripsit ¹⁰²

In a similar vein, early medieval glossators on Vergil created patchworks of sources. Ottaviano has demonstrated this for a gloss on Atlas in Reg. lat. 1669 which juxtaposes information from at least three different sources, namely Servius, Augustine and Isidore.¹⁰³ We see the same process in operation in an annotation in the Oxford Vergil, where material in Servius, Philargyrius and the Bern scholia is combined:

⁹⁸ Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 232, 16.

⁹⁹ Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 897.

¹⁰⁰ Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 93, 10-11.

¹⁰¹ Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 145, 1-3.

¹⁰² Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 816.

¹⁰³ Ottaviano, "II Reg. lat. 1669," 294-5.

<u>Oxford, fol. 2r (Ec. 2, 32)</u> PAN deus pastorum de quo fingitur ut sit inuentor naturas (<i>lege naturae</i>) omnium rerum et dicitur pan quasi omne ¹⁰⁴	<u>Servius, Ec. 2, 32</u> PAN dictus est, id est omne ¹⁰⁵	<u>Philargyrius, Ec. 2, 32</u> PAN id est natura omnium rerum, inventor fistulae ¹⁰⁶	<u>Bern scholia, Ec. 2, 32</u> PAN deus pastorum ¹⁰⁷
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The compilers of the Oxford Vergil, however, not only collated information from existing Vergilian commentaries but also added material, as is demonstrated by the glosses below which transmit excerpts from Servius combined with new material often attested in other Carolingian manuscripts. The first two glosses are primarily lexical (the second of which is copied in a mixture of minuscule and Tironian notes);¹⁰⁸ the third set of glosses comment on Dido's reaction upon seeing the hero Aeneas; the fourth refers to the beloved of the shepherd Damoetas and is written in Tironian notes:

- (1)
Oxford, fol. 1v; Paris 7925, fol. 3r (Ec. 2, 4)
 INCONDITA rustica uel incomposita¹⁰⁹
- Servius, Ec. 2, 4
 INCONDITA incomposita, subito dicta, agrestia¹¹⁰
- (2)
Oxford, fol. 1v (Ec. 2, 5)
 IACTABAT INANI incassum fundebat *in absentia illius* id est sine acquisitione¹¹¹
- Servius, Ec. 2, 5
 IACTABAT id est fundebat incassum¹¹²

(3)

¹⁰⁴ PAN deus pastorum de quo fingitur ut inuentor naturae omnium rerum et dicitur pan quasi omne (Montpellier, fol. 5v).

¹⁰⁵ Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 23, 15.

¹⁰⁶ Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 38, 12-14.

¹⁰⁷ Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 760.

¹⁰⁸ The Tironian notes are written in italics.

¹⁰⁹ INCONDITA incomposita uel rustica (Montpellier, fol. 5r; Paris 10307, fol. 2r)

¹¹⁰ Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 18, 19.

¹¹¹ IACTABAT INANI incassum fundebat id est sine acquisitione (Montpellier, fol. 5r); IACTABAT INANI incassum fundebat sine a<d>quisitio<ne> Paris 7925, fol. 3r).

¹¹² Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 19, 4.

Oxford, fol. 64v (Aen. 1, 614)

CASV DEINDE id est euentu uel miseratione
ostupuit¹¹³

Servius, Aen. 1, 614

CASV DEINDE id est miseratione ¹¹⁴

(4)

Oxford, fol. 4r (Ec. 3, 68)

MEAE VENERI *meae amicae vel deae voluptatis*¹¹⁵

Servius, Ec. 3, 68

MEAE VENERI meae amicae¹¹⁶

In all of the above instances, the compilers combine excerpts from Servius, a readily available commentary in the Carolingian world, with new material.

The compilers of the Oxford Vergil, moreover, also added information to their extracts from non-Servian commentaries. In the first example below material from Philargyrius/Bern scholia is supplemented with new information, and the conflation appears in three other Carolingian manuscripts:

Oxford, fol. 1v (Ec. 2, 15)

FASTIDIA id est contemptus
dispectiones (*lege*
despeptiones)¹¹⁷

Philargyrius, Ec. 2, 15

FASTIDIA id est contemptus uel
ditiones¹¹⁸

Bern scholia, Ec. 2, 15

FASTIDIA
contemptus¹¹⁹

In the next example, material is extracted from Donatus and additional information is added:

Oxford, fol. 165r (Aen. 9, 62)

INPROBVS furibundus uel inmoderate
seuiens

Donatus, Aen. 9. 62

INPROBVS inmoderate saeviens¹²⁰

¹¹³ CASV DEINDE euentu uel miseratione obstupuit (Montpellier, fol. 65r).

¹¹⁴ Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, I, 180, 14.

¹¹⁵ MEAE VENERI meae amicae uel deae uoluptatis (Montpellier, fol. 7r).

¹¹⁶ Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 38, 18.

¹¹⁷ FASTIDIA contemptus despexiones (Montpellier, fol. 5r); FASTIDIA comptentus (*lege* contemptus) despeptiones (Paris 7926, fol. 3v); FASTIDIA id est despeptiones contemptus (Laon 468, fol. 18v).

¹¹⁸ Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 35, 1-2.

¹¹⁹ Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 758.

¹²⁰ Donatus, *Interpretationes vergilianae*, 2:195.

The compilers not only collated and added to ancient sources, but sometimes combined two passages from the same authority, as in the following excerpt from Donatus commenting on the opening section of *Aeneid*, book 9, in which Turnus is urged to war by Juno's messenger, Iris:

Oxford, fol. 164r (*Aen.* 9, 6-13)

TVRNE coepit a nomine, quasi excitaret dormientem. Turne, ait, qui saluti tuae profutura non nosti, ultro occurrisse non sentis quod optatum multiplicibus uotis, etiamsi fauerent numina, prestare non possent? Et tu non arripis quod sponte detulit dies oportuna, dum uoluitur?

Donatus, *Aen.* 9, 6-13

Turne, ait, qui saluti tuae profutura tractare non nosti, ultro occurrisse non sentis quod optatum multiplicibus votis, etiamsi fauerent numina, praestare non possent? non arripis quod sponte detulit dies oportuna, dum voluitur?¹²¹.....

Turne: coepit a nomine, quasi excitaret dormientem¹²²

As well as collating, combining and adding material, the compilers of the Oxford Vergil sought to abbreviate. In the following example, a compiler shortens a passage in Donatus by omitting a portion of the commentary:

Oxford, fol. 164v (*Aen.* 9, 51-53)

ETQVIS..INFERT hoc est nulli enim fas est mouere arma uel telum iacere priusquam mittat qui ducit exercitum. hyperbaton est hic ordinatur autem ita Turnus ut anteuolans uenit et ait etquis erit mecum, iuuenes, et misit telum

Donatus, *Aen.* 9, 51-53

hoc est quod ait *et iaculum attorquens emittit in auras, principium pugnae, et campo sese arduus infert*: iecit telum, lege scilicet observata bellorum; nulli enim fas est mouere arma uel telum iacere priusquam mittat qui ducit exercitum. iacit autem, non ut aliquem feriat, sed ut sollemnitatem conpleat et legem. denique Turnus in auras iaculum, non in hominem contorsit. hyperbaton hic debet adverti, cuius causa, cum pronuntiatur, totum debet uno tractu suspendi et illic finiri ubi primo verbo respondetur ex fine. coepit enim sic atque ita ordinatur: Turnus ut anteuolans uenit et ait etquis erit mecum, iuuenes, et misit

¹²¹ Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 2:185.

¹²² Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 2:186.

In another case, a quotation from *Georgics* 1, 374 in Servius is omitted. The citation is alluded to by the phrase *et reliqua* and is comparable to similar abbreviated forms found in the Vergilian lemmata in Servius.¹²⁴ Paraphrasing is also attested in the glosses. Donatus was often consulted by the compilers to provide a paraphrase of Vergil, as in the following annotation elucidating the kind of toga worn by the Consul when invoking battle:

Oxford, fol. 147v (*Aen.* 7, 612-15)

INSIGNIS cultus Romuleae uestis et Gauini cinctu insignis consul harum portarum reserat fores. stridentia limina posuit, ut in ipsa patefactione ualuarum stridor missus audientes terreat (Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, vol. 2, 91)

Vergil, *Aen.* 7, 612-15

ipse Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino
insignis reserat stridentia limina consul,
ipse vocat pugnas; sequitur tum cetera pubes,
aeraeque adsensu conspirant cornua rauco

The compilers of the glosses in the Oxford Vergil also lifted comments from one passage on Vergil and used them to explain another or created a link between different passages in the poet. For example, commenting on the Hesperides mentioned in the sixth of the *Eclogues*, a glossator evokes the myth of Hippomenes and Atalanta (their courtship, the race, the golden apples from the garden of Hesperides and their transformation into lions by Cybele).

The annotator excerpts information from Servius's commentary on *Aeneid* 3,

¹²³ Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 2:194.

¹²⁴ FVGIVNTQVE NOTOS aut uentos quosuis frigidus: nam etiam grues significant tempestatem futuram, ut in Georgicon legimis aut illum surgentem et reliqua aut re uera nothos; horum enim calorem fugiunt cum reuertuntur in Traciam (*Aeneid* 10, 266; Oxford, fol. 182v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, II, 420, 10-14).

113, where the myth is expounded. The same gloss occurs in Paris 7925. There are minor differences, however, between the Oxford gloss and the Servian comment, differences also found in the Paris manuscript, thus once again underscoring the close relationship between these two manuscripts:

Oxford, fol. 8v; Paris 7925, fol. 7v (Ec. 6, 61)

HESPERIDVM Scenos ciuitas est. Exinde fuit uirgo filia Atlantis (*lege* Atalante), praepotens cursu, ad haec ut sponso prouocatos ac uictos suo cursu occideret. Postea Ipomenes Venerem ut sibi adesset (Paris 7925: adesse) rogauit: a qua cum accepisset de <h>orto Hesperidum tria mala aurea, prouocauit puellam in cursu et singula coepit iacere. Tunc Atlanta colligendorum malorum retenta (retenta *om.* Paris 7925), superata est. Ipomenes autem statim cum ea concubuit. Vnde irata dea Cibela in leones eos conuertit et suo currui subiugauit

Servius, Aen. 3, 113

ET INVNCTI CVRRVM DOMINAE SVBIERE LEONES Schoenos civitas est. Exinde fuit virgo Atalante, praepotens cursu, adeo ut sponso prouocatos ac victos occideret. Postea Hippomenes Venerem ut sibi adesset rogavit: a qua cum accepisset de horto Hesperidum tria mala aurea, prouocauit puellam ad cursum et singula coepit iacere. Tunc Atalante, cupiditate colligendorum malorum retenta, superata est. Sed Hippomenes potitus victoria, in luco matris deum amoris inpatientia cum victa concubuit. unde irata dea in leones eos conuertit et suo currui subiugavit¹²⁵

Intertextual links were often made by the compilers of the Oxford Vergil. For instance, in a gloss on *Aeneid* 3, 67 excerpted from Servius, the lemma *SEPVLCHRO* (tomb) leads associatively to a passage in book 6 which mentions the souls of the unburied.¹²⁶ The same associative tendencies are evident in a gloss on *Aeneid* 10, 593, where Aeneas kills his enemies on the battlefield.

Commenting on the word “shadow” (*VMBRA*) in the text, the glossator excerpts a passage in Servius which contains two intertextual references: the first, to the account of the phantom sent to Turnus by Juno (*Aen.* 10, 643), and

¹²⁵ Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, I, 363, 3-14. A marginal gloss in Valenciennes 407, fol. 11r commenting on *Eclogue* 6, 61 follows the comment in Servius, *Aeneid* 3, 113.

¹²⁶ *SEPVLCHRO* quia legemus in sexto libro insepulorum animas uagas esse et hunc constat non legitime fuisse sepultum (*Aeneid* 3, 68; 6, 325; Oxford, fol. 83r; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, I, 349, 27-350, 2).

the second to the episode in which Neptune envelops Aeneas in a thick mist

(*Aen.* 5, 808-810):

Oxford, fol. 188r (*Aen.* 10, 593)

VMBRAE *haec allocutio contraria est superiori, hoc enim continet: obiecisti mihi quod sim et a Diomede et ab Achille conuersus in fugam; te uero, o Lucage, nec equorum tarditas prodidit, quod mihi contigit cum a Diomede occisus est Pandarus qui in eodem curru dimicabat, nec aliqua umbra equi tui sunt territi, quod factum saepius in Homero legitur, sicut paulo post Turnum cogit imago bella deserere (*Aen.* 10, 643). Potest tamen et ad illud referri quo tempore eum ab Achille nube caua Neptunus eripuit, ut in quinto (*Aen.* 5, 808-10) commemoratur.¹²⁷*

Especially striking about the above gloss are the Tironian notes (represented by italics). Particularly noteworthy is the fact that corresponding words written in minuscule are supplied for the Tironian notes (see above on the Tironian notes).

Testimonies of Other Manuscripts

The encyclopaedic practices of the compilers of the Oxford Vergil were not unique, but are abundantly evident in other glossed manuscripts and in many kinds of compilations ranging from glossaries to florilegia. They are especially apparent in the wide range of materials used by early medieval Vergil commentators. Thus, the Vergil manuscript, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 167 (saec. IX^{ex}, Brittany, Auxerre, Fleury, Northern France?) transmits many annotations drawn from Servius, Servius auctus and the Bern scholia,

¹²⁷ Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, II, 452, 2-10.

together with Old Breton glosses, as well as unknown glosses attested elsewhere.¹²⁸ Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 165 (saec. IX^{2/4}, Tours, Saint-Martin) includes glosses drawn from Servius, Servius auctus, Bern scholia, Nonius, Macrobius, Fulgentius, Solinus, Isidore and Festus Paulus, as well as non-Servian additions coinciding with Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1495 (saec. X), and unknown glosses attested elsewhere.¹²⁹ In some cases the names of the commentators and of the sources are mentioned. For example, in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 172 (saec. IX^{2/3}, Paris region, Saint-Denis?), the names of Gaudentius, Iunilius, Titus Gallus and Isidore are often underlined in glosses on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, as are the names of Varro (fol. 104v), Pliny (fol. 106v), Terence (fol. 113r), Lucan and Sallust (fol. 115r) in glosses on the *Aeneid*. Even specific works are highlighted, for instance, Plautus's *Curculio* on fol. 128r.

Encyclopaedic practices are also evident in other gloss traditions.

Paulina Taraskin has identified identical tendencies in annotations in a late tenth- or early eleventh-century Bavarian Horace manuscript: London, British Library, Harley MS 2724. She notes the presence of extensive verbatim extracts from a wide range of sources, as well as an interest in collecting and

¹²⁸ Bischoff, *Katalog I*, Nr. 542, p. 114. For an overview of the possible origins of Bern, MS 167, see Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 184-85.

¹²⁹ The Vatican manuscript contains an expanded version of Servius's commentary copied in the tenth century, the origin of which is unclear. For the provenance we can locate it in Rheims. See Ottaviano, "II Reg. lat. 1669," 288. For the Bern manuscript, see John J. Savage, "The scholia in the Virgil of Tours, Bernensis 165," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 36 (1925): 91-164 and Hellmann, *Tironische Notizen*, 223.

combining sources. The glossators draw on a rich array of materials (e.g. Cicero, Solinus, Servius, Orosius, Isidore and Bede) and provide, she observes, information on “myth, history, geography, ethnography, natural history and etymology.”¹³⁰ Similar tendencies are evident in Carolingian glosses on Martianus Capella’s *De nuptiis* where the basic framework of the work, with its allegory and seven books on the liberal arts, provided a structure around which early medieval compilers furnished encyclopaedic information and made of Martianus a lexicon-encyclopaedia containing explanations of words, polyglot vocabularies and mythological persons, supplemented with information of various kinds.¹³¹ The drive to collect material, both old and new, is also noted by Franck Cinato for early medieval Priscian glosses.¹³² Indeed, Priscian’s *Institutiones* was itself a “*Fundgrube* of quotations from ancient writers.”¹³³ Cumulatively, the evidence suggests an important methodology underpinning scholarly practice in early medieval Europe and a context for the gathering together of all kinds of materials alongside Vergil.

¹³⁰ Paulina Taraskin’s study of the medieval reading of Horace is to be found in her unpublished doctoral thesis: *Reading Horace’s Lyric: A Tenth-Century Annotated Manuscript in the British Library (Harley 2724)* (London, 2013), 33. See https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/files/31221163/2013_Taraskin_Paulina_0630839_thesis.pdf

¹³¹ O’Sullivan, *Glossae Aevi Carolini*, xx.

¹³² For example, in the glossed Priscian manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 7505 and Köln, Dombibliothek, MS 200.

¹³³ Lodewijk J. Engels, “Priscian in Alcuin’s *De orthographia*,” in *Alcuin of York*, 113-142, at 115.

Content of the Glosses

The glosses in the Oxford manuscript not only provide insight into *how* knowledge was created, but also into *what* was approved. In the first instance, analysis of the content of the glosses clarifies how Vergil was expounded. The glossators elucidated the language and meaning of the text through provision of lexical, grammatical and rhetorical information, paraphrasing and interpretation. Occasionally the content of the glosses may reflect current interests, as in a reference to the liberal arts in a comment on the pipe formed of seven stalks in the second *Eclogue*.¹³⁴ Allegorical interpretation was often furnished, sometimes drawn from Philargyrius or Bern scholia.¹³⁵ However, in many instances, it is the Carolingian annotators who provide the figurative exposition, in some cases drawing inspiration from late antique commentaries. In the gloss below, the compilers first excerpt from Servius to furnish a synonym and then expand the Servian comment by elucidating the meaning of the wood pigeons referred to in *Eclogue* 3. It is the Carolingian glossators, not Servius, who explained the allusion in the text – namely that the wood pigeons are linked to the goddess Venus:

¹³⁴ SEPTEM septem cicutis septem liberalibus artibus uel euglogis septem sapientia conpac<tis> (*Eclogue* 2, 36; Oxford, fol. 2r; Montpellier, fol. 5v). For the comparison with the seven eclogues, see Philargyrius/Bern scholia. See Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 39, 28; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 760-61.

¹³⁵ The following allegorical interpretation of a character in the *Eclogues* (Galatea, the girlfriend of Damoetas) does not appear in Servius, but is found in Philargyrius and in the Bern scholia: GALATEA Gallia (*Eclogue* 3, 64; Oxford, fol. 3v); GALATEA concubina uel Gallia (Montpellier, fol. 7r; Valenciennes, fol. 6r). See Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 60, 20; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 770.

Oxford, fol. 4r (Ec. 3, 69)

CONGESSERE Congessere nidificauerunt, quia palumbes aues sunt ualde luxuriosae idcirco dedicantur Veneri.¹³⁶

In similar fashion, it is Carolingian annotators who provided the figurative meaning of a passage in the third *Eclogue* which speaks of flowers inscribed with royal names. The glossators link the flowers to the hyacinth flower which grew from the blood of Ajax and had two letters inscribed on its petals denoting the name of the hero:

Oxford, fol. 4v (Ec. 3, 107)

FLORES Ajax rex de Grecis qui semet ipsum interfecit de gladio Hectoris et inde natus est flos ubi apparet quasi nomen ipsius scriptum est IA.¹³⁷

According to tradition, Ajax killed himself with the sword given to him by Hector, and from his blood a flower grew on whose petals the letters AI were inscribed. These letters signified the first two letters of Ajax's Greek name and also denoted a cry of woe, AI AI. This tradition is present in two passages in Ovid which discuss the letters on the petals of the hyacinth flower in the context of the death of Hyacinthus (10.215) and Ajax (13.394). The Ovidian passages are alluded to by Servius.¹³⁸ Unlike Servius, however, the

Explanationes of Philargyrius and Bern scholia explicitly mention the two

¹³⁶ CONGESSERE nidificauere, quia palumbes aues sunt ualde luxuriosae ideo dedicatae sunt Veneri (Valenciennes, fol. 6r); colligerunt, quia palumbes aues sunt ualde luxuriosae idcirco dedicatae sunt Veneri (Montpellier, fol. 7r). See Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 38, 19.

¹³⁷ FLORES Ajax rex de Grecis qui semet ipsum interfecit gladio Hectoris et inde natus est flos ubi apparet quasi nomen ipsius scriptum (Montpellier, fol. 8r).

¹³⁸ See Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 42, 23-25.

letters on the petals of the flower.¹³⁹ The Carolingian gloss on Ajax, then, is closest to material found in Philargyrius/Bern scholia and crucially once again expounds the figurative meaning of the text. In this instance, the Carolingian glossators are indebted to classical and late antique tradition.

Occasionally, moral interpretation is provided by the Carolingian compilers, as in a comment excerpted from Donatus focussed on those who are punished in Tartarus for specific crimes (e.g. hatred of brothers, striking a parent, fraud).¹⁴⁰ Christian interpretation is rare. It is hardly a surprise that it is to be found at the very start of the fourth book of the *Eclogues* where annotators identify the new golden age as the Christian age ushered in by Adam:

Oxford, fol. 4v (Ec. 4, 5)

MAGNVS...ORDO Restaurantur noua saecula quae perierunt sicut illa prophetauit, quia illam beatitudinem Adae sub tempora Saturni finxerunt

Indeed, in a similar vein we find Christian interpretation in annotations on the opening of the fourth book in other Carolingian manuscripts¹⁴¹ and also in

¹³⁹ FLORES Aliter dicunt esse Aiakis sanguinem; cum se occidisset gladio Hectoris, inscriptum esse in florem acae, hoc est gemendi sonitus Graecus (Philargyrius); FLORES Ajax cum se interfecit gladio Hectoris, flores uiolae e terra sanguine concreto exortae litteras habuerunt nomen Aiakis exprimentes: habuerunt enim duo ae ae (Bern scholia). Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 70, 19-23; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 775.

¹⁴⁰ HIC QVIBVS Hic in illic fuerunt qui odio habuerunt fratres suos et qui patres egerunt manu uel qui pauperibus conflauerunt fraudem (*Aeneid* 6, 608; fol. 132r). Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 1:588. A similar comment is found in Reg. lat. 1670. For which, see Bakker, *Totus quidem Vergilius*, 268.

¹⁴¹ CYMEI Sibilla uirgo fuit quae habitauit Cumas, prophetauitque multa de Domini natiuitate, quamuis pagana, et de eius secundo aduentu; legisse Virgilium eius uersus multi testantur et inde descripsisse hanc eglogam in honore Saluatoris. Quidam dicunt quod in honore Caesaris Octauiani descripsit illam; quidam autumant in honore Salonini filii Pollionis editam, per quem putabat Pollionem suos agros obtinere apud Cesarem; et ideo in honore filii sui conscripserit hanc eglogam, ut per filium patrem

Philargyrius¹⁴² and the Bern scholia.¹⁴³ Very rarely does one find a Christian reference in glosses elucidating the pagan mythology in the Oxford Vergil, though there is mention of Moses in a gloss on Atlas, who, in Greek mythology, holds up the celestial sphere.¹⁴⁴

So what can be said about the content of the glosses? Above all, the content not only demonstrates how Vergil was expounded but also what kinds of knowledge were valued. The glosses elucidate the mythological, literary and historical figures and places of antiquity alluded to or found in Vergil. However, their summaries of Greek myths and legends are not Christianised or moralised. Unlike early medieval glosses on Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*, the glossators in the Oxford Vergil do not interpret the pagan imagery as an allegorical cover for moral truth.¹⁴⁵ Nor do they furnish

placaret. Sed si quis considerare uoluerit, ad omnes potest referri, id est et ad Saluatorem et ad Octavianum et ad Saloninum filium Pollionis consulis (*Eclogue* 4, 4; Montpellier, fol. 8r).

¹⁴² REDIT id est post Evam (*Eclogue* 4, 6; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 77, 23); NOVA PROGENIES Id est quidam dicunt inspiratum eum de Salvatoris adventu, quidam de adventu Salonini Pollionis, quidam de adventu Octaviani dixisse (*Eclogue* 4, 7; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 78, 3-7).

¹⁴³ In hac ecloga solus poeta loquitur de restauratione noui saeculi, hoc est: Saturni regnum aureum sub Octauiano adulanter restauratur, quod secundum Christianos ad nouum testamentum per Christum et Mariam renouatum de prauato conuenit (*Eclogue* 4, preface; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 775); NOVA PROGENIES Saloninus uel Augustus uel Christus uel Marcellus, Octauiae filius (*Eclogue* 4, 7; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 777).

¹⁴⁴ Adlans rex Ethiopum uel Africae fuit, frater Promethei, maternus auus Mercurii maioris, cuius nepos fuit Tri->megistus; et iste Mercurius eo tempore quo Moyses natus est fuisse reperitur a quo Atlante astrologiae artem prius dicitur excogitatam et ideo dictus est sustinuisse caelum. Unde occasionem fabula inuenit ut eum caelum portare confingeret, quamuis mons eius nomine nuncupetur; ob eruditionem igitur disciplinae et scientiam caeli nomen eius in montem Africae diriuatum est qui nunc Atlans cognominatur: qui propter altitudinem suam quasi caeli machinam atque astra sustentare uidetur. Qui Atlans, cum audisset oraculo Apollinis cauendum se esse a Perseo Iouis filio et timore nullum susciperet, ab ipso Perseo in montem conuersus est uiso Gorgonis capite, eo quod illum noluit suscipere (*Aeneid* 4, 246; fol. 98r). Ottaviano identifies the same gloss in Reg. lat. 1669 and demonstrates that the annotation is a patchwork from at least three different sources (Servius, Augustine and Isidore) and that a similar juxtaposition appears in the *Liber glossarum*. See Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 320-21; eadem, "Il Reg. Lat. 1669," 294-5.

¹⁴⁵ See Henry Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany: The View from Cologne* (Oxford, 2007), 210-23; O'Sullivan, "Obscurity, pagan lore and secrecy," 99-121.

rationalising interpretations of pagan myths, as in early medieval annotations on *De nuptiis* and on Horatian lyric.¹⁴⁶ Rather, the overt paganism of Vergil is deployed as an opportunity to supply all kinds of information relating to classical antiquity.¹⁴⁷ In particular, the pagan myths are often summarised, as in glosses on Phaethon and the Heliades, Salmoneus, Alcon, Deiphobus, Orestes, Hippomenes and Atalanta, Cacus, Daedalus, Teucer, Deucalion and Prometheus.¹⁴⁸ In some instances, the glossators do not excerpt from existing sources but supply their own annotations on the classical myths, as in the case of Tereus, who, having violated his wife's sister, Philomela, cut out her tongue. On learning of her husband's actions, Tereus's wife, Procne, killed their son, cooked the boy and served him to her husband. Afterwards, Procne, Philomela and Tereus were turned into birds:

Oxford, fol. 8v (Ec. 6, 78)

TEREI Tereus dilexit nimis Prognam sororem Philomellae suae uxoris quadam autem die gradiebantur simul uoluitque cum illa concumbere illa quidem resistens nimium per uim oppressa est; postea timens Tereus ut indicaret istud scelus suae uxori amputauit linguam eius. illa uero scripsit de sanguine in sua stola omnia quae passa fuerat legensque hoc uxor Terei in furorem uersa est et postquam aduenit pariendi

¹⁴⁶ See, for example, Taraskin, *Reading Horace's Lyric*, 177, 243. Interestingly, Taraskin has identified Martianus glosses as a source of some of the annotations on Horace. See also Greta Hawes, *Rationalizing Myth in Antiquity* (Oxford, 2014).

¹⁴⁷ LVPERCAL locus erat sacratus Pani, deo Arcadiae, cui mons Liceus in Archadia sacratus est (*Aeneid* 8, 343; fol. 157r). Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, II, 249, 24-25.

¹⁴⁸ SALMONEA Salmoneus Eoli filius fuit, non regis uentorum, sed cuiusdam apud Eliden ciuitatem, ubi regnauit. qui fabricato ponto (*lege* ponte) aereo super eum agitabat currus ad imitanda t[h]onitrua, et facem ardentem tenebat in manu et iactabat super homines et in quem fuisset iaculatus facem, iubebat occidi, qui postea fulminatus est a Iouis fulmine (*Aeneid* 6, 585; fol. 131v). Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, II, 81, 21-25. I am grateful to Silvia Ottaviano for sending me transcriptions of this and some other glosses on the *Aeneid*. Similar information, though not identical, is found in Carolingian Martianus glosses. See O'Sullivan, *Glossae*, 390, 14-17.

tempus suae uxoris accepit infantem et coxit deditque eum manducare suo uiro. inde iratus Iouis mutauit Tereum in upupam et Philomellam uxorem eius in lusciniam, Prognam uero in hirundinem et adhuc apparet sanguis in collo hirundinis

The above gloss shows affinities with Servius, Ps-Probus and the Mythographers.¹⁴⁹ However, the closest textual affinities are with a related manuscript, Paris 7925, and two others, Paris 10307 and Laon 468, underscoring once again ties between specific manuscripts and the interconnection between glosses and other compendia.¹⁵⁰ The compilers of the Oxford manuscript also supply information on the classical gods, deities, nymphs and muses (e.g. Vulcan, Saturn, Mercury, Apollo, the Eumenides, Dryads), as well as on mythical heroes and monsters (e.g. Aeneas, Evander, the Chimaera) and on the geography of the ancient world, sometimes linked with the mythology (e.g. Mount Parnassus, Cuma).¹⁵¹ In all such cases, the focus is on furnishing information, not on Christianising the material. The glosses in the Oxford Vergil, then, demonstrate an interest in mythology, an interest also apparent in the Carolingian reception of Servius and Martianus.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 80, 20-81, 11; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 346, 25-347, 5. *Mythographi Vaticanani I et II*, ed. Peter Kulcsár, CCSL 91C (1987), 1:4, 1; 2:261, 1.

¹⁵⁰ Paris 7925, fol. 7v; Paris 10307, fol. 57v; Laon 468, fol. 8r. I am grateful to Silvia Ottaviano for identifying the manuscripts in which this gloss occurs.

¹⁵¹ CVMEI Cyme Sibilla septima prophetissa fuit de Cuma ciuitate. Sibilla dicitur dei mens, quia diuinam deitatem interpretatur hominibus de futuris (*Eclogue* 4, 4; fol. 4v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 75-77); PARNASIA RVPES mons Thesalia<e> (*Eclogue* 6, 29; fol. 7v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 69, 7).

¹⁵² This interest is also found in the ninth-century preservation of the Roman imperial geographical tradition, as evidenced by the annotations in Vat. lat. 4949 that specifically identify places that pertain to mythology. For which, see Lozovsky, "Roman geography and ethnography in the Carolingian Empire," 349.

The glosses in the Oxford Vergil, however, not only provide evidence for the mythological interests of the compilers and their predilection for the classical past. Broader philosophical currents underpinning Vergil's works (e.g. fate, afterlife, the soul, history and time) are also evident in the selection of material gathered in the glosses.¹⁵³ No surprise that book 6 of the *Aeneid* enabled a range of comments on the topographical details of the underworld, as well as on punishment and on the heroes of antiquity.¹⁵⁴ Similar interests are manifested in Carolingian glosses on Martianus Capella which discuss the locus of spiritual and infernal space¹⁵⁵ and are also evident, as John Contreni has shown, in the enthusiasm of ninth-century moralists for texts such as the seventh-century *Visio Baronti*.¹⁵⁶

Especially striking, however, is that the compilers of the Oxford Vergil, in the treatment of the past, often matched the characters from the literary imagination of the poet with historical figures from the Roman world and, in many instances, with statesmen, consuls, rulers, friends and relatives from the

¹⁵³ OMNIBVS VMBRA...POENAS Dicunt phisici biothanatorum, id est bis mortuorum animas non recipi in originem suam, nisi uagantes legitimum tempus compleuerint fati: quod poetae ad sepulturam transferunt, ut centum errant annos. Hoc ergo nunc dicit Dido: occisuram se ante diem suum (occisura me ante diem sum, *Thilo*); uaganti mihi dabis poenas tuas. Et audiam, quas uidere non potero (poenas; nam te persequar semper: si autem fuero recepta in originem, poenas tuas audiam, quas uidere non potero, *Thilo*). Hic ergo est sensus: si tempestatem euaseris flammaram rogalium, umbra mea te persequetur: si et hanc euaseris, uel recepta audiam famam suppliciorum tuorum (*Aeneid* 4, 386; fol. 100v; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, I, 534, 7-16). The omission is a case of haplography.

¹⁵⁴ For example, excerpting from Servius, the glossators comment on the cold of Tartarus: TARTARVS Tartarus uel quia omnia illic turbata sunt aut quod est melius, id est a tremore frigoris; sole enim caret (*Aeneid* 6, 577, fol. 131v). Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, II, 80, 23-25. Drawing on Donatus, they comment on the fields of Elysium: FELICES quae post depositam uitam talibus locis et deliciis uterentur (*Aeneid* 6, 669; fol. 133r; Donatus, *Interpretationes*, 1:594; Bakker, *Totus quidem Vergilius*, 279).

¹⁵⁵ O'Sullivan, "Obscurity," 115-16.

¹⁵⁶ John J Contreni, "Building mansions in heaven: The *Visio Baronti*, Archangel Raphael and a Carolingian king," *Speculum* 78, No. 3 (2003): 673-706.

time of Vergil himself. In this, the Carolingian compilers were following the lead of Vergil's ancient commentators. Hence, characters from the *Eclogues* are paired with Cato the Elder and Julius Caesar, as well as with Asinius Pollio, Vergil's patron. Corydon is linked with Vergil, and Alexis with Caesar or with a slave of Asinius Pollio;¹⁵⁷ Daphnis with Flaccus, Saloninus and Julius Caesar.¹⁵⁸ Specific *Eclogues* are even paired with Roman historical figures: the fourth *Eclogue* with Asinius Pollio and his son, Saloninus, as well as with Caesar;¹⁵⁹ the fifth *Eclogue* with Flaccus, Julius Caesar and Saloninus.¹⁶⁰ For the Carolingian commentators on Vergil, history was very often Roman history, as is further attested by their comments on the genealogy of Aeneas and in the origin myth of the Trojans, the legendary ancestors of the Romans. Their interest in classical history, ethnography and mythology accords with Frankish political mythology that linked the Franks with the Trojans, with Carolingian historiographical culture and with the Carolingian preservation of the Roman geographical and ethnographical legacy which, as Natalia Lozovsky has shown, cohered with Carolingian imperial ideology and with

¹⁵⁷ CORYDON id est Virgilius; ALEXIN pastorem uel Caesarem uel puerum Pollionis (*Eclogue* 2, 1; fol. 1v). Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 18, 1-10; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 757.

¹⁵⁸ DAPHNIM Dap<h>nim id est filius Mercurii, pastor speciosus in forma adamatus a dea Licca uel Flaccus frater Virgilii seu Saloninus siue Iulius Caesar (*Eclogue* 5, 20; fol. 6r). Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 56, 27; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 94, 6-8; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 786.

¹⁵⁹ Hanc euglogam scriptam esse dicunt in honore Asinii Pollionis uel filii sui Salonini qui nomen accepit a Salone (*lege* Salona) ciuitate qui natus est quando pater eius expugnauit Salonam uel in honore Caesaris (*Eclogue* 4; fol. 4v). Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.1, 44, 4-10; Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 72, 16-73, 5; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 775.

¹⁶⁰ Ista eugloga est in honore Iulii Caesar (*lege* Caesaris) uel Salonini filii Pollionis uel quomodo deflet uir obitum fratris sui Flacci uel unius pastoris obitum (*Eclogue* 5; fol. 5v). Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, III.2, 89, 20-21; Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 783.

the creation of a Frankish identity at once Christian and imperial, and above all heavily focussed on Rome.¹⁶¹

Conclusion

The Oxford Vergil constitutes important evidence for the Carolingian reception of Vergil and the Latin classics more generally.¹⁶² The manuscript was part of a wider scholarly enterprise to gather materials around Vergil in the ninth and tenth centuries, manifested in the generation of glosses and the provision of *accessus* materials. Such efforts went hand-in-hand with the diffusion of *Vergiliana* in lexicographical and encyclopaedic collections, the circulation of independent commentaries on the poet, the classicising tendencies of many Carolingian scholars, and more broadly, with the socio-political, cultural and educational ideals of the *renovatio* which underscored

¹⁶¹ See the long passage on the *origo Troianorum* in a number of Vergil manuscripts, as well as in the first Vatican Mythographer and Laon 468 in Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 303-304. For the narrative linking the Franks to the Trojans, see Matthew Innes, "Teutons or Trojans? The Carolingians and the Germanic Past," in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge, UK, 2000), 227-49. For the vigorous interest in Roman geography and ethnography in the ninth century, see the case studies in Lozovsky, "Roman geography and ethnography in the Carolingian Empire," 325-64. Lozovsky demonstrates that Carolingian geographical tracts often transmit information on old Roman provinces and outdated geographical knowledge drawn from sources such as Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Martianus, Isidore and Bede. See Natalia Lozovsky, "Carolingian geographical tradition: was it geography?," *Early Medieval Europe* 5 (1) (1996): 25-43. Matthew Innes, "The classical tradition in the Carolingian renaissance: Ninth-century encounters with Suetonius," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3, No. 3 (1997): 265-82. Moreover, Carolingian historiographical culture imagined a *translatio imperii*, a transfer of imperial hegemony from the ancient Romans to the *gens Francorum*, and the creation of a *nova Roma*. For insight into how the *gens Francorum* became part of universal Church history, see Matthew Innes, "Historical writing, ethnicity, and national identity: Medieval Europe and Byzantium in comparison," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, vol 2.: 400-1400*, ed. Sarah Foot and Chase F. Robinson (Oxford, 2012), 539-75.

¹⁶² For other studies of the importance of the classics, see Mariken Teeuwen, "Carolingian scholarship on classical authors: practices of reading and writing," in *Manuscripts of the Latin Classics 800-1200*, ed. Erik Kwakkel (Leiden, 2015), 23-50.

the vital importance of the imperial legacy.¹⁶³ They also dovetailed with the study of a wide range of pagan writers, not restricted to the canonical few. In her examination of the Carolingian reception of Ovid, for example, Lendinara shows that the “Carolingians did not aim for a sterile or partial recovery of past learning, but made global use of the classical authors”.¹⁶⁴

Above all, the glosses in the Oxford manuscript demonstrate how knowledge was ordered and what was valued. They highlight the autonomy of classical learning and intrinsic value of the pagan past. As part of a wider Carolingian tradition of commentary on the poet, the annotations manifestly reveal that any inherited patristic bias was ignored. Whilst cultural tensions between the pagan and Christian worlds lingered throughout the Middle Ages there is little to no trace of them in the Oxford manuscript. The glosses thus attest to a form of appropriation that was unaffected by patristic prejudice. For the Christian glossators of the Oxford Vergil, the past, punctuated by the literary, mythological and historical personages from classical antiquity, was not a “foreign country.”¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ A good instance of the intellectual horizons of Carolingian scholars is to be found in their use of nicknames, many of which were drawn from the classical past. Mary Garrison’s study of the social world of Alcuin demonstrates how the use of such aliases could be “constitutive of a social vision: Alcuin’s world.” See Mary Garrison, “The social world of Alcuin: nicknames at York and at the Carolingian court,” in *Alcuin of York*, 59-79.

¹⁶⁴ Lendinara, “Mixed attitudes to Ovid,” 191.

¹⁶⁵ Quotation from the opening sentence of Leslie P. Hartley, *The Go-Between* (1953); David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, UK, 1985).

Appendix

Description of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 8

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 8 (ff. 226, saec. IX^{2/4}, 285 x 190 mm., written space 210 X 105mm., 29/30 lines, supplementary half page on fol. 191, possession notes on fols. 1r and 111r)¹⁶⁶ is a glossed manuscript containing all three works of Vergil. *Eclogue* 1-55 is missing however. The manuscript also transmits a number of pseudo-Ovidian *argumenta* comprising monostich, tetrastich and decastich arguments on fols. 14v, 23v, 53v, 67r, 81v, 93v, 121r, 163v, 177v-178r, 194v and 201v.¹⁶⁷ The inclusion of the *argumenta* reflects a broader trend to incorporate *accessus* materials of all kinds in Vergilian manuscripts in the early Middle Ages.¹⁶⁸ This parchment manuscript is in a modern binding with modern foliation at the top right hand corner of each folium recto and is ruled throughout in hard point for the text. Rubrication, uncials and rustic capitals are often used for incipits, explicits, titles, captions,

¹⁶⁶ On fol. 1r there is a reference to J. J. Mentelius (saec. XVII) and on fol. 111r to a certain count called Ricardus (*Ricardus comes*). Nothing is known of this figure. According to Silvia Ottaviano and David Ganz he is probably to be identified with a count living around 900. See Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 196. The same hand that wrote the possession note on fol. 111r also wrote a marginal note on fol. 110v.

¹⁶⁷ The following prefatory poems are found: tetrastich arguments preceding *Georgics* I-II, a twelve one-line verse summary of the *Aeneid*, a monostich and incomplete decastich argument preceding *Aeneid* 2, decastich arguments preceding *Aeneid* 3-4 and 6, monostich and decastich arguments preceding *Aeneid* 9-12.

¹⁶⁸ For the range of materials in the manuscript, including *Vitae Vergilianae*, see Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 60-63.

litterae notabiliores, first letters of each line and occasionally for the first letter of a gloss (e.g. on fol. 10r).¹⁶⁹ Green ink is deployed for an incipit on fol. 151r and red and yellow ink for initial letters on fol. 164r. Very little decoration appears in this manuscript (on fol. 18v a *mappa mundi* illustrating *Georgics* 1, 233; on fol. 54r a decorated initial; on fol. 56v a topographic sketch illustrating *Aeneid* 1, 159). The manuscript comprises two homogeneous volumes (I: 1-53 and II: 54-226). Quire description is as follows: 1⁸ (wants 1) 2⁸ 3⁶ 4-5⁸ 6¹⁰ 7⁶ 8⁸ 9¹⁰ (wants 1 after fol. 61v) 10-23⁸ 24⁸ (fol. 191 is inserted between quires 24 and 25) 25⁸ 26¹² (wants 5 after fol. 203v) 27-28⁸ [7 + 8 + 6 + 16 + 10 + 6 + 8 + 9 + 112 + 8 + 1 + 8 + 11 + 16 = 226]. Contemporary quire signatures are visible: IIII (fol. 29v) to VI (fol. 47v) and IIII (fol. 86v) to XVI (fol. 182v).

Generations of scholarship ranging from the ninth to the eleventh centuries are found in this manuscript, which is at times heavily glossed with marginal and interlinear notes linked to the text by *signes de renvoi* entered by contemporary and later hands. Bischoff observed hands dating to the twelfth century on fol. 67r and to the eleventh century on fol. 210v. The majority of glosses, in Caroline minuscule and in Tironian notes, are written by Carolingian glossators who drew heavily upon late antique commentaries which are interspersed with annotations that are not attested in the extant

¹⁶⁹ On fol. 10r, the top section of capital *P* is divided into quarters and two portions of it are coloured in red thus creating a chequered effect.

commentaries but are found elsewhere in early medieval manuscripts.¹⁷⁰ In Bischoff's view the glosses were largely written by contemporary and tenth-century hands.¹⁷¹ The glosses often have lines drawn around them so that they appear enclosed in a box, a feature also found in Paris 10307 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7928 (saec. IX^{ex} or IX/X, Rheims?).¹⁷² An unusual feature of one of the gloss hands is that these lines drawn around the glosses sometimes open at the point in the text where the lemma is to be found (see plate 1), a feature also present in Paris 7928.¹⁷³ Robert Kaster identifies three early gloss hands.¹⁷⁴ One of these, working throughout the codex, writes in caroline minuscule in brown ink and uses *ct*, *rt*, *et*, *or*, and *st* ligatures, 3 shaped *g*, *x* with long descender to the left and *e* caudatae. Another, also detected throughout the manuscript, deploys both Tironian notes and minuscule. He writes in brown ink. A third relatively early gloss hand, writing in a broad pen with heavy use of uncial *d*, appears, as Kaster has observed, on fols. 129r-137r and sporadically on *Aeneid* 7-12.

That many of the gloss hands are ninth century, that is, contemporary or near-contemporary with the text, seems highly likely given that similar or near-identical unknown glosses are present in other ninth-century

¹⁷⁰ See Ganz, "Carolingian manuscripts with substantial glosses in Tironian notes," 102 and 105.

¹⁷¹ Bischoff, *Katalog* II, Nr. 3771, p. 358.

¹⁷² For the link between Paris 7928 and Rheims, see Bischoff, *Katalog* III, Nr. 4515, p. 136 and Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 245.

¹⁷³ I am grateful to Mariken Teeuwen and Irene O'Daly for noticing this feature. I found the same feature in Paris 7928, for example, on fols. 3v, 5r, 9v, 10v.

¹⁷⁴ Kaster, *Tradition*, 27.

manuscripts.¹⁷⁵ Palaeographical evidence supports the conclusion that many of the glosses in the Oxford Vergil were copied in the ninth century: for example, at least on one occasion the same rubrication is used for both text and glosses.¹⁷⁶ Additionally, identical punctuation appears in both gloss and text and the Tironian *hic* which occurs in the margins to draw attention to passages in the text is very likely done by the hand that wrote comments in a mixture of Tironian notes and minuscule throughout the manuscript.¹⁷⁷

The following punctuation is supplied for the text and glosses: *punctus*, *punctus versus* and *punctus elevatus*. In the eleventh century, a scribe entered very neatly in the margins additional commentary from the vulgate Servius for the last five books of the *Aeneid* beginning at book 8, 134 and continuing to the end. This hand often duplicates material already provided by the earlier Carolingian glossators.¹⁷⁸ The lemmata of this commentary are not linked by *signes de renvoi* to the text but are written in majuscules. The format of these comments is in the manner of the “commented edition” identified by Louis Holtz (i.e. the text of Vergil is placed in the centre of the manuscript page

¹⁷⁵ For example, there is considerable overlap between the glosses in the Bodleian manuscript and those in Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 253 entered by contemporary and later hands (saec. IX^{2/3}, Northeast France?). For a description of the Montpellier manuscript, see Bischoff, *Katalog* II, Nr. 2852, p. 205. For discussion of the manuscript, including the hands of the glossators, see Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 263-69, 322-24. See also Savage, “The scholia in the Virgil of Tours,” 102-103.

¹⁷⁶ On fol. 10r, a glossator uses the same rubrication as the text hand.

¹⁷⁷ Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 196, notes that the hands responsible for the glosses corrected the text. For an example of the Tironian *hic*, see fols. 21v, 37r, 47v, 62r and 66r.

¹⁷⁸ For example, we find on fol. 161r the Servian comment on the city *Agylla* (*Aeneid* 8, 597) entered first by a Carolingian compiler in a mixture of Tironian notes and minuscule and later by an eleventh-century hand. The earlier compiler provides slightly less of the Servian comment than the later hand. For the comment, see Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici* II, 282, 1-10.

surrounded by well-ordered marginal commentary).¹⁷⁹ Some of the earlier glosses and later Servian commentary are now illegible on account of damage to the parchment (eg. fol. 178v). The manuscript is not ruled for the glosses but is ruled for the vulgate Servius, traces of which are visible as on fol.

218r.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Holtz, "Les manuscrits latins à gloses et à commentaires," 139-67.

¹⁸⁰ I am deeply grateful to Marie Therese Flanagan and Silvia Ottaviano for their characteristic generosity and many helpful suggestions, to Natalia Lozovsky for commenting on an early version and to the anonymous readers who helped shape this paper.