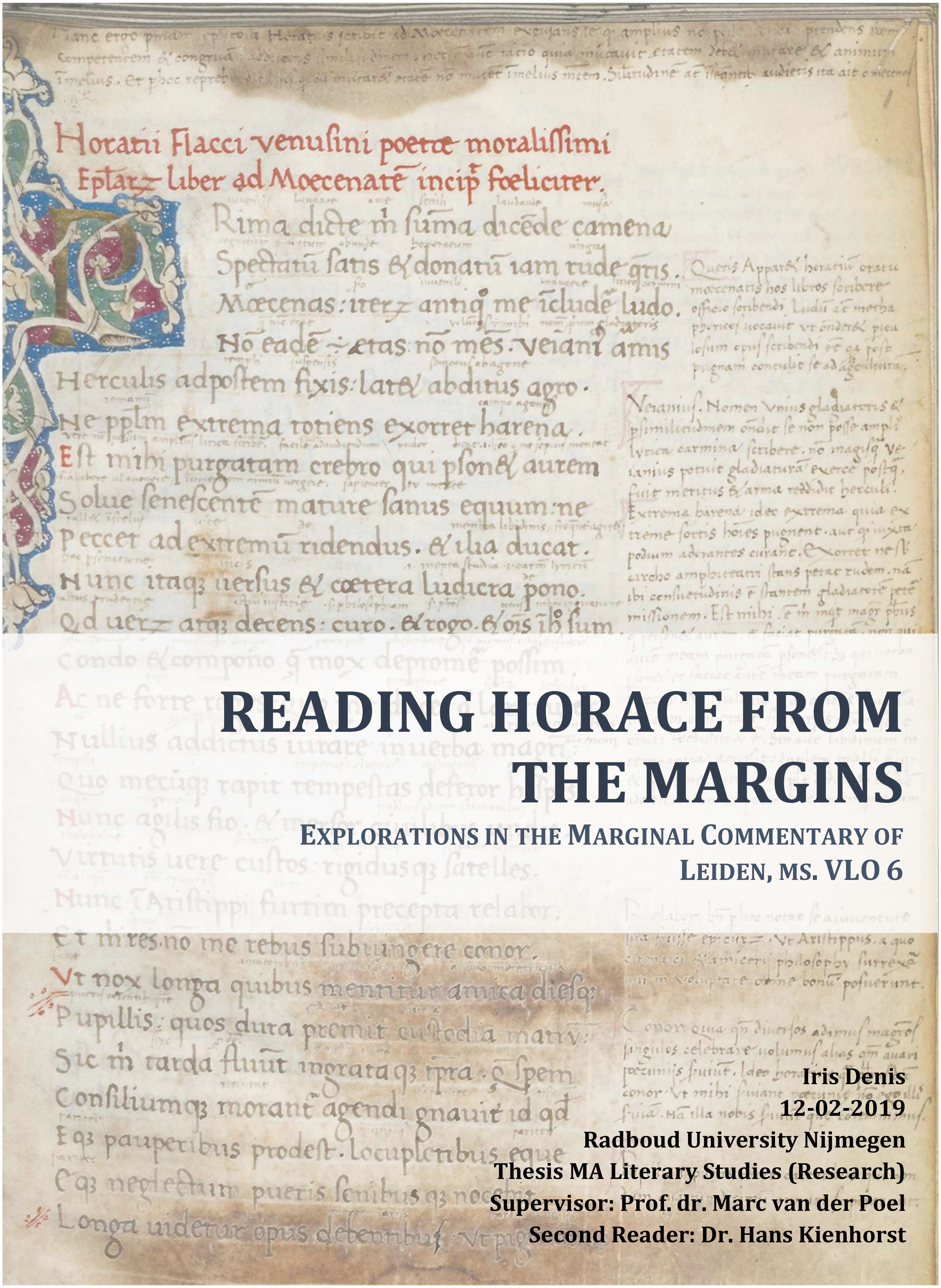

READING HORACE FROM THE MARGINS

EXPLORATIONS IN THE MARGINAL COMMENTARY OF LEIDEN, MS. VLO 6

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Front cover: digital image of Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek ms. VLO 6, f. 1r. All images in this thesis are used with permission of the Special Collections department of Leiden University Library, for which I am much obliged.

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Abstract

Central to this thesis is an annotated Horatian manuscript from the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* in Leiden, which will be examined from multiple perspectives, incorporating both a detailed study of the book as an historical object, and the undertaking of disclosing, editing, and understanding the notes written in its margins. The marginal commentary of Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek ms. VLO 6 was previously investigated only by dr. Willem Hendrik Suringar (1835), who, after studying several annotations throughout the book and carefully editing the full commentary on Horace's first *Epistle*, expressed his conviction that the commentary, although being an admirable effort by a schoolmaster gathering his information from various sources, had nothing much of interest to offer. Yet, much has changed since Suringar published this valuable overview: the surge of New Philology has revived the study of marginal paratexts in the postmodern world, and classicists have been emphasizing the importance of studying commentaries on classical texts as interpretations in light of their selectivity, engagement with traditions, and reliance on authorities. All this pleads for a 'reappraisal' of Leiden, VLO 6 and the commentary scribbled in its margins. While examining the historical commentary with the help of conceptual tools originating from both book-history and modern analysis of commentaries, I will argue that the commentary in VLO 6 is best understood as a layered, manifold collection of notes, having likely originated in a humanistic educational context, though simultaneously anchored in the medieval commentary tradition on Horace. In its selectivity, usage of various sources, and references to parallel texts, the commentary emerges moreover as a prime example of the ways in which the commentator's authoritative voice is constructed, while simultaneously assuming at times a more active role for its reader. The combination of approaches presented here is a particularly useful way to contribute to our understanding of the way Horace was historically read, and, at the same time, to examine the complicated entanglement of classical commentaries and the books they survive in.

Acknowledgements

It turned out to be quite an elaborate task to decipher, transcribe and reconstruct what the commentator of VLO 6 meant. I could never have completed it if not for various people who helped and supported me.

I owe thanks, first of all, to my supervisor and tutor, prof. dr. Marc van der Poel, for his useful suggestions, meticulous proofreading, and general support as tutor over the last few years. I am also grateful to dr. Hans Kienhorst, who acted as second reader for this thesis and who first introduced me to the wonderfully complex layers of medieval books. Thanks are due as well to dr. Margareta Fredborg, who was so kind as to share her personal transcription of several versions of the *Proposuerat* commentary with me.

Special thanks to my fellow students – especially Willem, Kevin and Daphne – for proofreading and, perhaps even more importantly, for the many, *many* coffee-breaks that were indispensable for the creation of this thesis. Finally, I am grateful to my parents, grandparents and Willem (again) for being there, listening, and asking just the right questions, including an important one: 'what kind of things, exactly, can such an old book tell us?'

Introduction

> "Medieval manuscripts have biographies. They have all survived through the centuries, interacting with successive owners and ages, neglected or admired, right into our own times. [...] The life of every manuscript, like that of every person, is different, and all have stories to divulge."[1]

This thesis is aimed at extending the 'biography' of one specific manuscript: Leiden, Universiteitsbibiotheek, ms. *Vossianus Latinus Octavo* 6, a fifteenth-century Italian manuscript containing almost all works of the Roman poet Horace (65-27 BCE), excluding the *Satires.*[2] This manuscript does not belong to the select group of world-famous and richly decorated books that are displayed under glass in an exhibition space but is one of the many manuscripts of Latin classics that are tucked away in dark corners of libraries and hardly ever read any more. Yet, however 'common' a manuscript may seem, each one has a micro-history of its own, that is worthy of being studied and can open up a multitude of perspectives: from the parchment-makers, scribes and illuminators involved in its production, through the initial readers who ordered its production, up to the myriad of later users and readers in whose hands it passed – all of whom may have left traces in the book's margins.

Therefore, instead of focussing on merely one of these aspects, it is my objective to investigate a single source from different viewpoints. Two separate approaches can be distinguished, although they are, to some extent, intertwined. On the one hand, the codex invites a 'material approach' – a detailed consideration of the material characteristics of the codex and their relationship to the text and the book's context; on the other hand, it allows the undertaking to transcribe, understand, and analyse the notes written in the margins of VLO 6. These annotations form a manifold collection of explanations, digressions, and citations, most densely on the first book of *Epistles* and more sporadically on the *Odes, Epodes* and *Carmen Saeculare.* To arrive at a full-fledged understanding of these marginalia and their context, an interdisciplinary approach such as the one proposed is particularly well-suited. After all, the making of a manuscript was generally a collaborative and 'interdisciplinary' endeavour as well, resulting in various layers of production and use.[3]

This blend of disciplinary perspectives naturally provides the opportunity to encompass a multitude of theories and methods. From the 'material' perspective, important and well-attested is the notion of studying all material aspects of medieval books instead of limiting the examination to a single discipline such as art history or palaeography – explicitly put into words by L.M.J. Delaissé (1967) in his influential article 'Towards a history of the Medieval Book'.[4] Likewise, philologists have been examining the texts in books for centuries. More recently, the surge of 'New (or: 'Material') Philology' shook up the field, advocating a re-appreciation of variance in manuscript texts and textual 'corruptions', as they used to be called, and simultaneously stressing the necessity to pay attention to material characteristics such as lay-out.[5]

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[1] De Hamel 2016, 3.

[2] Henceforth referred to as VLO 6.

[3] Nichols 1990, 7: "[The medieval folio] contained the work of different artists or artisans – poet, scribe, illuminator, rubricator, commentator – who projected collective social attitudes as well as interartistic rivalries onto the parchment. [...] Each system is a unit independent of the others and yet calls attention to them: each tries to convey something about the other while to some extent substituting for it."

It may have been the same way of thinking that spurred a surge of new interest in the manuscript margins in recent decades, in which all kinds of 'paratexts' – even previously ignored *probationes* or drawings that were seen as 'contaminations' of the text – were rehabilitated and valued for what they were: possibilities to, however briefly, peek into the head of a long-deceased reader.[6] Particular attention has been bestowed on the marginal area of the book not only as a 'safe arena', filled with snippets of information that have some bearing on text or author, but also, in the words of Christopher Baswell, "as a site of dynamism, uncertainty, and even danger – a place that can allow expansion, contest, subversion – in regard to the more authoritative textual centre it visually defines."[7] Because of their tendency to be neglected or obscure, the margins, in this approach, may contain traces of dangerous doctrine or dissentions too precarious to place in any main text; even the 'safer', often pedagogical marginal additions to the *auctor*'s text, generally on some level assume a kind of defect to be mended by additional notes, albeit respectfully so.[8] It is this focus on power and authority between margins and main text that is reminiscent of a final approach to be taken into the mix; that of modern commentary theory (see below, 'Commenting on Commentaries').

Despite the availability of these interlocking approaches, the practice of modern research to medieval (marginal) commentaries on classical authors shows that many scholars are forced to restrict their consideration of annotated manuscripts either to the material characteristics or to a discussion of (a part of) the annotations' content. In the latter case, for example, the description of the manuscripts themselves is often, and quite understandably, limited to a few sentences. In contrast, my focus on a single book with a single set of marginal annotations will allow me to study it on multiple levels and simultaneously reflect on the ways in which these relate to each other. These mixed approaches are aimed at providing insights into, on one level, the context of this particular book, and on another level, into the ways in which Horace's poetry was read and understood in the late Middle Ages.

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[4] Delaissé was prevented from fully examining the problems he raised in this article in a more extensive study by his death in 1972; the article 'Towards a history of the medieval book' was published again, posthumously, in 1976. I will henceforth refer to the second publication.

[5] See, most importantly, Nichols 1990.

[6] See for an illustration of this 'new' interest in various practices of annotation, among *many* others, Reynolds 1996b on glossing on Horace as clues for reading; Teeuwen 2017 on Carolingian annotated manuscripts; Orgel 2015 on the general practice of writing in books.

[7] Basswell 1992, 122.

[8] Ibidem: this habit of 'encyclopedizing' the *auctor* (with a focus on pedagogical explanation of the text or suspension of chunks of the culture's learning from small details in the master text) is, according to Baswell, "a kind of respectful deformation."

Why, then, choose this particular manuscript out of the many Horatian manuscripts known to us?[9] Besides being fascinated by the medieval reception of Horace the poet and his work, I was looking for a manuscript with an unedited and interesting collection of notes in the margin, to give me the opportunity to engage with the way in which Horace was read based on both textual and material evidence. The commentary in VLO 6 seemed to be an original and unique corpus of scholia, which had hardly ever been looked at. There is one, notable exception to this fact: the Dutch philologist Willem Suringar, who, in his 1835 study, edited some of the scholia and mainly argued that the author of the commentary was a student (see chapter 2, 'Previous Scholarship: Suringar'). Yet, given that the fifteenth century seems a particularly interesting, transitional period to study – the beginning of the Renaissance, though simultaneously still anchored in medieval practice and thought – I believe that a lot more could be observed about this interesting manuscript, not only by re-examining and building on Suringar's valuable observations, but also by introducing modern theoretical concepts and new ways of looking at commentaries developed in recent years. Most importantly, my focus will lie specifically on the ways in which this manuscript illustrates the practices of reading Horace in this changing era, rather than solely concentrating on the added value this commentary has for our understanding of the poems themselves, their structure or the author's intention. After all, often even the commentaries that contain ancient material only add very little to our understanding of Horace's poems.[10] The former aspect, however, deserves to be addressed in modern scholarship, because it links to the often dominant presence of the classics in the history of European culture and education from antiquity onwards.

The various aspects described above culminate in the main question underlying this research project: in what ways can manuscript Leiden, VLO 6, through an examination of both material and philological aspects, provide insights into the ways in which Horace's works were read and engaged with in (or just after) the fifteenth century?[11] As mentioned, there are several strategies to answer this question, approaches that – as I expect – will complement each other and underline the complex nature of the contexts and strategies behind the creation and usage of medieval sources. On the level of the individual manuscript, moreover, this examination will not only disclose the marginal commentary in VLO 6, but also analyse the strategies of reading and interpreting Horace apparent in this commentary, revealing a mixture of sources and approaches that traverse medieval and humanist commentary traditions.

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[9] See for overviews of Horatian manuscripts from specific periods of time e.g. Munk Olsen 1982 and Villa 1992-1994.

[10] Friis-Jensen 1997, 51, talking about Pseudo-Acro and Porphyrio: "Their merits lie elsewhere: they inspired the Middle Ages to keep the study of Horace on a qualified level, and thus they helped to secure Horace's position and popularity until Renaissance scholarship took over. Moreover, the ancient commentaries themselves, and the medieval commentaries to which they gave inspiration, are highly interesting documents that illuminate the way in which Horace has been read through the centuries."

To begin, I will include a detailed material description of the manuscript in its entirety, which I will use to sketch the contexts of the book's production and user history. Chapter 2 will delve into the marginal area, contextualizing and exploring the dominant themes and trends in the commentary of VLO 6. My aim is that the observations in this chapter will expand on the conclusions of Chapter 1, in order to give a more comprehensive description of the book's context and readers. Finally, Chapter 3 will contain an in-depth analysis of the commentary as an interpretation, followed by a concluding chapter to gather the various strands of investigation. The full (provisional) edition of VLO 6's marginal commentary (excluding interlinear annotations), preceded by an account of the practical choices made in the process, can be found in Appendix I. Before turning to the manuscript itself, however, it will prove useful to dedicate the latter part of this introduction to some preliminary information, starting with an overview of the terminology I will employ. This will be followed by a description of theories and approaches of the study of commentaries that will prove useful (especially in Chapter 3) and finally by a sketch of the history of Horatian commentaries, from the early Middle Ages to the fifteenth century.

Terminology

The fact that I have thus far been referring to a multiform collection of remarks, notes and citations with the term 'commentary' deserves clarification. Karsten Friis-Jensen points to the distinction made between disconnected, individual annotations, and sets of cohesive scholia which are clearly connected to each other. Of these, only the latter is usually deemed worthy of the term 'commentary'. The interconnection between marginalia may be examined by means of external factors, such as the uniformity of the writing, and internal criteria, such as formulaic phrasing – the most obvious commentaries in this sense are the ones that were transmitted as an individual codicological unit, separately from the literary text.[12] In practice, however, many scholars seem to use the terms ‘commentary’, ‘scholia’, ‘note’ and ‘gloss’ in various ways.[13] Therefore a clarification is in order. In what follows, I will use the terms ‘scholia’, ‘notes’ and ‘marginalia’ interchangeably for all types of scripture in the manuscript margins; the term ‘gloss’ is here used to refer exclusively to those notes that are aimed at the word-for-word explanation or substitution of the Latin literary term. Since I will go on to analyse the scholia as a many-sided whole, the term ‘commentary’ will be used in a broad sense to refer to the collection of scholia. Similarly, the term ‘commentator’ (or ‘annotator’) will be used to point to the single person or multiple persons who wrote, composed or notated the notes in the margins. Finally, the term ‘copyist’ is employed chiefly for the person responsible for writing the main text of Horace, regardless of this person’s professional (or non-professional) capacity.

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[11] Since it is very difficult to give an exact *terminus ante quem* for these marginal annotations, I will henceforth assume that they are written around or slightly after the production of the book in the last half of the fifteenth century.

[12] Friis-Jensen 2015, 14.

Comments on Commentaries

Having explained what is meant by the term ‘commentary’, it is worthwhile to examine what exactly the study of such a commentary can entail, taking as a starting point modern scholarly literature on the subject. A key observation regarding to ‘classical’ commentaries (written as companion texts to classical literature), is that they are usually texts with an invisible, ‘blurred’ narrator. Due to the commentary’s generic characteristics – its placement in a tradition of textual criticism on the one hand and its dependency on a ‘main’ text on the other hand – the authorial ‘I’ of the commentator is concealed, making classical commentaries seem to be more ‘objective’ and leaving little to no room for doubt, further questions or alternative solutions.[14] Yet, this ‘objectivity’ (or ‘natural structure’) of the commentary is a façade.[15] As well assessed by Christina Shuttleworth Krauss in the introduction to the 2002-study on commentaries on classical texts of various times and places, commentaries remain “first and foremost an interpretation. Neither the meaning of a text nor the problems perceived as obstructing or complicating that meaning are there to be found; both are created by readers.”[16]

If a commentary is an interpretation, this means that it can be questioned and examined regarding its agenda, its selectivity, and its general influence on the reader’s perception of the commented text. How should we go about analysing the form and content of a genre that is as anchored in a tradition and at the same time as variant in tone and scope as the commentary? A broad array of approaches and perspectives has been adopted by various scholars over the last few decades, in which the commentary as an object of study gained scholarly attention.[17] Glenn Most, to begin with, provides a rather straightforward framework by means of which the central goals and authoritative voices within a commentary can be distinguished. Assuming that commentaries are intrinsically linked to the elucidation of a different 'source' text, he formulates key questions that should be asked of a commentary: (1) whose text is elucidated, (2) for whom, (3) by whom, (4) where, and (5) why.[18] Questions one and three seem to deal particularly with questions of authority and hierarchy, apparent in the often-observed tension between the commentator and the author of the source text. These are both (often) figures of authority, although one is through the writing of a commentary inherently dependent on the other.[19] Regarding the other questions, it is worth mentioning that commentaries, as Most notes, "tend to be created at the sites of cultural authority within societies" – while it should be noted that this includes the schoolroom context that forms the core of commentary writing.[20] Finally, I would suggest that '(6) when' is a useful concept to consider separately when considering commentaries. After all, although there is a certain continuity between the form and activity of commentary writing, it is logical that the aims and assumptions of commentary, its producers and its users change as reading practices change throughout time and in different cultural contexts.[21]

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[13] Black 2001, for instance, refers to all notes as ‘glosses’, whereas Zetzel 2003 distinguishes in his introduction between ‘glosses’ and ‘scholia’. Meanwhile, Teeuwen 2017 explicitly opts for the more general ‘annotations’ for all times of marginal script, symbols or drawings (see p. 19 for a discussion of the problem).
[14] Kraus 2002, 4.
[15] Most 1999, VIII.
[16] Kraus 2002, 2-3; 4.

For the purposes of my analysis of the marginal notes in VLO 6, I will seek to combine an examination of its specific aims and contexts with a more general, theoretical approach to commentary writing. Particularly useful are Kraus' the three aspects that have received attention in recent scholarship on commentaries. These are: (1) the segmentation (or: lemmatization) of the commentated text, (2) tralaticiousness – the tendency to transfer, imitate or emulate the work of previous commentators – and (3) the usages and effects of parallels, for instance in strengthening the commentator's authority.[22] Using these distinctions as a model, I will analyse the scholia in the margin of VLO 6 and examine in what ways they shed light on, respectively, the selectiveness of the commentary, its engagement with a medieval, (late-)antique and humanist tradition, and its referral to parallel texts that are quoted by the commentator to shed further light on the Horatian source text.

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[17] This may be due to the increased importance attached to the figure of the 'critic', at the expense of the once revered 'author', in recent scholarship, as argued in Kraus 2017, 9.

[18] Most 1999, VIII.

[19] See Kraus & Stray 2017, 7. The source text, moreover, must be considered important and interesting enough for it to be commented upon in the first place, but is at the same time deemed lacking to some extent, inviting a commentator to add his instructions, interpretations, and often interactions with the long tradition that went before him.

[20] Most 1999, IX.

[21] Kraus & Stray 2017, 7. In the case of VLO 6, these basic questions about commentaries, discussed in chapter 2, will prove to be decidedly more complicated to answer than they may be for modern commentaries.

[22] Kraus 2002, 7-9.

The separation between these three aspects of the study of commentaries is not as strict as it may seem. After all, a commentator's adherence to a tradition of previous commentators – or, in other cases, the conscious deviating from such a tradition – is sometimes apparent in the transferring of lemmatization, or in copying parallels discovered by a predecessor. This engagement with a sometimes very long exegetical tradition results in what has been dubbed a "dialogue with the dead":[23] knowledge and interpretations are stacked in the commentary upon the interpretations of predecessors in what Kraus calls 'layered reading'. This stratification is not always apparent in modern commentaries. Yet, as will become clear in our examination of VLO 6, the material characteristics of manuscripts – the handwriting, the shapes of letters or colours of ink – sometimes explicitly indicate the variant readers and readings of the text. In such a case, layers of readership can be distinguished, separating the initial commentator, who reads and writes down his observations, from the reader(s) of both text and commentary, who may or may not have added observations in the margins as well.[24]

Historical Commentaries on Horace

Now that the importance of (and theory behind) studying modern and historical commentaries has been established, this section will offer a sketch of the extant medieval and renaissance commentaries on Horace. To do so, we must look back further than the Middle Ages. The two commentaries that were most influential during the Middle Ages and copied into the margins of a large number of Horatian manuscripts – the one attributed to Pomponius Porphyrio, the other (probably falsely) to the known scholar Helenius Acro – stem from late antiquity. Porphyrio's commentary consisted largely of grammatical and rhetorical notes. Pseudo-Acro is largely based on these notes, with the addition of some bits of factual and metrical information. Pseudo-Acro was particularly popular in the Middle Ages – it appeared not only in the margins of manuscripts, but also as a separate commentary, as for instance VLQ 45 and VLO 28 in the Leiden collection illustrate.[25] This popularity inherently ensured that the comments ascribed to Porphyrio were widely known as well.[26] Besides these two recognised commentators, the obscure 'commentator Cruquianus' should be mentioned: 'his' commentary was published in a sixteenth-century edition, based on a now lost manuscript. Although the comments were printed as a whole and named by their assembler Jacques De Crucque, many now believe they are in fact part of a compilation of various scraps of material, some of it ancient.[27] Even the commentaries that we *can* identify, then, remain complicated and, at times, hopelessly entangled with each other and their medieval successors.[28]

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[23] Mayer 1994, vii.

[24] Kraus 2002, 7.

[25] Both these manuscripts were also dated to the fifteenth century, based on their description in the De Meyier catalogue.

[26] Friis-Jensen 1997, 51-52.

Medieval Commentaries

As to medieval commentaries, produced after antiquity, we have far less to go on. In general, the scope, format and thematic emphasis of medieval commentaries on the Roman classics differs widely: they range from simple collections of glosses, metrical or grammatical notes to more extensive discussions of rhetorical figures; others are dependent on the late-antique commentaries to such an extent that they add little to no 'original' material.

Commentaries on Horace, including *accessus* (introductions), have received some critical attention over the last decades, yet at the same time, many of them have only been examined fragmentarily, where others have even been neglected altogether. The Dutch philologist Hendrik Johan Botschuyver is an exception: in a series of volumes published between 1935 and 1942, he presented two medieval commentaries that were transmitted alongside Horace's complete oeuvre. The first of these, based on several manuscripts of the late ninth and tenth century, is known as the *Phi scholia*; the second one has been called the *Aleph scholia* and was most likely produced in North-Western France.[29] Commentaries on the *Ars Poetica* have been edited more enthusiastically, probably as a side-effect of the general interest in medieval handbooks of poetry writing.[30] With the exception of Botschuyver, however, no full commentaries on Horace's complete oeuvre have been published. Snippets of commentary and *accessus* of twelfth-century English manuscripts – called the *Oxford Commentary* – have been edited by Friis-Jensen in 1988.[31] The same article contains an edition of introductory glosses and an *accessus* to the *Odes* found in the margins of a Vatican manuscript, part of what Friis-Jensen later dubbed the *Auctor-iste-Uenusinus commentary*.[32] Looking from a grammatical perspective, Suzanne Reynolds examined glosses on Horace's *Satires* and studied what these reveal about medieval reading practices, while the so-called *Sciendum*-commentary on the *Satires* was edited and analysed by Roberta

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[27] Zetzel 2009.

[28] Zetzel 2009: "The commentaries on Horace that survive from late antiquity are a mess […] Faced with this mess, one heaves a deep sigh, picks up an axe, and heads into the tangled thicket."

[29] Minnis 1988, 53ff. The fact that these editions did not receive much scholarly attention has been explained by Friis-Jensen as due to Botschuyver's erroneous dating of the consulted manuscripts and questionable editing choices (Friis-Jensen 2015, 14).

[30] See Friis-Jensen 1997, 53-54 for an overview of these editions. The most famous commentaries on the *AP* are known as the *Scholia Vindabonensia* and the *Materia Commentary.*

[31] The article in question was republished posthumously, in a 2015-collection of essays.

[32] Friis-Jensen 1997, 54.

Marchionni.[33] An anonymous commentary on the *Odes* and the so-called *Proposuerat*-commentary on the *Epistles*, were partly edited and discussed by Tina Chronopoulos and Margareta Fredborg respectively.[34]

These medieval commentaries on the works of Horace open up a wealth of material regarding the interpretation of the poems and the imagined figure of the author connected to them. A few examples will suffice. Firstly, a focal point in the analysis of commentaries is their highly moralizing and sometimes explicitly Christianising tendencies. Especially interesting is the tension that appears to exist between this moralizing view of Horace the *auctor*, and the fact that Horace's persona in his own poems is hardly always quite virtuous – certainly not in medieval, Christian eyes. The issue is addressed by Conrad of Hirsau (*c.* 1070-*c.* 1150), who implies that Horace's less moralizing poems must be seen as a 'warning' to his readers; whether this was the author's plan all along or based on some actual depravity of character, Conrad does not specify.[35] A commentary on 'seduction ode' 1.23, for instance, indicates that the poet himself could be interpreted as a negative example when his actions – in this case, attempting to seduce a girl – are deemed immoral. Horace is thus simultaneously presented as a model to imitate when his actions are good, and as an example of how not to behave when they are bad.[36] Such a flexible approach to his authorial *persona* explains Horace's positive image and educational authority in the schoolroom. Some commentaries go even further than that, and use the phrase *quasi monachus* to present Horace as a monk – in the *Oxford commentary*, the relativizing *quasi* is even omitted completely.[37]

The comparison of Horace with a monk is a prime example of the trend found in some medieval commentaries to interpret the poetic themes and characters in relation to their own time. In her examination of medieval commentaries on the *Epistles,* Fredborg distinguishes between several ways of doing that, the simplest being to insert familiar characters from medieval times into the world of the poem.[38] Besides the 'Horace-as-monk' *topos*, we might see this tactic in an interesting approach to the relationship between Horace and Maecenas – a popular topic in medieval commentaries[39] – in a commentary on *Odes* 1.20. This ode, in which Horace, with a smile, offers Maecenas a cheap wine, is in most modern commentaries interpreted as filled with irony. In contrast, several medieval commentators are disquieted by the 'disrespectful' tone of the ode and suggest that Horace must have adapted a different *persona* in this poem – that of a hypocrite tenant or a worthless client. The example goes to show how attempts to understand and interpret classical poems are influenced by, for instance, social conventions, both then and now.[40]

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[33] Reynolds 1996b; Marchionni 2003.

[34] Chronopoulos 2015; Fredborg 2015.

[35] Verumtamen ubi vitiosa Oratii oratio est, in hac causa magis vitiosus quisque notatus est quam auctor viciis notatis subiectus. "But in fact, where Horace's speech is morally faulty, though this reason everyone is recognized as more faulty than the author, who is subject to acknowledged vices." (edited in Huygens 1970, 113); see also Friis-Jensen 2015, 17.

[36] Chronopoulos 2015, 84-86. The *accessus* to the commentary examined by Chronopoulos further illuminates this point, by stressing that Horace may have lived a sinful life, but intended that his life, through poetry, could serve as a lesson on how to behave or *not* to behave (Chronopoulos 2015, 72).

[37] See Friis-Jensen 2015, 15ff.

[38] Fredborg 2015, 213. Other tactics to 'Christianize' a commentary include, according to Fredborg, the supplying of biblical parallels or parallel passages from Christian authors to underline Horace's ethical standing.

Finally, a key concept connected to the medieval Horace is the 'ages-of-man' *topos*, found, for instance, in the *accessus* to the *Sciendum*-commentary on the *Satires* (see Chapter 2, 'Sequence'). The *topos*, likely inspired by Horace's own exhortation to take note of the ages of characters when composing poetry (*Ars Poetica*, 158-178), designates Horace's works as suitable to various ages of man, following the common medieval sequence of his works.[41] As pointed out by Friis-Jensen, the medieval attribution of intended audience – faulty though the chronology may be from a historical perspective – implies that Horace as poet was interpreted as someone who had lived through the stages of life and wrote about them simultaneously.[42] In contrast to the wise and magical image associated with Vergil for instance, this would have made Horace into an exceptionally suitable teacher who is thought to understand his audience because he is (or was) one of them: through the commentary interpretation, Horace becomes "the embodiment of an average human being, and at the same time a wise man who has grasped the secrets of human life."[43]

Humanist Traditions

"The fifteenth century, then, was an anomalous period, and it abounded in anomalies," wrote Curt F. Bühler, in an attempt to characterize the age in which VLO 6 is dated (see Chapter 1). The century is a transitional period, an in-between area of medieval traditions and humanist innovations, of slowly produced manuscripts amid the rise of the printed book. In modern scholarship, this period of contradictions has given rise to grand narratives and generalizing theories, as well as, in more recent times, debates on change versus continuity. It is in this context that we should view VLO 6.

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[39] Friis-Jensen 2015, 15-16. Recurring themes in the commentaries Friis-Jensen describes here are Horace's social relationships, the stature of poetry and its role in society, and Horace's position as the main Roman lyricist

[40] Friis-Jensen 1997, 62-63. In contrast, the commentary examined by Chronopoulos paints a rather conflicted picture of the relationship between patron and poet, ranging from a distant business relationship like the one above, to the image of a close friendship in the commentary of *C.* 2.17 (in which Horace attempts to sooth Maecenas when he is feeling ill): see Chronopoulos 2015, 71.

[41] The *Odes* as intended for boys, the *Ars Poetica* for young men, the *Satires* for mature men and the *Epistles* for seniors; see Friis-Jensen 2015, 107. The importance added to *Epistles* 1.1 and *Epistles* 2.2 may also have played a part in the creation of the *topos.*

[42] Chronopoulos' edited commentary, furthermore, explicitly stresses how Horace wrote the *Odes* when he was young *for* the young. See Chronopoulos 2015, 71.

[43] Friis-Jensen 2015, 107. The commonplace can also be found in other commentaries, especially in relation to the *Epistles*, in which Horace explains that he is "too old to write lyric."

A myriad of modern scholarly literature has focussed on the innovations and developments in the scholarly world of Italy, brought on by the humanist tradition from the early fifteenth century onwards.[44] At the same time, many of the perceived 'scholarly revolutions' in the intellectual climate have been questioned and examined in more recent articles, which reflected a disjunction between educational handbooks and practical commentaries, and between intellectual ideals and schoolroom practices.[45] To even begin to contextualize VLO 6's commentary in its time, then, it is adamant to ask what actually changed in the fifteenth-century Italian commentary tradition. Yet, to ask this question is to enter into several debates far too complicated to fully untangle here, a debate which appears to be heavily influenced by the nature of the sources employed (handbooks vs. glosses), the audience of those sources (scholars vs. students), and even the outlook of the modern scholars studying them. A basic survey of selected works relevant to our subject will therefore suffice, many of which take humanistic classroom- and teacher's commentaries as their starting-point.[46]

In the by now classic work of Grendler (1989), the elevation of poetry as a distinct discipline instead of being connected to the broader study of grammar, rhetoric and theology is hailed as one of the primary innovations of the Renaissance, culminating in a more deepened education of the classics including, but going beyond, the medieval grammatical and rhetorical focus.[47] One aspect of this scholarly progress was, according to Grendler, the revival of metrical studies; another, the transition of medieval theological allegory to a 'humanist', moral allegory (or even, in some cases, the reading of poetry without resorting to allegory, insinuating that moral virtue was inherent in reading the poetry itself).[48] Similarly, the humanistic tendency to historicize texts and at the same time, paradoxically, read texts rhetorically and allegorically, is set out by Grafton (1985). As an example of the latter function serves Erasmus' famous instruction for teachers to present the homoerotic opening verse of Vergil's second Eclogue as a lesson in choosing one's friends among equals.[49]

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[44] In what follows, I will speak of medieval and humanist 'traditions', rather than venturing into the debates of periodization, (inter)disciplinary disputes and general uncertainty that may be evoked by terms such as 'Renaissance', 'Quattrocento', 'the Humanists', 'Medieval men' etc.

[45] An example of such an idealized image, focussing on the idea that humanists 'historicize', is skilfully expressed by Grafton 1985, 629: "a group of heroic humanists energetically wipe the fog from a vast window, behind which appears the ancient world *as it really was* [...] Yet difficulties arise when we test this vision against the sources."

[46] See Chapter 2, 'Dictation and Education' for a consideration of the possible attribution of VLO 6 to an educational context.

[47] Grendler 1989, 240.

[48] Grendler 1989, 237-238.

An even more complex picture of the Quattrocento classroom is painted in Black's monograph, mentioned above, and in a more recent (2013) contribution. Stressing that the curricular structure largely remained the same, especially in the lower levels of education, Black carefully points to a gradual broadening of the works studied in the classroom, the teaching of Latin prose writing and, most importantly, the increasing usage of the Italian *volgare* in teaching Latin.[50] Remarking on the lack of 'moral' glosses in Italian fourteenth- and fifteenth-century commentaries compared to their medieval predecessors, Black demonstrates that, although there was definitely a belief that education in the Classics could inherently help develop good character, this moral link was not explicitly developed in classroom practices.[51] Moreover, the specialization of Italian grammar teachers played a considerable part, according to Black: they simply did not have the philosophical knowledge to go beyond basic rhetorical and philological commentary.[52] In his analysis of several humanist commentaries, furthermore, Black emphasizes that the lower levels of grammar education in Italy were more characterized by continuity than revolution, even though some humanist teachers ostensibly rejected some of their medieval predecessors, while others are 'humanistic' in the broad range of *auctores* they cite.[53]

Similarly advocating the concept of continuity, Marjory Woods (2013) has analysed how aspects of commentaries seen as characteristic for a certain period might just as well be found in commentaries from another age. Similarly to Black, she argues that key aspects of educational practice provide grounds to argue for continuity.[54] An important aspect in this vision of continuity is, for instance, the so-called 'paraphrase' commentary: the teaching sequence from simple paraphrase of a passage to gradually more specific, word-for-word analysis. This practical teaching method has been discerned by scholars in sources of various ages and regions.[55] In the introduction to the same collections of essays, however, John Ward describes a dichotomy between the 'pragmatic and utilitarian' aims of education, including the rhetorical skills and moral compass necessary for everyday life, and 'ornamental and antiquarian' elements, carefully attributing the first chiefly to medieval times, and both categories to humanism.[56]

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[49] Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii* (1512), ed. J. Margolin; Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, I, pt. 2 (Amsterdam, 1971), pp. 139-140; Grafton 1985, 637-639.

[50] Black 2001, 22-23. See for the importance of the *volgare* also Black 2013.

[51] Black 2001, 28. Black quotes Grendler 1989, 253: "Renaissance commentators on Horace confined themselves to grammatical, rhetorical, and poetical analysis."

[52] Black 2001, 32: "Humble and limited in their preparation and knowledge, the horizons of Italian grammar teachers in the fifteenth century hardly extended beyond the Latin language: it is no accident that their glosses on the authors rarely ranged further than simple philology, with little sign of moral or other philosophical interests […] "The occasional superficial reference to moral philosophy is almost invariably lost in a vast sea of basic philological detail."

[53] Black 2013, 263: "there was no revolution in the classroom effected by the fifteenth-century humanists." See also Black 2001, 367: "humanists may have found the scholastic logical approach to Latin syntax and composition distasteful, but without a practical alternative they had no choice but to continue in the footsteps of their medieval forerunners."

[54] Woods 2013, 329-341.

[55] Woods 2013, 330.

A final type of source to mention are the humanist commentaries themselves, particularly of course the ones on Horace. Several commentaries on Horace were printed in the second half of the fifteenth century (it was known as the 'century of commentary' with reason):[57] well-known are the ones by Landino (1482),[58] Machianelli (1492), and Locher (1498).[59] The humanistic ideal for commentary writing in general has been identified as the endeavour to convey as much variating information as possible, constituting a commentary "as a comprehensive encyclopaedia of humanist learning."[60] Likewise, in his general study of classical early-modern commentary writing, Enenkel (2014) summarizes the goal of early-modern commentators as construing comprehensive 'encyclopaedic' collections of knowledge, to mediate the classics to their reader's present day.[61] All these commentaries have indeed in common that they provide far more information than the marginal commentary in VLO 6, both in scope and in scale. Nevertheless, some influence from the humanist tradition could possibly be found in the marginal annotations (see chapter 3, 'Tralaticiousness').

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[56] Ward 2013, 3. "The Renaissance paradigm continued these utilitarian tendencies, but added a greater measure of pure philological expertise, acquired in courts and in the somewhat more spacious university and *studia* curricula in secularized classical studies."

[57] Grafton 2010, 229.

[58] See e.g. Stadeler 2015.

[59] Pieper 2014.

[60] Verhaart 2014, 45. Grafton presents a practical reason for this humanist tendency to gather all historical, linguistic and mythological information that a student would ever need in a dense lecture or commentary, noting that students usually only spent a few years with a teacher. This trend, as argued by Grafton, would prompt a drastic cut-back on the historical aspects of texts (to the advantage of, mostly, dialectics) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See Grafton 1981, 52.

[61] Enenkel 2014, 4.

1 Material Contexts of VLO 6

Although the majority of this thesis will focus on what can be found in the margins of VLO 6, this first chapter seeks to be an examination of the material contexts of the book as a whole, taking into account such aspects as binding, decoration and script. Of course, the catalogue descriptions of the manuscript, particularly the most recent, excellent publication of K.A. De Meyier (1977), will serve as a starting point.[62] In these general overviews, VLO 6 is identified as a homogeneous,[63] humanistic manuscript, written in the latter half of the fifteenth-century in Italy, an origin specified in some catalogues as the 'Apennine Peninsula'.[64] The book contains the works of Horace except the *Satires*; these texts were copied by what appears to be a single hand, and are accompanied by marginal annotations. Its *terminus post quem* is secured by the known date of one of the texts included at the end of the manuscript – Niccolò Perotti's *De Metris Horatii et Boethii* (1453). This chapter will consider both the indications that have led to this existing characterization of the manuscript, and the manuscript's material aspects and their implications for the book's production layers and its layers of use. Finally, it should be noted that a table illustrating the manuscript's structure and images of the manuscript itself can be consulted in Appendix III and VII.

Binding

A first impression of Leiden VLO 6 does not reveal much of what is inside. Its binding, made of inflexible cardboard hidden under a decorative layer of multi-coloured marbled paper, was added as late as the nineteenth century to replace the seventeenth-century binding of Thévenot's time.[65] Its corners and spine are in parchment. The embellished paper resembles what may be termed 'spirals-comb-marble-paper', a variant of comb marble decoration in which the alternating colours form a pattern of spirals that appear to be connected to each other (image 1).[66] The book is of relatively small size, measuring 220 x 150 millimetre across its boards and 25 millimetre across its spine. A striking detail, when opening the book, is the whiteness of the thin parchment out of which the pages are made. The parchment, at times very thin, seems of good quality; there are only a few stains or (all too big) holes to be found. The presence of closely-grouped hair follicles on the flesh side suggests that the parchment was made out of goat skin. Traces of sewing, furthermore, can be found in the heart of each quire, revealing thin threads sewn through six sewing holes to keep the quires together.[67] The 113 folia that make up the book's text block are somewhat smaller than the boards (210 x 145 millimetre). However, the original ones would have been bigger: the pages were trimmed at a certain point in time – likely to be fitted into a (new) binding, perhaps the nineteenth-century one – which resulted in the loss of the first letters of some of the writings in the margins, for instance on f. 11v. Finally, the numbers in the upper right corner of each folium are written in pencil and appear modern.

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[62] Earlier (and very brief) catalogue descriptions are found in Senguerdius 1716, 368 and Blok 1932, 13. Other, more recent descriptions can be found online via 'Codices Vossiani Latini' (http://primarysources.brillonline.com last seen 07-02-2019) and Medieval Manuscripts in Dutch Collections (http://www.mmdc.nl/static/site/ last seen 07-02-2019).

[63] Gumbert 2004, 15: using Gumbert's terminology, VLO 6 has boundaries but no caesura's, is inseparable and undisturbed.

[64] See 'Codices Vossiani Latini' (http://primarysources.brillonline.com last seen 07-02-2019) and Medieval Manuscripts in Dutch Collections (http://www.mmdc.nl/static/site/ last seen 07-02-2019).

[65] De Meyier 1977, 16.

[66] Cockx-Indestege e.a. 1994, 30.

Quires

Before turning to the book's text and lay-out, it will be worthwhile to briefly explore the system of quires: a sometimes complex set of building blocks that forms the 'skeleton' of any book, and that may provide insight in the choices (or miscalculations) made in its production process. In order to distinguish between different quires, we are able to follow the same route a medieval bookbinder would have taken and follow the clues left for him: 'catchwords' were written on the last pages of the quires to order them, indicating the first word of the next quire's text (image 3). This particular type of quire ordering, in contrast to earlier systems of signatures consisting of roman numerals and/or letters, is known as the most frequent signature system in books produced in the Renaissance, although it had already existed since tenth century Spain.[68] The catchwords are written vertically and running downwards, and can be found in the bottom right corner of almost every quire's final page, near the fold: a practice that is linked to Italian humanistic practice.[69] Catchwords are missing at the end of quires two, eleven and (naturally) twelve.

Following the catchwords, it becomes apparent that the folia are ordered in twelve quires, listed in the quire table in Appendix II. Of these twelve sets, quires one to seven (ff. 1-70) are consistent quires, each constructed out of five bifolia that are folded to form ten folia. The eighth quire (ff. 71-81) is divergent in that it consists of five bifolia with a sixth single folium (f. 78) inserted between the sixth and seventh folium of the quire, with a stub glued to the opposite folium (f. 75r). Quires nine and ten (ff. 82-91 and 92-101) are again evenly composed of five bifolia; in contrast, quire eleven consists of four bifolia and quire twelve of only two bifolia, displaying the irregular composition of quires that is often seen at the end of books.

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[67] The sewing holes are placed evenly in the vertical fold: two at the top of the fold, two in the middle, and two at the bottom. They are connected with small thread in five stitches. No traces of earlier sewing can be found, suggesting that the existing sewing holes were re-used in the appliance of the ninteenth-century binding.

[68] Shailor 1988, 53.

[69] Cf. Derolez 2003, 33: "In the fifteenth century they may be written vertically, running downwards along the right-hand side of the lower margin, close to the fold or the inner vertical ruling line(s), a practice which doubtless betrays Italian Humanistic influence."

There are, then, two irregularities in the otherwise fairly consistent system of quires composed out of five bifolia (*quinios*). To understand the first one – the insertion of a stubbed leaf (f. 78) in quire eight – we must already at this point cast a glance at Horace's poems. Although the text on these pages seems, at first glance, perfectly in accordance to the rest of the manuscript, a note in red ink in the margin of f. 76v (image 4) warns the reader to *quaere sub tali signo* ("search beneath this sign"), accompanied by an asterisk and, in the inner margin, a red *manicula* pointing to the next page. Following these signs, it is not hard to discover what went wrong. The problems start on f. 76v, where Horace's *Odes* 4.3, which started on the previous page, is cut short prematurely after fourteen verses by the middle part of a different poem (*Odes* 4.4.49-67). On the next, inserted page (f. 77r), we find the continuation of the cut-off poem (*Odes* 4.3.15-24), followed by the title and beginning of *Odes* 4.4. This poem continues on f. 77v, which is accompanied at the bottom line by an asterisk indicating that the verses mistakenly copied on f. 76v should be read here, after *Odes* 4.4.48; the poem ends with its final verses (*Odes* 4.4.68-76) on f. 78r. From these observations follows the likely scenario that the copyist, after having written the start of *Odes* 4.3 on f. 76r and 76v, mistakenly skipped two full pages (56 lines) of his exemplar, and continued writing the latter half of *Odes* 4.4. Having discovered the mistake, the copyist inserted the stubbed leaf to supplement the poems with both the final half of *Odes* 4.3 and the skipped beginning of *Odes* 4.4, but the order of the poetic particles remained jumbled. Secondly, the reason for the irregularity of quires eleven (four bifolia) and twelve (two bifolia) is much easier to explain. Combined with the observation that the catchwords on quire eleven are missing, the unevenness of the quires suggests that quire eleven was planned as the last quire of the book; when faced with a lack of sufficient space in the process of writing the secondary treatises on Horace's poetry, that are included at the end of the book, the copyist may have decided to add a set of two 'extra' bifolia.

Having discussed the irregular elements in the quire system, we should examine the implications of the regular quires used in this book. The usage of *quinios* is an interesting one, which provides a clue regarding the book's production time and context. It corresponds to the preference for *quinios* that may be seen to occur from at least the fourteenth century onwards in Italy. At first sight, the making of *quinios* seems like an unnecessarily complicated business, compared to, for instance, the more common *quaternios* (four bifolia, eight folia), seeing that the latter could be made by simply folding the sheet of parchment in quarts (two folds) or octaves (three folds). However, the inconvenience would have been less in late medieval Italy, which by that time had such a developed commerce that quires could be bought ready-made in the *cartolaio*. These commercialized parchment shops produced such quantities of parchment quires that there would not have been much difference between the production of *quinios* and other types of quires.[70] A seemingly illogical choice for book-production can thus be linked to larger trends in the history of commercialization, and help to contextualize the manuscript's production process.

Describing the Script

The folia of VLO 6 contain various texts, written in a variety of scripts: besides the main text in the centre of each page, we find distinctive titles in red ink, and, in the margins, neat annotations in what appear to be two different hands. This section will start with a description of the script of the main text. A characterization of titles and other types of 'display script' follows later in this chapter, and an elaborate examination of the marginal script will follow in Chapter 2.[71]

The script of the poems of Horace on f. 1-107 is characterised by its 'airy' character, with relatively long shafts and wide spaces between lines, and by the round shape of the letters (image 5). Both aspects form quite a contrast to the 'black', angular script that predominated in Gothic manuscripts. The script is reminiscent of Carolingian script in its usage of, among other things, a vertical (half-uncial) *d*, an *f* and straight *s* that do not descend below the baseline, the usage of the ampersand (&), the *e*-caudata (to designate the diphthong *ae*), and the ancient *ct*-ligature. Yet, some remnants of Gothic characteristics remain, for instance in the usage of a round *s* at the end of words and the dotted *i*. It is by now no longer a surprise that all of the above points to humanistic times, in which an adaptation of the Carolingian script was 'revived' to become the *littera humanistica.* Originating at the beginning of the fifteenth century amongst a small circle of Florentine scholars, among whom Salutati, Niccoli and Poggio, this script was soon to be preferred over the earlier italic gothic letter because of its easier legibility and more fluent writability.[72] Besides these practical reasons, the preference of 'older' styles over 'newer' must have had influence on these early humanists. The new form of writing found appeal among scholars and bibliophiles, especially when it came to copies of classical texts, and was introduced to an increasing number of scribes.[73] The resulting *littera humanistica* is usually divided into two categories: the *humanistica textualis* (or: *antiqua*), the calligraphic script that is most reminiscent of the Carolingian letter, and a more rapidly written, sloping variant of this script known as the

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[70] Derolez 2003, 32.

[71] Besides rubricated announcements and small-written scholia, the margins of the manuscript contain non-textual distinctions in the form of paragraph signs, pointing hands and other added marks: see Chapter 3, 'Marginal Signs'.

[72] Derolez 2011, 165. Although Petrarca already famously criticized the difficult legibility of the gothic textualis in his letters, and even attempted to adapt his own script to a new form that draws near to the *littera humanistica*, his results are usually termed *Praehumanistica*; see Derolez 2003, 176.

[73] That this process did not always go well is illustrated by an amusing letter from Poggio dated 6 December 1427, in which he despairs that he has had trouble attempting to teach a scribe, whose "ears are blocked up – this plank, this log, this donkey…", the humanistic minuscule. See De Hamel 1986, 220.

humanistica cursiva (or *Italic*). The script of the main text corresponds more to the *textualis*, except for one crucial difference: the usage of the *a* in one compartment versus the uncial a (in two compartments, with the upper section remaining open) that is more common in a proper *textualis*.

Oddly, the usage of this particular letter seems to divide the manuscript's scripts in different parts (see Appendix III). Up to f. 28v, the start of the *Odes* of Horace, the copyist consistently makes use of the *a* in one department. This characteristic, in combination with the ones already mentioned, corresponds to the subcategory of the *littera semitextualis,* a minor variant of the *textualis* that is promoted as a third 'main category' of humanistic scripts by Derolez in a 2011 article.[74] Although the catalogue descriptions of VLO 6 simply refer to the script as a *humanistica textualis,* the earlier part of the manuscript text would certainly be more accurately described as a *humanistica semitextualis.*[75] From f. 28v, however, halfway through the page, and on the seventeenth line of Horace's opening poem of *Odes* book 1, the shape of the *a* changes to an uncial a as we would expect in a proper *textualis*, which is consistently used in the rest of the manuscript (image 6). No other aspects of the script change: its individual letters look identical to those at the beginning of the *Odes* and in the *Epistles.* So what happened here? It is hard to say: the fact that no other traces of a change in script can be found, problematizes the assumption that the change in *a* is due to a change in copyist. It is more likely that the change in script was meant to correspond to the change in genre between the *Epistles* and the *Odes* – but the plan may have been temporarily forgotten, resulting in the occurrence of the change well into the first ode, instead of at the beginning. This scenario will be readdressed in the conclusion to this chapter: for now, it will suffice to say that the variation in script complicates the designation of a term to the script used in the Horatian text: it is partly (1-28v) *semitextualis*, partly (28v-107r) *humanistica textualis.*

From folium 107r onwards, another change in script is visible (image 7), which this time coincides with the start of a new text, the first of a couple of 'secondary' texts (the 'life of Horace' and the metrical treatises that follow). This script largely corresponds to the *humanistica cursiva,* which slightly slopes to the right and is usually characterised by a long *s* that extends below the baseline (although this shape of the *s* is not used consistently) and – again – the *a* in one compartment.[76] Some Gothic influences, however, remain apparent in all three kinds of script, for instance in the usage of the dotted *i.* The appearance of such elements brings to mind the umbrella term 'Gothica-Antiqua', explained by Derolez as encompassing a wide range of handwriting with many different writings that display traits of both Humanistic and Gothic scripts.[77] Yet, within this broad characterization, we are able to find rough examples of all three of Derolez' classifications of humanistic script in this single manuscript.

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[74] Derolez 2011, 167: formal characteristics of this script are the single compartment *a*, vertical *d*, *f* and straight *s* not descending below the baseline, and usage of the ampersand. The term is used in analogy to the Lieftinck-Gumbert nomenclature of Gothic scripts, in which a *littera gothica semitextualis* is likewise distinguished alongside the *littera gothica textualis.* According to Derolez, the *littera semitextualis*, although less common than the *textualis*, is encountered frequently enough to be considered as a category alongside the two that most palaeographers distinguish.

[75] De Meyier 1977, 15; 'Codices Vossiani Latini' via http://primarysources.brillonline.com (last seen 29-01-2019).

Layout, Ruling and Text

When turning to the page layout, the first thing to consider is the process of separating the script area from the margins of the page and of creating the lines that were drawn in preparation of the text. The text area (in this case being the 'ruled area' rather than the 'written area', in Gumbert's distinction)[78] measures up to 160 x 85 millimetre, in a single column, which is in turn divided into 29 lines.[79] These are drawn in hardpoint ruling, showing a furrow on one side of the leaf and a ridge on the other.[80] Significantly, writing has begun 'on top line', a practice which had been replaced by 'below top line' writing from the twelfth century onwards due to the 'Gothic' preference for enclosed areas, but returned again in humanistic manuscripts – as which we can by now, with some certainty, designate VLO 6.[81]

Intriguing about the manuscript's content is not just the presence of the classical texts and scholia, which will receive ample attention later on, but also the way in which all these texts were structured and organized. The medieval world's concern with hierarchies is often apparent in manuscripts, if attention is paid to types of script that can be called 'distinctive' on the ground of size, shape or colour – the so-called 'display script'. Trying to reconstruct this hierarchical structure can be somewhat of a challenge, as VLO 6 will prove, but the result can often provide an valuable understanding of the choices made by the copyist to organize the book.[82] In this section, I will attempt to reconstruct this organizing framework, discussing both the usage of initials and of display script in titles, while simultaneously linking it to the texts that the codex holds. As mentioned earlier, the texts in question include Horace's poems except the *Satires* and several additional treatises, as laid out in Appendix III.

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[76] Derolez 2011, 168.

[77] Delolez 2003, 176-182 If the strict criteria of this publication are taken into account, *all* of the three different scripts in VLO 6 would have to be classified as Gothica-Antiqua because of the appearance of non-Humanistic elements (such as the dotted *i*) within the mostly humanistic script. For the purposes of this description, however, the more applicable nomenclature of Derolez 2011 was employed.

[78] Gumbert 2004, section 323.9

[79] This ensues in an average height of 5,7 millimetre per line. The measurements of the margins are as follows: left margin, 15 mm; right margin, 50 mm; upper margin, 15mm; lower margin, 40 mm. All measurements are based on f. 11r.

[80] There are no traces of pricking visible.

[81] Derolez 2003, 39.

[82] My observations on the typographical hierarchy are mostly based on Gumbert 1993, esp. 12-14.

Initials

It is no surprise that the opening initial on f. 1r is the highest in 'rank' (image 5). This initial, after all, illustrates the very first poem in this manuscript – in this case, the first *Epistle* of the first book, addressed to Horace's patron Maecenas.[83] The gold-leaf letter is set against a multi-coloured background with red, green and predominantly deep blue colours. The background is further adorned with small white spots, placed into groups of three. The centrepiece, however, is a set of uncoloured branches and flowers, drawn in black ink, that are twisted around the initial and make their way along the left-hand margin. This type of decoration corresponds to the so-called *bianchi girari* ('white vine'), a style which became much-used by Italian humanists in the decoration of manuscripts of classical authors.[84] Again, this provides the manuscript with a definite humanistic look.

Almost all of the individual poems of the *Epistles* and a large part of the *Odes* are preceded by flourished initials that are only slightly less richly decorated. These are mostly lombards – they at times exhibit less serifs or appear more rigid and less round than typical lombards. They are executed in red or blue ink and embellished with detailed pen flourishing (in a contrasting colour), forming a variating pattern of lines, circles, windmill shapes, and dots, both within the open spaces of the letter and in the left-hand margin. Characteristically Italian about these decorations are the small 'bumps' that decorate the sides of the vertical strokes. These initials vary slightly in size, but one of them is clearly distinguished from the rest: unsurprisingly, this is the opening letter of the *Odes*, which spans the height of five regular text lines and sports extra detailed pen flourishing that includes leaves and flowers over the length of the left-hand margin (image 6).[85]

When leafing through the book's pages, however, it soon becomes clear that many of these initials appear unfinished. Halfway through the first book of *Odes* (42v) – and in several places after that – only the red lombards are written, without any added pen flourishing (image 11). In other sections of the book the initials are missing completely, leaving blank spaces (even at prominent places such as the opening of *Odes* Book 2, f. 45r) and, most frequently from f. 70

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[83] This in itself is already quite remarkable, since the standard medieval sequence of Horace's complete works starts with the *Odes*: these aspects of the book's set-up will be discussed in Chapter 2, 'Sequence'.

[84] De Hamel 1986, 220: "The initials look rather like the acanthus foliage which the humanists knew on ancient Roman marble columns, but their actual models must have been the vine stem initials found in many central Italian manuscripts of the mid-twelfth century. Once again they thought they were reviving an old traditions."

[85] The opening of the second book of *Epistles* is illustrated with a similar initial, slightly smaller than the opening initial of the *Odes* (four regular lines).

onwards, guide letters left by the copyist or, possibly, a user, to indicate which letter should have been there.[86] The absence of initials illustrates the common practice to leave the filling out of letters with red ink to a second stage of writing by a rubricator (who could well be the copyist himself). Apparently, this second stage did not take place for all letters, perhaps through a shortage of money or a certain lack of interest in finishing the book.[87] Particularly curious from this perspective are the initials that can be found at the very beginning of the *Epistles*, which is the very beginning of the entire collection. Some of these are merely outlines of lombards in the same style as the ones mentioned above, drawn in a faded red colour (e.g. *Epistles* 1.8, f. 8v; image 8). Are they sketches, waiting in vain to be coloured in and embellished? Equally striking is the initial *S* that (quite uniquely) divides the lengthy *Epistle* 1.7 into two: this initial is drawn clumsily in red and black ink, surrounded by a square and embellished with childlike curls and half-circles (f. 7v; image 9). Its strange appearance suggests that it may have been added by a reader who, perhaps annoyed by the unfinished look or absence of the initial, tried his own hand at decorating. In any case, the unpolished character of initials not only at the end, but also at the very beginning of the book is curious, and leaves it with a rather unpolished impression.

Display Script

Secondly, the small embellishments with red ink are worthwhile to consider, and for this purpose the beginning of the book will be the starting point again. The manuscript's texts fluently go over in one-another: they are divided not by blank spaces or pages but by as system of titles. As per usual, an *incipit* is placed above the opening epistle, in this case written in a *humanistica textualis* largely similar to the script of the main text, described below (image 5). Curiously, this form of deviating script is not used again at the beginning of the other *Epistles* and only resurfaces at the *incipit* of the *Odes* (f. 28v; image 6); instead, the *explicit* of both books of *Epistles* and the added 'titles' to each epistle are written using large roman capitals, alluding to the trend in Carolingian book production to use this 'old-fashioned' type of script for fancy titles.[88] Sometimes, the first word of the poem is written in (black) capitals as well; other times, this is extended to the first few verses of the poem. When doing so, the copyist has usually taken the trouble to decorate those first verses or words by alternatingly using black and red ink (image 10), implying that he had likely two ink pots at hand and could add red embellishments himself instead of leaving them to an external rubricator. Yet, his reasons for choosing these particular poems remain obscure.[89]

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[86] See e.g. images 14 and 15. Curiously, however, the initials embellished with pen flourishing return at the end of the book, not at the start of the *Ars Poetica* where we might expect them, but at the beginnings of Horace's biography and the various metrical treatises. See for the neglect the *Ars Poetica* seems to be suffering in this manuscript Chapter 3, 'Segmentation'.

[87] Some details in red ink may also have been forgotten; this seems to be the case for the skipped title of *Epistles* 1.2 (f. 2v), where only a blank line remains above the poem. The accompanying initial is merely a vague, red sketch, perhaps also forgotten.

[88] At least, all except the opening to *Epistle* 1.2, where, for some reason, only a white space can be seen.

This usage of display script changes at the end of Horace's *Epistles* and from the *Odes* onwards: instead of being used to designate 'remarkable' text, the small *humanistic textualis*-script (in red ink) becomes the standard for titles from f. 28v onwards. In contrast, the capital script is now used to announce more remarkable changes, such as the *incipit* and *explicit* of each book *except* the *incipit* to book 1, and – a great example of content-based hierarchy – the introductory sentences to Horace's famous and popular *Ode* 1.37 (*'Nunc est bibendum...'*), in which the poet celebrates the end of the Roman civil wars and narrates the horrifying death of Cleopatra (image 11).[90] In addition to this, it should be noted that there are no further instances of the 'multi-coloured' titles that could be found in the *Epistles*, which suggests that a slightly different 'system' of display script has been employed in this latter half of the book. Finally, we also find in this section only the rather Gothic-looking tendency to fill in the final line of the previous poem by starting there already with the red-coloured title, that typically occupy one-and-a-half line (e.g. *Odes* 1.6; 1.7, f. 31v, image 12).

A final instance of display script is formed by the small, red majuscules, at the beginning of some lines or incorporated in the main text, at irregular intervals (see e.g. image 5 and image 10). These red majuscules can be found in some of the *Epistles*, disappear at the beginning of the *Odes* and in the following poems, only to resurface halfway through the *Ars Poetica* text at the end of the book (f. 102r). What is their purpose? They seem to designate a structure to the text, dividing it into sections that do not always match the sections in modern editions.

The Afterlife of VLO 6

At this point in the synthesis of the material aspects of VLO 6, something should be said about its users and subsequent owners – the ones that we *do* know about – and about the way in which the manuscript eventually ended up in Leiden University Library. The most recent journeys of the manuscript can fairly easily be reconstructed through examining the lives and careers of two known owners of the manuscript: Melchisédec Thévenot (1620-1692) and Isaac Vossius (1618-1689).

Thévenot's link to the manuscript is apparent by his *ex libris* ("*Ex Biblioth. Melchis. Thévenot*") on the front flyleaf nowadays marked as folium 1* (image 2). The Roman numerals – serving as a shelf mark, I assume – on the same folium can be ascribed to Thévenot as well

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[89] These multi-coloured titles and *incipit*s are found for *Epistles* 1.8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 19, 20, and 2.1.

[90] The full introduction reads: DE ACCIACA VICTORIA QUE GESTA FUIT A CAESARE OCTAVIANO CONTRA MARCUM ANTONIUM ET CLEOPATRAM TRICOLOS TETRASTROPHS ARCHI. HYP. PYN. (44r).

(*XXXXIV*).[91] Thévenot himself is a well-known, though at the same time somewhat elusive, character from the seventeenth-century scholarly world. An esteemed member of *l'Académie des sciences*, he became the librarian of the Royal Library under Louis XIV in 1684, hosting a salon that became the "rendez-vous des savants de l'époque."[92] Thévenot would have already had contacts with Dutch scholars of the time, including Vossius, with whom he shared a love for books, as described in various letters.[93] It is likely that he made use of these connections to inspect and transcribe books of the collection in Leiden in the winter of 1669; mostly works of Arabian authors, which held Thévenot's interest particularly. Since the exchange of books between Thévenot and Vossius could not have taken place after the former's death – Vossius would die three years earlier – nor because of Thévenot's willingness to sell, since the bibliophile had no lack of funds, this stay in Leiden may have been the perfect occasion, as was suggested by F. Mourlot:

> "Pendant son séjour à Leyden, Thévenot a pu prendre connaissance de ces livres qui étaient si utiles à ses travaux: il a pu en demander communication à Vossius, vu les relations d'amitié qui les unissaient; peut-être même lui a-t-il proposé l'échange de ces manuscrits contre d'autres venant de sa bibliothèque personnelle."[94]

Meanwhile, Vossius is well known as the possessor of an abundant library, which included many manuscripts, and was sold to the States of Holland by his nephew Gerardus Vossius after the uncle's death. Apart from his name on the first page of the book, there are no traces of Vossius to be found. It is worth mentioning here that the script of the marginal commentary, which will be our focus in the next couple of chapters, does not correspond to the characteristics of the script of Vossius – who was known to have written in the margins of some of his books, and whose script is therefore known to us.[95] Although I have not seen such comparative material in the case of Thévenot, we may exclude a possible relation between him and the scholia on the basis of the fifteenth-century characteristics of that script, an aspect to which we will return in the next chapter.

Conclusions and Contexts

Although this research project's primary focus is on the margins of VLO 6, this chapter explicitly concentrated on the book itself instead. This thorough material examination led to conclusions on two thematic levels – the books' state of completion and its place in a time period – both of which I will attempt to briefly link to the larger context of book production in the fifteenth century in this conclusion.

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[91] Further references to Isaac Vossius and Leiden University Library can be found on the following pastedowns and on f. 1r. Cf. De Meyier 1977, 17.
[92] Mourlot 1894, 108.
[93] See Blok 1999, 169.
[94] Mourlot 1894, 109. Vossius, meanwhile, was known to exchange the oriental manuscripts in his collection (which he could not read) for Greek and Latin ones, aiming at the best possible exemplars from a philological point of view. See Blok 1999, 210.
[95] See Derksen 2012, 257 ff.

A Professional Product

VLO 6 as a whole appears to be a homogeneous codex – written by one person in one production process, in what appears to be a complete set of quires. After all, the examination revealed several *boundaries* – from *humanistica semitextualis* to a proper *textualis*, and a change in the 'system' of scripts used for titles – but these boundaries are no *caesura*, nor are they certain indications for a change of scribe.[96] Furthermore, it can be said that the finishing of the book leaves something to be desired, especially with regard to the many blank spaces where initials were supposed to be, as well as the somewhat clumsy and unprofessionally drawn initials that were presumably intended to fill the aforementioned blank spaces. Yet, the script is neat and small, presumably requiring some skill in writing. Mistakes, such as the skipped passage on f. 76v, have been adequately solved by an inserted leaf and a set of marginal signs and arrows. And, especially because of the embellished red-blue initials with elaborate pen flourishing that are fully completed, the part of the book that *is* completed, has a professional appearance.

The term 'professional', however, may encompass more types of scribes in the fifteenth century than in previous ages. In a period in which, at long last, we are able to acquire more information about the scribes who made a living writing these books – many copyists signed and/or dated their volumes – it is clear that not all scribes were full-time professionals, and sometimes even only adapted the profession (part-time) because they were in need of a well-paid job.[97] In addition, a category of non-professional scribes is formed by students who copied books to work their way through university. Many people with scholarly attainments, furthermore, were known to write their own manuscripts as well: in earlier times Petrarca, for instance, employed a scribe and simultaneously produced manuscripts by himself.[98] There were, however, of course also professional scribes in the current sense of the word, whose life and works can in some cases be reconstructed. An important contribution in this field was made in the 2009 'biographical' overview of the preeminent scribe Bartolomeo Sanvito (1433-1511), whose oeuvre, life and circle were reconstructed by groups of modern scholars.[99]

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[96] See Gumbert 2004 for the terminology employed here. A *caesura* (*boundary* that coincides with a quire boundary) could be an indication that the sections on either side are separate codicological units. Yet, as discussed, VLO 6 has none of these.

[97] De Hamel 1986, 224-5 refers to notaries like Antonio Mario and Gherardo del Ciriago or members of the church like Piero Strozzi, who gained some extra income by copying books. We even know of manuscripts completed and signed in the debtor's prison in Florence (*'nelle stinche'*): see De Hamel 1986, 229.

[98] Bühler 1960, 23. Bühler furthermore holds that scribes in Italy, who appear to have been somewhat better off than in the rest of Europe, more often had the luxury to hire scribes to write the books they needed.

When compared to the quality of the books produced by Sanvito, both regarding illumination and finishing, VLO 6 appears to be of a considerably lower standard – yet still one that can be called 'professional'. Regarding level of execution, decorations, and size, VLO 6 appears to be more in line with some of the (early) humanistic books of classical texts that are characterized as glossed 'schoolbooks' in modern surveys of manuscripts.[100]

Books and Readers

The production of VLO 6 can be firmly placed into fifteenth-century Italy. This context, as proposed by De Meyier and others, is not only supported by the humanistic script, white vine decoration and usage of possibly 'pre-fabricated' quires,[101] but also by content-based evidence, such as the included text by Perotti (written 1453) at the end of the manuscript. Even though this examination simultaneously revealed some Gothic influence, in the book's script and lay-out, the overall character of the book is distinctly humanistic. Such a characterization connects VLO 6 to a changeable age in the history of the book, inseparably connected to the rise of the printing press throughout Europe in the second half of the century. However, the once fashionable view that professional scribes were immediately out of business by the arrival of the press, is nowadays deemed outdated. After all, nearly as many manuscripts from the late fifteenth century, compared to the first half of the century, have survived – as pointed out by Bühler, who provides several examples for the "peaceful coexistence" of manuscripts and incunabula in manuscript copies of late-fifteenth-century printed books.[102]

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[99] De La Mare & Nuvoloni 2009. Classical poetry appears to be the main preoccupation of Sanvito, both transcribed by himself and, sometimes, in collaboration with other scribes.

[100] Such as the books mentioned in Black 2004. Particularly Florence, BML Plut.34.18 (Horace; fourteenth century, fifteenth-century glosses; 125x200 mm) is reminiscent of VLO 6 in its initials and pen flourishing, although it is somewhat older and of a more Gothic character. Florence BML Plut.38.29 (Terence; fifteenth century; 160x230 mm) and Florence BML Plut.36.6 (Ovid; fourteenth century with fifteenth-century glosses; 190x265) are other examples of schoolbooks somewhat reminiscent of VLO 6 in level of completion, execution, or decoration. Nevertheless, it should be noted that some of Black's schoolbooks show at the same time differences in script or level of calligraphy. All these examples can be found online via http://mss.bmlinline.it > Search: [insert shelfmark] (last seen: 29-01-2019).

[101] The usage of *quinios* does not, as far as I know, give us any hints towards the identity of the 'client' who initiated the production of the book. Presumably, both private persons as professional scribes would be able to make use of the services of the *cartelaio* to buy ready-made quires, the former to produce a book they want to write themselves and the latter to produce an ordered manuscript. In any case, the *quinios* may point to the commercialized means of book-production in the later middle ages.

[102] Bühler 1960, 24ff.

A question remains, however: why would a prospective reader opt for a manuscript book in this age of printing?[103] This question is especially pertinent in the case of a manuscript of Horace, whose works were among the earliest printed books: the *editio princeps* of 1470, an edition accompanied by Pseudo-Acro's notes in Milan in 1474, the inclusion of both the commentaries of Pseudo-Acro and Porphyrio in 1476, to be followed by the poems accompanied by the famous humanistic commentary of Christophoro Landino in Florence, 1482.[104] Although it is, of course, impossible to surmise the book owner's exact motivations in this case, it is worthwhile to keep the potentially negative aspects of printing in mind. In the case of quattrocento authors, opting to publish their work in manuscript rather than printed form, the reasons for doing so could range from practical aspects such as the potentially risky capital outlay necessary to get one's work through the press, to the idea that certain texts (e.g. lyric poetry or drama) were not suitable for the medium of printing, or even, for some, to a moral or intellectual prejudice against the 'new' method of producing books.[105] Such disadvantages of printing may have been important from a reader's point of view as well. Furthermore, a set of economic reasons can be assumed: the wealthy might have preferred fancy calligraphic texts and beautiful codices – a purpose for which VLO 6 seems less suitable than, say, the books ascribed to Sanvito. Yet, simultaneously, middle-class readers may have considered it still more economical to write or order their own manuscript than to buy a (second-hand) printed volume.[106] Whatever the precise considerations, it is clear that whoever initiated the production of VLO 6 intended it to be embellished with *bianchi girari* and elaborate pen flourishing, thus ensuring its professional appearance.

About this anonymous 'client' we know almost nothing: attempts to identify him risk being based more on conjecture than on facts.[107] The only thing that may refer to him, then – and to the book's purpose and user context – are the marginalia. These, based on the way they are written in the margin without a designated text block, 'crammed' around the main text, decorative titles and even each other, seem to belong to the codex' *user layers* rather than its *production layers*. This distinction (and its implications) will be elaborately discussed in the next chapter, which will be devoted to a material- and content-based account of the marginal commentary as a whole.

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[103] Cf. Bühler 1960, 33: "When, in the face of innumerable editions, both cheap and expensive in array, one notes texts of such authors as Aristotle, Catullus, Cicero, Horace, Juvenal, Martial, Persius, Seneca and Vergil written out almost at the turn of the century (and sometimes even later), one cannot help but be puzzled by their very existence."

[104] Grafton, Most & Settis 2010, 456: "The Italian Renaissance made up for the relative lack of Italian medieval manuscripts of Horace by producing a flood of printed editions of this works: [...] 44 editions were published in Italy between 1470 and 1500, 13 in Venice alone between 1490 and 1500 […]."

[105] Richardson 1999, 77-80. There were, however, also advantages of printing, such as the permanence and (hoped-for) uniformity that the medium of printing was thought to offer to both old and new texts, and the lower price of printed books for a prospective audience (Richardson 1999, 80).

[106] Bühler 1960, 33. See also Bühler 1960, 19-21: Even in Italy, where manuscript production was greatest in this period, a manuscript would have been a luxurious item, costing (as estimated) between seven and ten ducats – which equaled a month's wages for, for instance, an official at the Neapolitan court. Until the late fifteenth century, therefore, books seem to have been still mostly owned by institutions, the individual owner being the exception. Grafton 1981, 52 similarly states that "[humanist] books were expensive and relatively hard to find".

[107] It is, for instance, tempting to think of VLO 6 when reading Bühler's description of the majority of fifteenth-century manuscripts and their scribes: "Those manuscripts of the period which repose on the shelves of the great national libraries in the countless hundreds, and which are never to be seen in the

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display cases of their exhibition rooms, were mostly written by anonymous scholars in connection with their own studies. Yet these manuscripts were not only written – they were also bought, sold, and exchanged […]" (Bühler 1960, 33).

2 The Marginal Commentary

This chapter will examine the notes and comments in the margin of VLO 6, culminating in a discussion on the possible context(s) in which we should see the production and usage of the commentary and, by extension, the manuscript in its entirety. As such, this section of the thesis builds on the observations made in chapter one, while simultaneously leading towards the analysis of the scholia in chapter three, with the aim of answering the question what kind of commentary this is, and on what levels it can contribute to the study of reading and interpreting Horace.

To begin, I will briefly go through the existing literature on the commentary, specifically discussing the work of Willem Suringar (1835), whose hypotheses on VLO 6 will form a starting point for this chapter. This examination will be followed by a re-evaluation of the commentary's context and function, for which purpose several aspects of the apparatus will be examined: the possible commentator or commentators, the commentary's sources, its relationship to the sequence and selection of Horace's main texts, and a detailed thematic description of its diversified content. Finally, for a provisional edition of the marginal commentary and introduction the reader should consult Appendix I.

Previous Scholarship: Suringar and Geelius

As was mentioned in the Introduction, the commentary extrapolated from the margins of VLO 6 has received little to no critical attention over the years, just like so many marginal commentaries that were surpassed because they were perceived as having small value regarding our understanding of Horace's poems, which stands in stark contrast to their value for our knowledge of how Horace was read. However, some parts of VLO 6's commentary were discussed by a nineteenth-century scholar, Willem Hendrik Dominicus Suringar (1805-1895) in his series *Historia Critica Scholiastarum Latinorum*, the third volume of which deals exclusively with scholia on Horace. Suringar was specialized in Latin literary criticism, paroemiography, and – later in life – Middle-Dutch literature, and he had acquired international esteem as a Latinist.[108] The relevant volume of the *Historia Critica*-series was published rather early in his career (1835), and deals with marginal notes on Horatian manuscripts, discussing their substance, peculiarities and provenance. In regard to VLO 6 – dubbed 'Codicem Thevenotianum' by Suringar, after Thévenot – Suringar describes the codex in a few general sentences: he observes that it was produced in

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[108] Blok & Molhuysen 1914, 1217-1218.

"some monastery in Italy", but he is vague about its precise dating in describing it simply as "not very old".[109]

Suringar's main concern is not so much the content of the scholia but rather the context in which they were written and used. He concludes that the scholia were composed in an educational setting, most likely written down by a student, who made notes of what was orally taught by a *magister*. Distinguishing between three criteria – lacunae, wrongly spelled Greek words, and spelling mistakes that are the results of oral transmission – Suringar presents several scholia that serve as evidence to his claim, cleverly identifying for instance the rather cryptic *'chiri, chiros'* (comment on *Epistles* 1.17) as an Italian misspelling of the Greek κύων, κύνος ('dog').[110] As a 'specimen' of the manuscript's style, Suringar furthermore adds the transcription and (summary) discussion of the comments on *Epistles* 1.1, covering the first four densely annotated pages of the manuscript.

Regarding the identity of the person responsible for the commentary, Suringar observes that the annotator, besides being a student, was also – quite unsurprisingly – a Christian.[111] Next to this main commentator, he rather vaguely refers to the existence of one or more other commentators, stating that "there were men of a much more recent time than in which the other scholia were written, who added to this commentary with their notes". The statement is accompanied by a particular reference to a note on f. 61v and to several other scholia that he suspects are written in the same hand.[112] Although the difference between these notes and the notes at the beginning of the commentary is visible (see below, 'Layered Hands'), it is not quite clear to me why Suringar singles out these particular examples, nor why he assumes that a change of script automatically entails a change of time and copyist.[113]

The matter is made more complicated by the addendum that is affixed at the end of Suringar's discussion of the scholia, an account of Geelius, *vir clarissimus,* who can be identified as philologist and librarian Jacob Geelius (1833-1858). During his time as librarian in Leiden, Geelius published a catalogue of the manuscript collection, including VLO 6. When asked by Suringar about the age and commentary of the manuscript, Geelius offers a critical and argumentative response. Most of all, he is hesitant to accept the thesis that the scholia were dictated. Suringar's three categories of mistakes that would prove the practice of dictation are individually discussed and refuted by Geelius, who indicates that lacuna's and misspelled words were more likely the result of mistakes in *writing*, not *hearing.*[114] It is an interesting debate without a clear answer, to which I will briefly return in the conclusion to this chapter.

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[109] Suringar 1835, 163-164: "Codices Leidensis, membranae nitore consicui, sed non valde antiqui [...] Ut autem Scholia suspicemur fuisse scholas in uno alterove monasterio Italiae [...]"

[110] Suringar 1835, 168.

[111] Suringar 1835, 165.

[112] Suringar 1835, 172: "Fuisse enim longe recentioris, quam quo reliqua Scholia scripta sunt, seculi homines, qui hunc Commentarium suis annotationibus ornare […] sustinuerint, nec diversitas manus dubitare sinit, nec hoc, quod recentissimae autatis indicium esse censeo, scholion. […] Eadem manu recentiore equidem, sed, quod vehementer doleo, Palaeographiae nimis imperitus, suspicor scipta esse haec scholia in quibus Servius citatur: […]" Suringar cites scholia on *Odes* 3.6.30 (*seu vocat institor*), *Odes* 4.11.26 (*ales Pegasus*), *Epodes* 9.16 (*veterunt bis mille…*) and *Epodes* 13.15 (*certo subtegmine…*).

[113] For example, I compared the scholion on 82r (*ales Pegasus*), mentioned because of its deviating script in Suringar, and an annotation on 37v (*Quis non te potius*), transcribed by Suringar as an illustration of lacuna's in the commentary. Both scripts, however, seem very similar, especially concerning the shaping of the letters *g, h* and *x*; both scripts, moreover, would correspond to what I have dubbed script type (4) in my discussion of the scripts in the margin (see the section 'Layered Hands' below).

Regarding the identity of the annotator, Geelius' stance is more difficult to interpret. Noting the humanistic character of the book, its excellent parchment and neat script, he writes:

> "Quamobrem, etiamsi tu recte suspiceris, Scholia esse calamo excepta a discipulo, hoc ita definias velim, ut magistrum quendam hunc Commentarium dictasse dicas, indeque Leidensis Codicis librarium excerpta margini textus Horatiani adscripsisse, admixtis nimirum aliunde excerptis: veluti ad Epod. VI.14. de Bupalo haud dubie e tribus diversis commentariis hausit. Huiusmodi igitur Scholia vel magister corraserit, vel qui postea Codicem Leidensem conscripsit. Quodsi hanc coniecturam probas, mihi praeterea credes et textum Horatii et Scholia ab eadem esse manu."[115]
>
> "For that reason, although you rightly suspect that the Scholia were taken from the pen by a student, I would want you to specify it this way, that you say that some teacher has dictated this commentary, and that from that point the copyist of the Leiden Codex has added excerpts in the margin of Horace's text, undoubtedly mixed with excerpts from elsewhere: just as he on *Epodes* 4.14 about Bupalus draws without doubt of three different commentaries. So, either a schoolmaster has scraped together the Scholia of this type, or the person who has later composed the Leiden Codex. And if you approve of this conjecture, you will believe me furthermore that both the text of Horace and the Scholia are from the same hand."

Geelius seems to agree with Suringar's identification of the annotator as a student, but at the same time clearly states that he equates the commentator with the copyist of the main text. A perceived change in script or colour, he continues, must be due to different types of ink or the age of the annotator.[116] In what follows, furthermore, Geelius holds that evidence of dictation is lacking, and thinks of a transcribed commentary instead. He may be assuming that a student wrote and embellished his own copy of the book (including the main text), based on a teacher's comments that were gathered in an earlier set of notes; alternatively, both the book and the commentary may have been written by a (professional) scribe, who copied material that may originally have been gathered by a student.[117] In any case, Geelius stresses the diverse nature commentary and emphasizes that the commentator made use of many sources.[118]

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[114] About lacuna's in particular, Geelius notes that they are found in thousands of books as the result of a hesitant copyist who is afraid to make mistakes and spoil the parchment with too many corrections, pointing to a lacuna in a comment to *Odes* 2.17.22 (*a ****, where *arboris* should have been written) as proof ("vides lacunam esse ab haesitante librario, non quid audiret, sed quid legeret"). The second argument of misspelled Greek is dismissed as faults in the exemplar ("vides [...] vitia terminationum oriri debuisse e perperam lecto exemplari"). Thirdly, he indicates that the 'auditive' mistakes identified by Suringar also occur in transcribed text, and points to some examples of errors (such as an *eye skip* or *saut-du-même-au-même* that typically occur while transcribing ("scis quam crebro librariorum manus vel negligentia vel inscitia ad simillimos istis errores aberraverint"). Suringar 1835, 182.

[115] Suringar 1835, 181.

Revisiting VLO 6

Suringar's analysis of the commentary is in itself admirable and concise: his main argument – that the commentary was dictated by a schoolmaster – is a plausible one, despite Geelius' criticism, in that it provides a reason to explain the sometimes untidy style of the scholia. What merits a reconsideration of VLO 6's commentary, however, are several questions and unconsidered possibilities regarding the writing context of the commentary. Firstly, one of these concerns the complex question of the identity of the commentator or commentators, as discussed above. [119] Although the matter will remain difficult, I will endeavour to focus on what we *do* know about this commentator, and finally propose some possible scenarios that could correspond to my observations. Another perspective to re-examine is the purpose of the commentary: the educational context of the manuscript suggested by Suringar used to be the traditional interpretation of the majority of glossed manuscripts, until recent scholarly debates drew attention to the wider spectrum of the possible purposes of marginal annotation.[120] Finally, Suringar does not analyse the entire corpus of scholia – which is understandable given that VLO 6 is only a chapter in his elaborate overview – nor does he dedicate much words to discuss the scholia's content, or their function as an 'interpretation'.

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[116] After all, "the same goes for a scribe's handwriting as for a face: the features change as its age does, but that through which we recognise the person, is saved and remains constant." ("In scribentis manu idem obtinet, quod in vultu: cujus mutantur aetate lineamenta, illus autem servatur ac constans est, quo hominem agnoscimus"). Suringar 1835, 181.

[117] Another option could be that Geelius means to differentiate between *scholia* and *excerpta* from source commentaries (although he does not say so explicitly), or imagines that the commentary as a whole is a combination of teacher's notes and copied texts from other commentaries and classical texts.

[118] Suringar 1835, 181.

[119] There are still many uncertainties regarding this matter. For example, if we assume that a student was indeed responsible for the writing of the scholia (including mistakes), this would not correspond to the observation that the scholia were written by the copyist of the main text – suggested both in De Meyier's catalogue and by Suringar's colleague Geelius – unless we assume that the main text, too, was copied by a student with very neat copying skills. Furthermore, the question whether there was one or multiple commentators is left rather vague by both Suringar and Geelius.

[120] These alternative functions include e.g. the preservation of knowledge, the reflection of scholarly practices and debates in the margin (Teeuwen 2014, 1098), and accumulation of encyclopaedic information in library books (Taraskin 2013). The debate is discussed in e.g. Wieland 1985; Reynolds 1996a.

All these aspects invite a reconsideration of the contexts in which the commentary was produced and used, in which I will be adding my own observations to Suringar's work. To do so, I will in what follows examine several core elements of the commentary, grouped under the following focal points: the scribe and script of the commentary, the various sources of the commentary, the relationship between the commentary and the compilation of Horace's texts, and finally, in a thematic arrangement, the content of the scholia themselves. The outcome of this more elaborate analysis will complement and simultaneously problematize Suringar's and Geelius' observations, emphasizing the complexity of the commentary's creation.

The Commentary and its Scribe(s)

First of all, it should be noted that the commentator, just like the copyist of Horace's poems, is anonymous and does not provide us with a name or personal statement, although this happens more often in the fifteenth century than in any earlier age. As a result, the clues that we have regarding the scribe's identity are limited to, on the one hand, the types of script and the hands that are employed in writing the scholia, and on the other hand, the content of the scholia.

Layered Hands

It is a complex matter to distinguish the various hands in the margins of VLO 6, since even the characteristics by which they could be separated are not always consistently present. Previous scholars writing about the marginal script have offered only rather general descriptions. The catalogue of De Meyier dates the script to the same time as the writing of the main text (the latter half of the fifteenth century), characterizing the scholia as written "by the copyist himself or in a hand of the same time in cursive letters; above, interlinear glosses [...] written in the same hand";[121] Geelius too tries to convince Suringar to equate the copyist of the main text with the commentator.[122] At the same time, the lay-out of the scholia – 'crammed' in between the main text, decorations, or even around other marginal annotations (f. 3v, see below) – and the irregularity of the scale of the scholia throughout the book, suggests that they should be considered to be part of the user layers of the book's history, rather than the production layers.[123] This is a problem that can be illuminated by a careful examination of the occurring scripts in the margins.

The larger part of the scholia can be said to correspond to the main characteristics of the *littera humanistica cursiva* (see also Ch. 1, 'Describing the Script'), marked by a single-compartment *a*, an *f* and an *s* extending below the baseline, and a (slight) slope to the right.[124] Yet, these characteristics are not uniformly present in all scholia, nor does there seem to be much of a system to the commentary lay-out: the types of 'distinctive' script used for lemmata are employed randomly – alternating between rubrication, majuscule letters or no distinctive script at all – and there is ample variation regarding the form in which scholia are written, some of them being artfully displayed in inverted triangles. Hence, I propose to examine a few pages of the manuscript as a 'case study' to come to grips with the various hands employed, and to show that the matter is more complicated than it may seem.[125]

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[121] De Meyier 1977, 16: "...a librario ipse vel manu eiusdem temporis litteris cursivis; incuper glossae interlineares extstant [...'] eadem manu scriptae atque scholia."

[122] Suringar 1835, 181.

[123] See chapter 1.

A good place to start is f. 3v (see image 13). The upper left margin contains three marginal notes, of which the second (*Si nolis...*) seems particularly interesting: apparently, the copyist lacked the space to write the final sentence of this annotation, forcing him to cram the text in vertically, between the main text and the third scholion on the page (*Torquere...*). Logically, this indicates that the second annotation was added to the manuscript at a later stage than the third: this is already an indication of the 'layering' of annotations. That is not all: the marginalia are also divergent in their palaeographical character. The 'elder', lowest annotation on the page (*Torquere*...), henceforth called type (1), corresponds to the *humanistica cursiva*. In contrast, the later annotation type (2), with the final line written vertically, is a neat, orderly arranged hand, characterized by its elegant, 'humanistic' two-lobe **g**. This hand seems to write a not-very-cursive *humanistica cursive* and – here, at least – employs a *humanistica textualis* as display script to highlight the lemma copied from Horace's text.[126] This hand seems to share the most resemblance with the hand of the main text. Finally, the annotation at the top of the page (3), also a *humanistica cursiva*, stands out by the faded, red colour of its ink, reminiscent of the interlinear glosses. It is unclear how this gloss stands in a temporal relation to the other two types on the page.

So far, so good – but difficulties and variants arise when we compare these observations to other pages. Take for example f. 67v (image 14). In the left- and lower margin of the page we again find various types of script, written in disorganised fashion around the main text. The annotations in the left margin (*Inacus...* and *Eginam...*) have a different character: the lines are more delicate and the letters slope to the right. Characteristic letters seem to be again the *g,* which this time sports a big, sagged 'belly', the loop (almost) closed, in combination with an *h* of which the second leg is descending below the baseline and slopes to the left. It also uses predominantly a round *d*,[127] and is often, although not always, found in combination with the triangle-shaped annotations.[128] Based on these distinctions, this smaller, more ‘scribbled’ type of script, let us call it type (4), can be found from f. 15v onwards, most frequently throughout the *Odes*-section of the manuscript. It is to this category that the scholia indicated as *manu recentiore* by Suringar, correspond. There is still a lot of variation to be found: the annotation just above (*CODRVS...*), for instance, is far more difficult to allocate. It is somewhat reminiscent of type (1) that I described above, but it is difficult to tell with certainty.

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[124] As in the script of the main text, however, the script used in the margins has several characteristics that are clearly influenced by the gothic tradition, such as the *h* with the second descender descending below the baseline, the usage of round *r* and uncial *d,* and several other shapes of the *g* than the 'proper', humanistic two-lobe **g.** Following Derolez, these types of script could strictly speaking be captured under the term 'gothico-antiqua', athough their overall character is clearly humanistic. See Derolez 2003, 176.

[125] Note that different 'hands' do not necessarily imply different copyists; they may just as well belong to a single copyist whose handwriting changes when he chooses or while he ages.

[126] This usage of display script is not exclusive to this type of script, however: *humanistica textualis* as display script is also found in combination with script type (4), e.g. on 29v, 40v.

Another example of the variants of script in the margins of the *Odes* is found on f. 62r (image 15). The two elaborate annotations in the lower margins of the page are written in a clear type (4) script. New are the neat quotations of classical authors in the upper margins, reminiscent of type (2) although they appear to have been written with a narrower pen. The Vergil quote is written in a clear, round *humanistica cursiva*; the Ovid quote in a *humanistica textualis.* We find these types of citations in these types of script, in combination with the explicit reference to an author and/or book, and usually with a double paragraph sign – both the pilcrow (or *pied-de-mouche*) and the gallows type – from 38v throughout the book. Amidst the mostly type (4) annotations, the large and round script of this (variation on?) type (2) script literary ‘leaps off the page’ and is clearly recognisable.

Finally, there is a definite hint that the scholia are ‘layered’ to be found in the occurrence of multiple annotations, in apparently different hands, on the same lemma (image 16). I have found this only a few times in the commentary as a whole,[129] one instance being the scholia at the beginning verses of the *Carmen Saeculare* (97r):

> ¶ **Hilithia.** Luna dicitur qui siluarum dea vnde custos siluarum a poetis appellatur et dicitur ab υλH, quod siluam significat, et θεος, dea.
>
> ¶ **Ilithia**[130] Homerum describit[131] sequitur qui eam sic apellauit quasi hominum principiis fauens.[132]

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[127] Note that it is the *combination* of these characteristics that constitute script type (4) in my model. Type (2) also occasionally uses a round, uncial *d* in addition to the straight *d*; likewise, an *h* with a lengthened second leg is also found in different looking script-types.

[128] The exceptions to this combination are the two triangle-like shapes in the *Epistles*-sections of the commentary, both on 14v, and the triangle on 90v which does not seem to be written in a typical type (4) hand. The triangle shaped annotations in the rest of the commentary are connected to script type (4).

[129] E.g. *Od.* 4.7, on *Agileus Apollo*.

[130] Note the difference in spelling (the main text of Horace reads *Ilithia* in the manuscript and *Ilithyia* in modern editions such as Thomas 2011); the spelling with an *h* may be due to hypercorrection.

[131] The dotted line indicates that the commentator wanted this word to be deleted.

[132] Cf. Ps-Acro, *CS* 14-15: **Ilithia.** Ipsam enim Lucinam, Lunam et Dianam ostendit, quam mistico nomine, sicut in sacris dicebatur, Ilithiam nominauit, sicut eam et Homerus uocauit; ipsa enim partubus mulierum fauere putabatur. [15] A nobis genitalis dea, a Gr<a>ecis Hithyia.

> **Hilithia.** This is the name of the moon who is the goddess of forests, whence she is called 'guardian of the forests' by the poets, and her name is derived from *ulē*, which means 'forest', and *theos*, 'goddess'.
>
> **Ilithia.** He describes follows Homer, who gave her that name as if being well disposed towards the earliest moments of men.

Of the two alternating scripts used on this page, one (*Hilithia. Luna dicitur...*) seems to correspond to the sloped, fluent script of type (4); the other (*Ilithia. Homerum...*) is more reminiscent of the static, neat type (2), with its precise humanistic *g* and sporting even a display script in *humanistica textualis*, although as a whole it is written considerably smaller. This 'neater' type (2) contains the text borrowed from the Pseudo-Acro commentary. The ink of the two sets of annotations, too, is in different stages of fading. Although there are no indications here to suggest which annotations were there first, it is easy to imagine a reader supplementing existing information, either enriching the comments of a previous commentator, or retracing and reviewing his own steps at a later point in time.

In other words: it is uncertain whether the different hands in the commentary belonged to different commentators – although this certainly is a possibility. After all, as Geelius pointed out, the difference in script does not automatically imply that there were multiple writers: the diversity could be due to the commentator's changing age, as he suggests, but also to the circumstances and speed of writing.[133] However, the fact that the commentary is *layered*, and consequently more complicated than merely consisting of the notes of one copyist in one process,[134] is underlined by this brief examination. Although the analysis of the scripts above is not completely conclusive, it illuminates at least two roughly dividable types of scripts, (2) and (4). Finally, the possibility of the copyist of the commentary being the same person as the copyist of Horace's main text deserves to be touched upon.[135] Although I cannot say so with certainty, I am inclined to think he was not; after all, the evidence on f. 3v suggests that script type (2), which was the most reminiscent of the main text's script, was added later and written 'around' annotations in a (slightly) different hand. This chronology would not correspond to the scenario that the copyist completed both the main text and the 'original', eldest set of annotations before delivering it to the client – that is, unless we assume that the copyist of the main text was a student or schoolmaster himself, and that multiple glosses were written in different hands in roughly the same time period. It is another piece of the complex puzzle of VLO 6, one that cannot be solved completely (at least, not in this project, since it is not my main focus); I will briefly return to the subject in the conclusion to this chapter. For now, this examination of the marginal scripts will suffice as a basis to delve into the content of the commentary.

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[133] See also Woods 2013, 335.

[134] As the description of De Meyier perhaps implies.

[135] This is proposed as a possibility by De Meyier (1977, 16) and Geelius (in Suringar 1835, 181); see above.

Times and Circumstances

Since the book as a whole has a *terminus post quem* of 1453, based on the inclusion of Perotti's metrical treatise, it can be assumed that the marginalia, in humanistic script, were added some time after that.[136] Apart from this rough time period, we know virtually nothing of the commentator(s). Suringar established a Christian background for him, based on a quotation from the New Testament in a note on *Epistles* 2.12, where the stylistic figure called *catexochen* (κατ'ἐξοχήν, the usage of an example *par excellence*) is explained by means of examples from Vergil, Sallustius and the gospel of Marcus.[137] I found a second scholion that pointed at Christian themes in a later part of the commentary, in which the commentator points to another decidedly Christian theme: the wondrous apparition of "the blessed archangel Michael" on mount Garganus, which, he tells us, is sacred today because of the sanctuary constructed there (note on *Odes* 2.9).[138] The story he refers to – of the angel appearing in order to, among other things, arrange the building of his own sanctuary – was well-known throughout the Middle Ages, mostly through a narrative transmitted in ninth-century manuscripts (but possibly having roots as far back as the sixth century).[139] This scholion is one of the many that refer to the time of writing, using words like *hodie* (e.g. in the notes on *Epist.* 1.2 and *Epist.* 1.7), *adhuc* (*Epist.* 1.4) or *appellamus* (*Epist.* 1.14). A comment on *Od.* 4.13 that references the *arcus triumphales* that may be found *adhuc* all over the city of Rome, brings to mind the language of travel guides.[140] At the same time, as Suringar also notes, these instances are too general to offer any image of the writer: often, all they signify is the fact that he lived in a world that differed from antiquity.[141]

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[136] It would certainly not be until the mid-seventeenth century before the earliest known owner, Melchisédech Thévenot, would get the book into his possession. The scholia do not appear to match with the handwriting of seventeenth-century scholars such as Vossius or Thévenot (see for occurrences of the former's hand Derksen 2012).

[137] (v. 8) **Urtica.** Catesochen est figura. Vt est "Dana<um> atque imitis Achilli" [*Vergil *Aeneid* 1.30]. Et in Salustio "leonem atque alias feras" [Sallustius, *Jugurtha* 6]. Et in Sacris "Dicite discipulis et Petro" [*Marcus 16:7].

[138] [49r] (v. 7) **Garganus** mons est Brutiorum in sinu adtriatico haud longe a siponti ciuitate. Hodie sacer est apparitione beati Michaelis Archangeli. Et ei templi dedicatione.

[139] I am referring to the anonymous *Liber de apparitione Sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano* (Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina 5948); see e.g. Johnson 2005, 37. Hence, the *hodie* in the scholion does not help us to gather information on the annotator, since the mountain had been connected to a Christian context for centuries before VLO 6's production.

[140] [83v] ¶ Hic innuit arquus triumphales quos constat plures factos in honorum uirorum fortium impensa S.P.Q.R. ut ille est qui in honorem L. Septimii et M. Aurelii Pii adhuc apparet post Neruae sacellum in oliuo Capitolino multis titulis praeuocatus. Sic et plures alibi per urbem. Et collennae duae praeclarissimae.

[141] See Suringar 1835, 170, who quotes some of the references to the time of writing. Suringar's other assumed identity for the commentator – that of a schoolboy – will be discussed in the conclusion.

Sources

Suringar already rightly observed that the commentator made use of several source-commentaries in compiling and extending his scholarly notes. Yet, as I shall argue in what follows, Suringar did not survey all of the consequences of this frequent use of traditional sources and traditional language for his main hypothesis regarding the dictated nature of the commentary. This is problematic for the importance he attaches to the usage of the verb *audire* at the beginning of the commentary. As a re-examination of some of the commentator's sources will reveal, the usage of *audire* is in fact part of a popular, lengthy commentary tradition, suggesting that the term may have acquired a generic, formulaic character throughout the centuries, which complicates the scenario that Suringar perhaps too hastily assumed.

The commentary as a whole is heavily influenced by the existing commentary tradition on Horace's oeuvre: especially at the first, *Epistles*-section of the commentary, paraphrases and even literal quotations of Pseudo-Acro frequently occur. This is unsurprising, given that this late-antique commentary is the ancient commentary most frequently found in the margins of medieval Horatian manuscripts.[142] The passages are quoted without reference to Pseudo-Acro or any other indication that they are transcribed – in my own edition, I have added references to source texts by means of footnotes, distinguishing between the occasionally divergent modern editions of Hauthal (1966; first edition 1859) and Keller (1967; first edition 1902). It appears that particularly some of the lengthy and interpretative 'introductory' scholia on the *Epistles* (for instance the one on 1.7 and 1.9) to a large extent correspond to the Pseudo-Acronian tradition, which thus is shown to hold sway in commentaries even as late as the fifteenth century.[143]

However, certainly not all notes are based on Pseudo-Acro's standard commentary, or on the other Late-Antique standard commentary on Horace, Porphyrio. The opening lines of the commentary, written in the upper margin of f. 1r above Horace's *Epistula* 1.1 (image 5), show a pertinent likeness to a familiar, twelfth-century medieval commentary on Horace, known as the *Proposuerat*-commentary.[144] These opening lines, which also play a crucial part in Suringar's reasoning, deserve to be discussed in detail:

> [1r] Hanc ergo primam epistola<m>[145] Horatius scribit ad Maecenatem excusans se, quod amplius non posse <ly>rica, praetendens rationem competentem et congruam, adducens similitudinem. Haec est autem ratio: quia mutauit aetatem, debet mutare et animum in melius. Et per hoc

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[142] Friis-Jensen 1997, 51-52.

[143] See also chapter 3, 'Tralaticiousness'.

[144] See Friis-Jensen 2015, 108; Fredborg 2015, 208: the commentary was found in various variants in different mansucripts from the twelfth century onwards.

[145] Some letters of this scholion are faded. This text is written in the upper margin.

> reprehendit <i>llos qui cum mutarent aetatem non mutent in melius mentem. Similitudinem autem in sequentibus audietis. Ita ait: O Maecenas.[146]
>
> So, Horace writes this first epistle to Maecenas, excusing himself that he cannot write more lyrical poems, presenting a competent and fitting argument, while including an analogy. And this is his argument: because he has changed his age, he must also change his mind for the better. And through saying this he reproves those who, although they changed their age, do not change their mind for the better. But you will hear the analogy in what follows. He says it like this: "O Maecenas."

For Suringar's argument, *audietis* is the crucial word here: to him, imagining this as the introduction spoken by the *magister* to attend his audience – the students – to the beginning of the poems, the fact that the students should 'listen' to understand them is proof that these are not words aimed at an audience of readers, but one of listeners.[147] This observation forms the first step in reconstructing the educational context of 'oral dictation' in which Suringar believes the manuscript should be placed. However, what Suringar does not note, is that the *incipit* is almost identical to that of the *Proposuerat*-commentary, which is not yet published in its entirety but of which the beginning sentences were printed by Friis-Jensen.[148] Although Friis-Jensen's published beginning of the commentary is cut short, an unpublished edition of Fredborg based on multiple manuscripts shows that the commentary does in fact continue with the same words as the commentary in VLO 6, including the invitation of the speaker to have his audience 'listen' to Horace's analogy.[149] The almost word-for-word similarity between the *Proposuerat*-commentary and the marginal notes in VLO 6 does not end there, as is apparent in some of the introductory notes to various *Epistles*. Yet, the former is much greater in scope and scale, whereas the latter 'ends' its commentary as early as *Epistles* 1.19, to return only at *Odes* 1.1. Regarding the opening lines of 'our' commentary, it can be said that they were probably based on the *Proposuerat*-commentary, and thus on a lengthy tradition of (written) commentaries. This, of course, does not completely cancel out Suringar's argument, but it does indicate that the *audietis* was part of a larger, often-copied commentary tradition, and should therefore not necessarily be taken to refer to the practice of dictation.[150]

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[146] Cf. the opening of the *Proposuerat* commentary (see Chapter 2, 'Sources').

[147] Suringar 1835, 165: "[...] jubet nos opinari, magistrum, prius cum discipulis de argumento suo confabulatum, hic convertisse se ad dictandum. [...] Quibus verbis magister auditores suos, non lectores, alloquitur."

[148] "Hanc [...] primam epistolam scribit ad Mecenatem, excusans se quod amplius lirica non debeat scribere, pretendens competentem rationem [...]. Hec autem est ratio, quia scilicet mutauit etatem, debet igitur mutare animum in melius. Et per hoc reprehendit illos qui cum mutauerint etatem, non mutant in melius mentem." Bern, Burgerbibliothek 266, f.50vA, s. xii/xiii. In Friis-Jensen 2015, 109 (n. 27).

[149] Fredborg, unpublished.

[150] These observations correspond to a brief mentioning of the scholion by Geelius in his discussion of Suringar's 'dictation-hypothesis', where he stresses the general nature of the opening lines and writes that

This discussion of the likeness to the *Proposuerat*-commentary may lead to two conclusions: the first is the idea that the *Proposuerat*-commentary, at least, was a dictate in its original state. This is certainly plausible, since the earliest forms of most commentaries were, in fact, based on the scribbled down versions of dictated scraps of information, and on the authoritative voice of the *magister.*[151] It would be this initial oral transmission of a commentary, corresponding to the teacher's point of view, that the *audietis* in the *Proposuerat*-commentary would have pointed to – perhaps even indicating that those 'original' commentary books were the teachers' property.[152] The *accessus*, introductions to works often found at the beginning of manuscripts, would in this scenario have formed the introductory 'seminar' provided by a teacher, in which he discussed topics such as the life or the intention of the ancient author.[153] Yet, throughout the ages, the *audietis* of the *Proposuerat*-commentary would have been copied in so many manuscript margins that it may have become formulaic, rather than being a suitable proof to indicate that any commentary containing it was a dictate. Put this way, the perceived influence of the *Proposuerat*-commentary nuances Suringar's assumption that a classroom setting could be inferred – at least, not exclusively based on the opening scholia of the commentary.

The second conclusion that may be connected to the *audietis*-discussion set out above, concerns not the *Proposuerat*-commentary but the commentary in VLO 6: since this commentary seems to include a rather haphazard selection of bits and pieces of source commentaries, it would be wrong to adhere too much importance to the presence of the *Proposuerat*-commentary or *audietis*. The fact that much of the *Proposuerat*-commentary is missing, can be illustrated by the missing *accessus* which often accompanied versions of the *Proposuerat*-commentary (several of which were edited and published by Fredborg). A remnant of the existence of such an *accessus* is still visible in VLO 6, namely in the use of the concluding *ergo* for the very first note on *Epistles* 1.1, which implies that something else was supposed to have been said or written before. In VLO 6, however, no *accessus* can be found, suggesting that the section on *Epistles* 1.1 was copied as a snippet of commentary, without the copyist feeling the need to include the commentary as a whole.[154]

"a copyist naturally did not care for these things, and just started to gather from that point where the beginning of the Scholia was." ("Haec autem librarius non curabat scilicet, ab eoque demum loco copeig excerpere, unde initium erat Scholiorum"). Suringar 1835, 183.

[151] Kraus & Stray 2015, 9.

[152] Fredborg 2015, 202. Fredborg additionally points to a second source that indicates teacher's point of view in mentioning the *Berlin* commentary, which talks about "reading with our eyes and learning by heart" (Fredborg 2015, 202; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Lat. Quarto 219, f. 135v, *Epist.* 1.19.33).

[153] See e.g. Fredborg 2015.

[154] It could, of course, have been there before in a separate quire, which got lost, but this is conjecture: the fact that the commentary is not based on the *Proposuerat*-commentary as a whole makes it less likely that

As to the sources constituting the commentary in the margins of VLO 6, it can for now be concluded that the compiler made use of several different existing commentaries: this included the beginning of the twelfth-century *Proposuerat*-commentary, and, most frequently, the late-antique commentary known as Pseudo-Acro.[155] Other indications of sources that I encountered include quotations or paraphrases of historians such as Livy or Pompeius Trogus, Vergil's late-antique commentator Servius, and the numerous citations of antique poets, all of which will be examined in more detail in Chapter 3. For the commentator, it has, however, not been a matter of simply 'copy-and-pasting': snippets of information were, in various layers of writing, added, subtracted, altered, or linked to other bits and pieces.[156] It is the gathered compilation of all these fragments of information that forms the commentary as a whole.

Sequence

These observations lead to the next topic under consideration: the relationship between the 'main' text – all of Horace's poems except the *Satires*, followed by a *vita* and some metrical treatises – and the commentary. Of particular interest is the sequence in which the poems of the main text are ordered in relation to the opening of the *Proposuerat*-commentary that was quoted above. After all, the content of these first lines is of importance to Friis-Jensen's analysis of the 'ages-of-men'-topos, which can be found in several variants in the medieval Horatian commentary tradition.[157] The topos, which was already briefly mentioned in the Introduction, expresses a perceived connection between Horace's works and readership, claiming that certain Horatian genres are aimed and suitable for a certain age: the *Odes* for young boys, followed by the *Ars Poetica* for young men, the *Satires* for mature men to teach them various vices, which in turn should be replaced by virtues in the process of reading the *Epistles* even later in life.[158] The correspondences between the two latter genres has been stressed by using the 'farmer'-topos: like a good farmer, Horace has first rooted out the vices of men in the *Satires,* before 'sowing virtue' in the *Epistles.*[159] This

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the *accessus* was included. Similarly, it should be noted that the sentences in question were not necessarily copied from a complete version of the *Proposuerat*-commentary, but may have been fragmented already.

[155] On one occasion (a note on *Epist.* 1.7.40), Geelius points to the *Cruquianus* commentary as a possible source (Suringar 1835, 182); the same fragment, however, is found in Hauthal's edition of Pseudo Acro, once again illustrating the complexity of ascribing scholia to a certain commentary tradition.

[156] The 'interaction' between the commentary and earlier texts or commentaries will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 ('Tralaticiousness').

[157] Friis-Jensen 2015, 108: "The Horatian commentary-tradition systematized this passage [ages-of-men passage in *Ars Poetica*] into a doctrine of decorum, the appropriate characterization of persons."

[158] Based e.g. on the *Sciendum*-commentary on the *Satires.* Friis-Jensen 2007, 291 ff.

[159] Friis-Jensen 2007, 196; Fredborg 2015, 200. The scribes often go so far as to assume that these were the order in which Horace historically composed the works. In one variant of the *accessus* to the *Proposuerat*-commentary that was edited by Fredborg, a link is established between the farmer-topos and Horace's famous expression in *Epist.* 1.2.54, *Sincerum est nisi uas, quodcumque infundis acescit* ("unless the vase is clean, all that you pour into it turns sour"). This allegory is echoed in the commentary of VLO 6, where the

sequence is often mirrored in the arrangement of medieval complete editions of Horace, that correspond to the order in which the works should be read, rather than to the order in which we now believe they were historically written.[160]

Taking this idea to the next level, the 'medieval Horace' himself was assumed to have changed genres as he grew up to be more virtuous and more responsible – a clever way to label some of the more dubious passages in the *Odes* and *Satires* as 'follies of youth' and thus justify the reading of these poems. It is this notion of changing one's mind to the better according to one's age – e.g. deciding to write virtuous epistles instead of youthful love poetry – that is reflected in the passage quoted above. Yet, it is remarkable to find the usage of this topic in a manuscript that is structured in a way that does not adhere to the traditional medieval sequence of Horace's works: the Epistles, traditionally the last 'stage' in reading and understanding Horace's life-lessons, open the collection of poems, followed by the *Odes, Epodes, Carmen Saeculare* and *Ars Poetica* – the *Satires* are left out altogether. There is a slight disjunction here: why include a passage representing the 'natural' order of Horatian genres, and at the same time deviate from that order completely?

A first option would be to find an explanation in the time-period in which the manuscript is produced. Although the 'ages-of-men'-topos and the corresponding sequence of works seems to have been prevalent in the high Middle Ages, the fourteenth century may have seen a preference for the *Epistles* and *Ars Poetica* before the other Horatian works.[161] By the fifteenth century, however, most scholars agree that this fashion appears to have changed, resulting in an increased popularity of the *Odes* (at the cost of the *Satires* and *Epistles*) – although there is some uncertainty on measuring the status of the *Ars Poetica*.[162] Equally problematic to the suggestion above, is the fact that the earliest printed editions of Horace's poems still appear to follow the 'medieval'

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scholiast helpfully explains: *id est nisi pectus bonum et purum sit quicque huic dederis non potuit esse gratum. Ex allegoricos dicit vas pro hominis corpore* ("This means: if your heart is not good and pure, all that you will have put into it could not be graceful. In an allegory, he says 'vase' instead of the human body").

[160] This observation can be backed up by a quick examination of the overview of Horatian manuscripts from the ninth to twelfth centuries, provided by Munk Olsen 1982. Nearly all manuscripts containing the complete works of Horace follow the same sequence (*Odes – Epodes – Satires – Epistles*), with a spot reserved for the *Ars Poetica* either after the *Odes* or before the *Satires*, and the *Carmen Saeculare* inserted most frequently between *Epodes* and *Satires*. The *Satires* and *Epistles* in some cases change place, but on the whole the sequence is clearly visible. In contrast, the following chronology (or one similar to this) is usually accepted for the *historical* publication of Horace's poems: *Satires 1* and *2, Epodes*, *Odes 1-3, Epistles 1, Carmen Saeculare, Epistles 2, Odes 4,* and *Ars Poetica*: Nisbet 2007, 17-21.

[161] Black 2001, 246.

[162] E.g. Most 2010, 456; Black 2001, 274 (specifically on school curricula). Grafton, Most & Settis mention how the medieval Horace, especially in the early middle ages, was most of all the writer of the *Epistles* (especially the *Ars Poetica*) and *Satires*, and point to the decisive influence of the *Ars Poetica* on Renaissance poetics through sixteenth-century paraphrases and commentaries (even though it became more popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth century). Black states that "[humanist teachers] were also unenthusiastic about solid classical texts such as [...] Horace's *Ars Poetica* and *Epistulae*" (2001, 274).

traditional sequence.[163] The manuscript's date, then, does not provide a satisfying solution. Another option to explain the deviant order may be to assume that this book may not have been intended to contain (almost) all of Horace's works but only the *Epistles,* perhaps in combination with the *Ars Poetica*; or, alternatively, that the *Satires* were originally a part of the book – but there is nothing in the order of quires or in other material characteristics that definitely points in that direction.

This leaves us with two options regarding the unusual sequence of Horace's works in light of the allusions in the commentary to the traditionally medieval sequence: either it was part of a conscious plan – even if we cannot reconstruct the reasons for it[164] – or, it is the result of the lack of a clear plan encompassing the book and the commentary. The latter may be hinted at by the disjunction between the book's structure and the *topoi* and traditions alluded to in its commentary, which, in turn, again suggests that the convergence between main text and commentary may not have been carefully planned or, at least, shows a merging of different traditions.

Content and Categories

In this final section, I will set out to summarize the content of the commentary as a whole by going through the various themes and types of scholia that can be found in the margins of VLO 6, including a few examples for each category. Although these thematic groups are presented as distinct categories, divided according to their content and purpose, it should be noted that several of these categories overlap (e.g. references can be used to support glosses). Nevertheless, at least one of these categories should pertain to each scholion in the commentary. To provide context to these observations, I have taken a look at the topical study of over 300 annotated Florentine schoolbooks undertaken by Robert Black (2001); since this study is the product of a large-scale study of sources comparable to VLO 6, it will be an interesting reference point for elements in the commentary that may point to a classroom context.[165]

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[163] The publication featuring Landino's commentary (1482), for instance, follows roughly the same order (*Odes – Epodes – Carmen Saeculare – Ars Poetica – Satires – Epistles*).

[164] A possibility, if we *are* dealing with a school manuscript here, would be that the works were arranged regarding metrical difficulty of the genres, placing the *Epistles* before the *Odes.*

[165] Black 2001, Ch. 5 (pp. 275-330). In this chapter, Black provides a thematic and diachronically structured overview of the 324 Florentine schoolbooks he surveyed. Although I am aware that this constitutes not the entirety of Italian medieval manuscripts, Black's focus on the practices of education in the Middle Ages, Renaissance and in between does make his overview particularly suitable to read alongside the commentary in VLO 6 – not to measure the latter, but to help contextualize it.

The interlinear glosses that serve to explain, through Latin synonyms, even the simplest imaginable Latin words, belong to the key characteristics of schoolbooks as defined by Black.[166] It is therefore no surprise that these types of glosses are also found in VLO 6, scattered through every section of the book with the exception of the *Ars Poetica.*[167] Since these glosses are in principle not part of my edition (see below, 'Introduction to the Edition'), it will suffice to say that they generally provide explanations of words or small clusters of words by means of synonyms, paraphrases, or snippets of additional information: *laudate*, for instance, is written as a synonym to *dicte* (*Epist.* 1.1.1), whereas *romanum* is a specification of *populum* (*Epist.* 1.1.6). Other glosses form small-scale summaries, such as the gloss *vere non possum amplius lirica scribere* ("truly, I cannot write lyrics anymore") to indicate the key concept behind Horace's metaphors in *Epist.* 1.1.4-6.[168] Many of these glosses appear to be relatively simple, their main function being to summarize the general jest of Horace's poem, and therefore adhere to the characteristic of a schoolbook: however I have not found any vernacular glosses, grammatical symbols or word-order marks, which have been seen as interlinear characteristics of school manuscripts as well.[169] Since Horace's poems were (and still are) a challenge to read for non-native speakers of Latin, the absence of these extra resources implies that at least a beginner student may have had to spend some time pondering on syntax and word order to understand it, even with the available glosses.[170] The reader, then, was probably already familiar with Latin grammar; the interlinear glosses more often serve as explanation of content than of morphology.

Moving from the space between the lines to the margins of VLO 6, we find several more explanations of words, often characterized by a tendency to more elaborately contextualize the words in question. The scholia illustrating the meaning and context of words form the most frequently occurring type in the commentary. 'Contextually explaining' words in this case ranges from the provision of a definition, often with the help of the authority of another classical author, to the indication of the differences between similar words, which according to Black was "always a preoccupation of grammar teachers."[171] An advantage of such a comparison for schoolteachers was the opportunity to explain more than a single word, which becomes clear from the example below (*Epist.* 1.2):

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[166] Black 2001, 283.

[167] The decoration of this text is also strikingly simplistic; see image 17.

[168] *Non eadem est autas, non mens. Veianius armis / Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro, ne populum extrema totiens exoret harena.* 'My age nor my mind are the same. Veianius, after his arms have been hung at the doorpost of Hercules, hides in the countryside, lest he has to appease the people again and again from the arena's edge.'

[169] Black 2001, 281-283.

[170] Black 2001, 25: "It is clear that [pupils] were able to extract far less, not more, from these texts than was offered by the glossing and commentary tradition; the fact is that whatever their glosses reveal constitutes the limit, not the minimum, of their comprehension and understanding. Glossing was an inherent and essential aspect of reading in the Middle Ages [...]"

> (v. 43) ¶ **Labitur**. Labor et labo distant nam labi est leniter sensimque deorsum ire ut labuntur flumina. Labere[172] est fluere, ruere et repente cadere. Virgilius: "labat ariete crebro ianua." [Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.492].
>
> **Sways.** 'labor' and 'labo' are different, for 'labi' is 'to move downwards gently and gradually', like rivers glide. 'Labare' means to stream, to rush and to fall down suddenly. As Vergil wrote: "the door swayed under the repeated battering-ram."[173]

Etymology of words is also relatively frequently found in the commentary.[174] Some of these (pseudo-)etymologies are even based on a Greek word – albeit not always correctly spelled, and in fact not correct at all:

> (v. 41) ¶ Scaena dicta est a Graeco uocabulo 'schem' quod est vmbraculum. Est autem locus circulariter ductus per multos scalarum gradus. In medio spatiosus. Ubi fabulae recitabantur et theatrales ludi fiebant.
>
> *Scaena* ('theater') is derived from the Greek word σχῆμα which means 'shade'. But it is a place, led in a circle by many steps of stairs, spacious in the middle, where stories were recited and theatrical plays were performed (*Ep.* 1.6).

Finally, the list of often used technical grammatical themes, such as orthography and accidence (concerning the inflections of words), are less frequently found in VLO 6's commentary.[175] The former can for instance be found in the commentary on *Odes* 4.7, where the commentator addresses the usage of a Greek diphtongue in the word *Agileus*;[176] the latter can only be said of a comment on *Epist.* 1.16, which is part of an explanation of the different inflections and genera of the word *penus*.[177] Compared to the ones discussed by Black, however, this commentary can be said to have less of a focus on these technical or morphological aspects of grammar.

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[171] Black 2001, 289.

[172] Misspelling of *labare*.

[173] Cf. the Loeb translation (Fairclough & Goold 1999): "The gate totters under the ram's many blows."

[174] See e.g. the medieval pseudo-etymology on *Epistles* 1.1: (v. 49) ¶ **PAGVS**. Pagus est fons. Inde pagani dicuntur eo quia iuxta pagos habitant. More examples can be found in notes on *Epistles* 1.7, where the commentator identifies (or attempts to identify) the origins of several lemmata: *ad Coenam, Cliens, Sextertium* and *Furto*.

[175] Black 2001, 289-299.

[176] (v. 28) Agileus. Apollo a Medis uocatur ut nonnullis placet, quod eorum lingua 'exorabilem' significat. Vel, quod verius puto, Agileus subtracta uocali *i* ex Graeca diphtongo dicitur. Nam splendorem orientis solis significat. Unde *** quasi *** splendidus.

Geography, History and Trivia

The commentary contains a few notes that could be labelled as 'geographical'. Their function seems a form of exegesis that goes beyond simply giving the explanations necessary for understanding the text and offers extra, not immediately relevant information. Moreover, the geographical notes often link to several themes, and most of them could pertain to both 'actual' geography and mythology.[178] A note on *Epist.* 1.17, for instance, combines simple geographical knowledge with the 'difference' topos discussed above, and with historical and cultural facts: the scholion is a discussion on the difference between Corinth – the Greek city known for its exquisite vases and rich history – and Coritus – a Latin town located on a hill and founded by a king, both of which share its name.[179]

However, exclusively 'historical' allusions to historical events and habits are found more frequently. These focus mostly on famous figures such as various philosophers, Alexander the Great,[180] and Julius Caesar or Augustus. Because of the general scarcity of comments on some of the *Odes*, the unusually elaborate scholia on the history of the Roman civil wars stand out immediately. The dramatic story of Cleopatra's death is narrated in one of these scholia (*Odes* 1.37):

> (v. 21-28) ¶ Cleopatra uidens suos succubuisse prima in altum se recipiens aufugit. Quam statim subsequutus est Antonius. Caesar confestim illos sequutus est. Qui quom in manu Caesaris quodamodo[181] teneri se uiderent Antonius gladio se corfodit.[182] Illa, mortem minime timens, de parte regni ad pedem Caesaris prouoluta laborabat. Quod ubi non impetrauit sed se in triumphum seruari intelligeret, nacta segniorem custodiam in mansotium[183] profugit ubi iuxta Antonii sui cadauer recumbens finiuit uitam admotis serpentum morsibus ad uenas quo facilius combiberent uenenum.

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[177] [in triangle] (v. 72) ¶ **PENUS**. Hic tertiae declinationis. Alibi quartae. Ut 'uxori legata penus'. Hic neutri est generis: illic foemenini. Est autem penus repositio rerum quas annuus usus exposcit. Cellarium uero ad paruum tempus.

[178] E.g. the explanation of the founding of Alba Longa in *Ep.* 1.7, strengthened by a citation of Vergil.

[179] (v. 36) ¶ **Corynthus et Coritus** distant: nam Corynthus ciuitas Graeciae est ubi pulcherrima fiunt uasa, qui apud antiquos in summo habebatur[e] honore. Haec maiore circumdata primo ab Alexandro, mox a Romanis oblegatos turpiter acceptos deleta est. Coritus absque ulla aspiratione et id est Latino opidum est Ethruriae, super paruo colle eiusdem nominis positum et tyrrheno mari ad tria milia passuum propinquum conditum a rege Corito.

[180] See *Epist.* 1.17 for several stories on Alexander the Great and Diogenes.

[181] Instead of *quodam modo*.

[182] This seems a misspelling of *confodit* ('pierce').

[183] *mansorium* ('estate, manor') is probably meant here.

> Cleopatra, seeing that her men had faltered, fled as to the sea, withdrawing herself first; Anthony immediately followed her. Without delay, Caesar followed them. And when they saw to wat extent they were held in the hand of Caesar, Anthony stabbed himself with a sword. She, hardly fearing death, exerted herself (or: negotiated?) about a part of the realm, fallen at the feet of Caesar. And when she did not obtain this, but understood that she would be kept alive for the triumphal procession, she fled to a manor, having obtained a rather slow guard, where, lying down next to the dead body of her Anthony, she ended her life, after the bites of serpents were moved towards her veins, so they could that much more easily absorb the poison.

Note that a different version of the same story is narrated in a gloss on the same page, a feature that underlines the simultaneous occurrence of different versions and traditions throughout the commentary.[184] Moreover, the extra information provided by these historical notes does not always coincide with modern interpretations. At the end of *Epist.* 1.17, for instance, Horace writes in a general manner about a man who, by doing great deeds and conquering, "touches the seat of Juppiter and reaches for the heavens"[185] – a phrase that in more recent commentaries has been interpreted as referring in an unspecific way to Augustus and his achievements,[186] or in a general manner to a Roman *triumphator* who embodied a 'god-king'.[187] This commentary, however, relates it to Julius Caesar, taking the opportunity to relate the historical apparition of Caesar's comet[188] as part of his argumentation:

> (v. 34) ¶ **Caelestia temptat** alludit ad Julium Caesarem: nam quo die Octauianus in honorem patris adoptiui funebres ludos celebraret, stella apparuit quae ab hominibus stella Caesaris deificati iudicata est.

> **Reaches for the heavens.** He alludes to Julius Caesar: for on the day that Octavian held funeral games in honour of his adoptive father, a star appeared that is interpreted by people as the star of deified Caesar.

Besides 'historical' scholia, the commentary reveals an interest in the habits and usages of the Romans, which are often of a simple, anecdotal nature, using language such as *consuetudo erat...*

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[184] [44v] (v. 6) ¶ **Dum capitolio** Regina dementes ruinas. Post primum ciuile bellum imperium Romanum ita diuisum est ut Antonius Orientem: Augustus Italiam: Lepidus Gallias teneret. Sed Antonius Augusti furore repudiata Cleopatram duxit, qua indignatione Augustus bellum aduersiis eum mouit et victus est apud Actium promontorium et cum una nauigula Alexandriam fugit. Ibi denique rursus uictus et interemptus est. Cleopatraque capta quae ne in triumphum duceretur hyspides sibi ad mammas admouit.

[185] Horace, *Epist.* 1.17.34, *attingit solium Iovis et caelestia temptat.*

[186] See e.g. Loeb-edition (Fairclough 1926, *ad loc.*)

[187] Mayer 1994, 236.

[188] Attested by e.g. Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 88; Plinius Maior, *Naturalis Historia* 2.93-94.

or *apud Romanos*.... The commentator describes not only Roman habits when dining,[189] or wealthy Roman's litters (even citing Juvenal),[190] but also includes an elaborate description of the Roman 'clothing system'. It is tempting to read in the final sentence an appreciation of Roman genius in displaying class distinctions:

> (v. 66) **Tunicato**. Apud Romanos in vrbe triplex erat vestimenti genus. Praetexta toga et tunica. Sed praetexta puerorum fuit usque ad XIIII et etiam regum vestis stricta et oblonga. Toga hominum ususque ad talos dimissa. Tunica itidem ad talos dimissa. Sed praetii minoris quam toga. Qua plebs utebatur. Sicque aetas dignitas et conditio quoiusque patebat.
>
> **In a tunic.** For Romans, there were three types of clothing in the city: the praetexta, the toga and the tunica. But the praetexta belonged to boys younger than thirteen and even to rulers,[191] a straight and oblong garment; the toga by men, and let down to the ankles. The tunica (was) likewise released unto the ankles. However, it (was) lower in price than the toga and the plebs used this one. In this way, the age, authority and nobility of everyone was clearly visible. (*Epist.* 1.7)

In conclusion, it can be said that the preferred themes by the schoolmaster as defined by Black – famous historical figures, ancient institutions and customs, and ancient religion – are all represented in some form or other in the commentary. However, with regard to the relationship between ancient history and the contemporaneous world of the commentator, Black's analysis points to occasional comparisons between medieval life and ancient Rome, aimed at students of a more specialized level of study who read the Latin classics.[192] Apart from the brief references to contemporary times mentioned above ('Times and Circumstances') there are no such explicit comparisons to be found in the commentary. Furthermore, many of the historical scholia do not rise above an elementary level, intended to make sense of certain words or phrases instead of betraying an intrinsic interest in historical events. This is exemplified by the brief and rather useless 'explanation' the commentator adds to *Epodes* 16.13, in which Horace sketches the horrifying picture of a barbarian conqueror desecrating the sanctuary of the deified Romulus:

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[189] *Epist.* 1.7: (v. 71) **Post nonam.** Nam ex lege ciuibus Romanis coenare licebat. Qua hora a media noctis sumitur a qua Romani diei natalis principium sumebant.

[190] *Epist.* 1.6: ¶ Unde hic nota morem Romanorum qui in tanta luxuria uiuebant. Ut nec pedes nec in equo per urbem ire uellent. Sed in lectica clausi a seruis ceruicibus se ferri iubebant. Quam rem tangit Juuenalis in primo. "Cum iam sexta ceruice feratur" [Juvenalis, *Satires* 1.64]. Et Propertius. "Aut lectica tuae sudet operta morae" [*Propertius, *Elegies* 4.8.78].

[191] The term *rex* may be used here in a less strict sense, referring not only to kings but also to high-ranking figures. This corresponds to an annotation earlier in this commentary, where the commentator notes that Maecenas is called 'Rex' by Horace as an honorary title: **Rexque Pater.** Vocat eum regem et patrem a quo acceperat omnia quae usu erant uitae. Unde in primo odarum: "O et praesidium et dulce decus meum" [Horace, *Odes* 1.1.2]. (on *Epist.* 1.7).

[192] Black 2001, 295.

(v. 14) Non licebat Quirini templum patefieri, ideo semper erat clausum.

The temple of Quirinus was not allowed to be opened: therefore, it was always closed.[193]

Mythology

Unsurprisingly, the largest number of mythological scholia are found in the *Odes* and *Epodes* sections of the commentary, the majority of the notes intended to illuminate the sometimes obscure references to mythological characters and events those poems contain. Black is quite specific in his listing of the mythological themes that attracted most interest for school-level glossators to the classical Latin poets: the children of the gods, relations between gods and mortals, fantastic figures, characters with divine powers (naming Circe and Hercules), and legendary history such as the Trojan war.[194] In VLO 6's commentary, all of these aspects are reflected: Circe is mentioned twice,[195] whereas Hercules' name occurs ten times in six different scholia.[196] Popular children of the gods, such as Castor and Pollux, or Orpheus, are also found a few times in the margins of the manuscript.[197] Relations between gods and mortals can be found in the story of the poet Stesichorus being blinded (and pardoned) by Venus[198] or in the story of Aurora, the goddess of Dawn, and her lover Titonus – who is mistakenly labelled as *filius* in the commentary.[199] The life story of the fantastical figures of Pegasus and Chiron the centaur, from the moment of conception until their deaths, is scribbled in the margins of poems that barely elicited any other comments, showing their importance.[200] Predictably, the Trojan War and its heroes are popular subjects in the mythological scholia as well.[201]

These quantities, however, should not be taken at face value. Of course, the 'popularity' of a given mythological theme depends to some extent on the themes that are the concern of the source texts as well.[202] Secondly, it should be noted that the occurrence of gods and goddesses in the mythological apparatus is not less frequent than the presence of their sons and daughters, especially Jupiter, Apollo, Diana and Venus, the final three of which appear to be connected to the genre of lyric and to the *Carmen Saeculare*. The mythological themes that are touched upon in the commentary are thus not limited to the categories Black distinguished in his corpus, nor should thematic tendencies lead to all too grand conclusions about a commentator's preference. Nevertheless, some mythological figures have such a prominent position in the commentary – when they form, for instance, the only lemma that is commented on in a given section, or when they delve into details that are not directly relevant to Horace's poem – that their inclusion can be said to show the commentator's interest in mythography.[203] Such places of prominence are occupied by, for instance, the myth of Danaus and his fifty daughters (narrated twice),[204] the story of Danae[205] and the gruesome tale of Procne and Philomena.[206]

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[193] This commentator may have been thinking about the temple of Janus, the doors of which were closed in peacetime and only opened when the Romans waged war; however, the bones of Quirinus too were not to be disturbed (which is precisely the image of terror that Horace presents here).

[194] Black 2001, 297; this list largely corresponds to the other 'types' of school commentaries that Black analyses (minor authors and the much-read *Consolation* of Boethius), especially regarding the popularity of Hercules and the children of the gods.

[195] In *Odes* 3.29 as mother of Telegonus; in *Epodes* 17 in connection to Odysseus and his men.

[196] *Epistles* 1.12; *Odes* 1.1; 1.2; 2.6; 2.14; 4.3.

[197] Castor & Pollus in *Odes* 1.3, 4.8, *Epodes* 17; Orpheus in *Odes* 1.26.

[198] *Epodes* 17: (v. 43) **Magni Castoris** Stersicorus poeta in Helenam scripsit carmen. Unde Venus una cum Castore et Polluce eum excaecauit, qui palinodia scripta rursus lumina recepit.

[199] *Odes* 2.16: [53r] Contenti paruo esse debemus: quia nemo perfecte felix est. Nam si Achilles fortissimus fuit cito occidit et Titonus Aurorae filius quamuis longam uitam impetrauerit tamen in cicadam conuersus fuit.

[200] Pegasus in *Odes* 4.11; Chiron in *Epodes* 13.

[201] The Trojan War being mentioned in *Odes* 1.8; 1.29; 2.4; 3.3; 3.16; 4.7; 4.10; *Epodes* 13; 16. Achilles in *Epist.* 1.3; *Odes* 2.4; 2.16; 4.7; *Epodes* 13; 17. Odysseus in *Odes* 3.10; 3.29; *Epodes* 16; 17. Helen in *Odes* 3.4; 4.10 and *Epodes* 17; Ajax the Lesser in *Epodes* 10; Deiphobus in *Odes* 4.10; Aeneas but once in *Epist.* 1.7. Priam, Hecuba and Polixena were known as well (*Odes* 4.6).

As we have seen in the above, some of the mythological scholia are obviously incorrect in relation to the details of the story. This is further illuminated in a note on *Odes* 3.16 discussing the seer Amphiaraus, one of the Seven against Thebes who met his end after the earth had opened up and swallowed him whole. Although the scholiast goes into detail about Amphiaraus' myth, and mentions Adrastus, Amphiaraus' wife Eriphyle, and Polinices' wife Argia – including the women's role in convincing Amphiaraus to go to war against his better judgement – he chooses the wrong war as the setting for his story:

> [in triangle] (v. 15) ¶ **Reges muneribus.** Amphiaraus oraculo monitus qum[207] ad bellum Troianum cum Adrasto Argiuorum rege ire nollet se abdidit, re Eriphila uxori tamen indicata, quae corrupta ab Argia (Adrasti filia, Pollinicis coniuge, quae sibi monile a Vulcano factum promiserat) virum prodidit vnde cum aliis principibus in bellum ire coactus est et quom primum praelium[208] sortitur inhaereret hiatu terrae facto[209] absortus est.
>
> **Kings with gifts.** When Amphiaraus, warned by an oracle did not want to go to the Trojan war with Adrastus, king of the Argives, he hid himself away, but after the fact was revealed by Eriphile his

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[202] An aspect that is mentioned by Black (2001, 298) in relation to Boethuis's *Consolation*, but which he should perhaps have given prominence in his earlier overview as well.

[203] This in turn may imply that the commentator used a mythography as his source (see below). The medieval commentary on the *Odes* analysed by Chronopoulis shows a similar tendency to relate mythological stories, even when they are not strictly necessary to understand a poem: see Chronopoulis 2015, 79.

[204] Once on *Odes* 2.14 and once on *Odes* 3.11.

[205] The story of Danae is mentioned in the comment on *Odes* 3.16.

[206] In a note on *Odes.* 4.12.

[207] Of *cum.*

[208] Of *proelium.*

[209] Abbreviation marks are at some places missing in this section (the text reads: *i'hiret hiatu tre fct*).

> wife, who, corrupted by Argia – daughter of Adrastus, wife of Polinices, who had promised her a necklace made by Vulcanus – betrayed her husband, whence he was forced to go to war with the other rulers and, when he received the first battle by lot, he got stuck, after a cleft in the earth had been made, and is engulfed.

This 'mistake' leads to various questions regarding the sources used by the copyist, and what manner of commentary writing – dictation? – led to this result. Regarding the first question, a similar, more elaborate version of the myth that is characterized by the mentioning of Argia instead of Polinices as the one who corrupted Eriphyle,[210] can be found in an edition of (classical) mythographers in manuscripts of the Vatican Library: this aspect of the myth, then, is part of a tradition.[211] Furthermore, the confusion between Troy and Thebes could just as well have arisen from a misread source (after all, the much-read combination of *bellum* and the letter *t* obviously invites a reader to suppose the Trojan war is meant) as from citation by a schoolmaster; provided, of course, that the schoolmaster or the source had their facts straight in the first place. Finally, this scholion is a prime example of the puzzling syntax that is employed in many of the mythological scholia, stacking detail upon detail: note that most of the punctuation marks were added by me in the process of editing.

Rhetoric

Scholia that provide an in-depth explanation of rhetorical figures and strategies are lacking in this manuscript. In a comment on *Epistles* 1.15, the commentator demonstrates his knowledge of the rhetorical strategy to answer to an imaginary objector.[212] Furthermore, with the exception of the *kuōn*-scholion in which the figure *catexoche* was explained by means of an example from the New Testament, the rhetorical aspects in this commentary are limited to brief mentions of rhetorical figures and the (mostly) red-inked single terms scattered throughout the margins. In this way, we find *methaffora* (sic);[213] *similitudo*;[214] *parabolem*;[215] *comparatio*;[216] *epitheton*;[217] and, most frequent of all, *ironice*.[218] Most of these figures are also found in the Florentine schoolbooks.[219] The scope and scale of rhetorical comments, however, are less present in VLO 6 than in Black's schoolbooks, whose survey includes many more figures than the ones mentioned above.[220] What does correspond to Black's observation is the fact that the majority of these figures are simply mentioned, without any clarification.[221] There are only some rhetorical scholia that are explained more fully – the more complex ones of which venture into the category of 'interpretative scholia' that I will expound below. Of the more straightforward kind of explanations, this clarification of Horace's usage of a personification in *Epist.* 14.30 will suffice as example:

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[210] Cf. for the story of Eriphyle e.g. Statius, *Thebaid* 2.265-305; 4.188-213.

[211] Mai 1831, 55. The similarity is not so great as to suggest that this mythographer may have been a direct source for the commentary in VLO 6: only a few (obvious) words correspond (*monile; prodidit*) and key details from either version are omitted in the other. The story, furthermore, does not occur in Hyginus' *fabulae*.

[212] [inner margin] (gloss on *patique*, v. 17) Respondet tacitae questioni uel obiectione quae posset ei fieri. Tu in rure tuo non bibes meliore vina.

[213] *Epist.* 1.2; *Epist.* 1.14 (*Metaffora*); *Epist.* 1.16 (*Metafora*).

[214] E.g. *Epist* 2.2, 24v; *Epist.* 1.1.1.

[215] *Epist.* 2.2, 25r: Exsoluit parabolem.

[216] E.g. *Epode* 1, 85v; *Odes* 3.25, 70v.

[217] E.g. *Odes* 4.13.

> (v. 30) ¶ **Docendus** Metaffora est ab inanimato ad animatum. Nam homines docentur, non fluuii.
>
> **It must be taught.** This is a metaphore from the inanimate to the animate. For it is humans who are taught, not rivers.

Interpretative Scholia

Before turning to the scholia in question, I want to clarify my choice for the name of this category. Their characterisation as 'interpretative' does not mean that only these scholia form an interpretation of Horace's poems – as established in the introduction, *all* commentaries are inherently interpretative – but by using the term I mean that the scholia in this category are specifically aimed at uncovering or summarizing the 'meaning' of (usually) a specific poem, by placing it in a context or connecting it to Horace's intention. They therefore usually do not refer to a specific lemma. Interpretative scholia in this commentary are almost exclusively found in the *Epistles*-section of the commentary, usually serving as an introduction to a new poem. As mentioned earlier, it is precisely this type of scholion that is heavily dependent on Pseudo-Acro: the lengthy introductory gloss to *Epistles* 1.17 is even composed out of three different entries in Pseudo-Acro, in that commentary on lines 1, 23 and 24 of the *Epistle* in question. Other interpretative scholia, such as the ones I will discuss below, are clearly anchored in the tradition of the earlier mentioned *Proposuerat*-commentary. It appears as if the commentator relied on his sources particularly in the case of interpretative scholia, perhaps due to their length, or to their importance for the ethical interpretation of the poem. In contrast, the few interpretative scholia that we find in the *Odes* are brief and paraphrasing, often reminiscent of maxims.[222]

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[218] E.g. *Epist.* 1.6, **Ne fueris hic tu.** Quasi dicat: sperne seruos multos, in quibus emendis et alendis pecuniam consumas; et in hoc ironice totus loquitu. Also, in the margins of 6v, three times in red ink 'Ironice'.

[219] Black 2001, 287.

[220] Black 2001, 286-288: In minor authors, he mentions for instance *sunecdoche, tmesis, zeugma* and *parenthesis* in addition to the common *metaphor* and *comparatio*; more advanced students, who had moved beyond the threshold of Boethius' *Consolation*, were subjected to a broader range of figures. For major authors, finally, Black mentions for instance *tapinosis, litotes* and *brevitas*.

[221] Black 2001, 286.

The general tone of the interpretative scholia on the *Epistles* is one of rebuke. As Fredborg has earlier noticed in her analysis of freestanding twelfth and thirteenth-century commentaries on the *Epistles,* Horace was "an (albeit ambiguous) authority on ethics" to his medieval reader, spurred on by didactic purposes on the one hand and apologetic aims on the other.[223] This moralizing streak is within VLO 6 mostly visible in the interpretative glosses, but it is often rather subtle and to a large extent based on Horace's text itself, which, after all, was even in antiquity considered as 'protreptic criticism' intended to guide a reader to make the right ethical choices.[224]

A particular interesting example of this moralizing tendency can be found in the introduction to *Epistles* 1.15, which seems to present a slightly different reading than the one we usually find in modern commentaries. This modern interpretation can be summarized as follows: the *Epistle*, firstly, is addressed to Horace's friend Vala, who had a country house in the south of Italy. On the advice of his physician to take the cold-water cure, Horace writes him to ask after the circumstances of two of his possible destinations on the seaside, Velia and Salernum, not only making enquiries about the climate and the people,[225] but also about food supply (*frumenti copia*, 15.14) and the cities' stock of wines fit for a holiday (15.15-21). Abruptly, the poet then turns to the story of big-spender Maenius, who proclaimed frugality when times were rough, but was quick to abandon those principles when something better crossed his path (15.26-41).[226] Only in the final stanza, Horace explains the connection, by claiming that he is the same as this Maenius character (*nimirum hic ego sum*, 15.42), announcing a philosophy of frugality when means fail but changing his mind – and praising the less frugal way of life Valla symbolizes – when good things come his way. Whereas modern commentators may read this passage in a self-depreciating or in a veiled philosophical way,[227] the commentator here betrays an interpretation that reconciles the Horace-as-Maenius with the medieval image of Horace as ethical teacher:

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[222] e.g. on *Odes* 3.16, (v. 42) ¶ Signum est quod multa petentibus multis indigeat. Natura enim quod usus postulat in omni animante requirit nec plura.

[223] Fredborg 2015, 211-212.

[224] Fredborg 2015, 200.

[225] Hor. *Epist.* 15.1-2: *Quae sit hiems Veliae, quod caelum, Vala, Salerni, / quorum hominum regio et qualis via?* [...].

[226] It should be noted that this section in many of the important Horatian manuscripts except *a* was used as the start of a new text (see Loeb edition, footnote *ad loc.*). In VLQ 6, the perceived 'divide' is indicated with an (unembellished) small initial at the start of *Epist.* 1.15.26. Since there is no *incipit* or title dividing the sections, I will regard this section as belonging to the same *Epistle.*

[227] Cf. Mayer 1994, 218: "This epistle is an object lesson in [Aristippus'] doctrine. [...] This is not inconsistency, since H. knows what he likes and what is best for him are usually but not always the same. Here is a case in point, so he will not let slip the chance to abandon his usual practices. (We all use our

> ¶ Hanc epistolam scribit Horatius ad Vallam, arguens eos qui ut splendidius uiuant de loco ad locum tendunt, et cum domi suae paucis, utpote pauperes contenti sint, apud alios superflua requirunt. De hoc uitio Vallam reprehensurus callide in se transfert. Et quasi eamdem dicturus Vitam diuersorum statum ab eo requiri.[228]
>
> Horace writes this letter to Vala, accusing those people who, in order to live more sumptuously, march from one place to the other, and who, with few things of their house, although they are content when being poor, require in the presence of others superfluous things. Planning to reprehend Vala regarding this fault, Horace shrewdly transfers it unto himself. And (he presents it) as if he is about to say that the same life of diverse places is sought after by himself.

Again, the language of this comment is one of reproach and criticism: Horace accuses (*arguens*) and reproaches (*reprehensurus*) others for their faults (*uitio*), namely the luxuriously travelling to holiday destinations and their striving for luxuries (*superflua*). What is interesting is the way in which Horace achieves this, according to the scholion: his questions and suggestions about the climate and wine in his favoured holiday destinations are interpreted as a pretence taken on by Horace to criticize the very behaviour he simulates. Moreover, the poet is presented as doing this shrewdly (*callide*), in other words: deliberately. This is an instance of Horace being interpreted as a negative example, an implication of the moralizing reading of his poems discussed in the introduction: but while Conrad of Hirsau chose not to indicate whether it was Horace's 'secret intention' to be presented this way, this scholion clearly implies that his simulated pose as a 'negative' example was the poet's plan all along.[229] A similar notion, even employing similar language, can be discovered in the introduction to *Epistles* 1.8:

> ¶ Hanc epistolam scribit ad Celsum Albinouanum et eos reprehendit, qui de prosperitate insolentes fiunt et arrogantes. Hoc est facit gratia ipsius Celsi, qui quoniam factus erat scriba Neronis nimium superbiebat. Ut autem facilius reprehendere queat uitia ipsius Celsi Horatius in se callide transfert.[230]
>
> He writes this epistle to Celsus Albinovanus and he reprehends those, who on account of their prosperity become haughty and arrogant. That is to say, he does this thanks to Celsus himself, who, because he was made a scribe of Nero, became rather too proud. In order to be able to reprehend the faults of Celsus more easily, Horace shrewdly transfers them to himself.

The *Epistle* itself appears considerably less harsh than the admonishing tone of this scholion: there is only a brief mention of Celsus' function as secretary of Nero (*comiti scribaeque Neronis*, 8.2),

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holidays for this purpose, and indeed it is just the sort of situation he creates for the overworked Torquatus in V.) In the end, we return home (24) to the habits we approve."

[228] Cf. the *Proposuerat*-commentary (Fredborg, unpublished work).

[229] Friis-Jensen 2015, 17; see Introduction.

[230] This note corresponds, aside from word order, to the corresponding passage in the *Proposuerat* commentary (see Fredborg, unpublished).

after which Horace complains, for the better part of the brief poem, about his own bad (mental) health (8.3-12). Horace's direct turn to Celsus at the end of the poem – *ut tu fortunam, sic nos te, Celse, feremus* ("as you bear your fortune, Celsus, so we shall bear you!", 8.17) – reads in context more as a friendly, tongue-in-cheeck warning to Celsus not to be proud in the future, rather than pretending to be a general moral lesson on how (not) to behave after having gained a promotion, or as a admonition based on Celsus' past behavior.[231] The scholion, then, adds an interpretative and moralizing layer rather than simply paraphrasing the poem's content. Moreover, the commentator suggests that Horace's own lamenting about his lethargy and fickleness is, as in 2.15, an example of 'how not to behave' – although these complaints appear to have little to do with the arrogance that Horace is supposed to admonish.[232] The commentator may be trying so hard to excuse Horace's stance in the poem that the different facets of his moralizing interpretation do not fully add up.

Both the language of criticism and the idea that Horace pretends to share some of the recipient's moral deficiencies in order to criticize more freely, correspond to the general trends in medieval *Epistles*-commentaries as analysed by Fredborg – unsurprisingly, since the scholia in question are borrowed from the *Proposuerat*-commentary themselves.[233] Yet, their inclusion in this later, humanistic looking book, among several other sources, does offer a glimpse of the choices behind the commentary.

Poetic Scholia and Parallels

By speaking of 'poetic' scholia, I mean the final category of scholia that touch upon matters of metre and genre. References to the first are, naturally, quite frequent in the *Odes* and *Epodes* section of the manuscript; not only do we find the name of the metre included in the heading to each new *Ode*, but there are also some instances of verses that were copied into the margins and scanned (see e.g. image 3).[234] In addition to these rather elementary metrical tools, there are a few comments on genre, such as at the beginning of the *Epodes,* where the etymology of the term

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[231] Note the pun on Celsus' name ('elevated') and the prominent position and emphatic repetition of the name. Mayer 1994, 178.

[232] In contrast, Mayer 1994, 175 points to the contrast created between Horace and Celsus, where Horace, not well in spirit but at least capable of analysing the grounds for his indisposition, has the self-knowledge that Celsus lacks.

[233] Fredborg 2015, 221-222. See also Chapter 3, 'Traditions in Transition'.

[234] E.g. *Odes* 3.4 and *Epodes* 2; also see the note on the Metrical treatise (119v).

'epode' is given,[235] while additionally famous 'colleagues' of Horace – Archilochus, in this case – are mentioned.[236]

These authors are far more present – and far more interesting – in this commentary. Firstly, the commentary contains a substantial number of references to a wide array of classical poets and prose-writers, from ever-present Vergil and Ovid, to Persius and Juvenal. The number and diversity of authors that are referred to seems to be rather large, compared to the indices of references that Black presents based on the schoolbooks he studied.[237] Secondly, the more scarce references to authors and their lives or works provide us with material to address tantalizing questions of accessibility, valuing of, and engagement with classical texts. To do them justice, both the textual references and the scholia mentioning authors will be extensively discussed in Chapter 3 ('Parallels').

Final Remarks: A Patchwork Commentary

The overall impression I have of the commentary is one of variance: it employs different sources, touches upon different subjects, is written in different hands, and gives rise to a myriad of questions. To accurately display these various aspects, I have gathered the conclusions to this chapter in accordance to two recurring queries: the manner of its production and the context in which it was used.

Production and User Layers

Should the commentary be seen as a planned, structured whole that was written by a copyist in the production process, or as various notes that were added after completion, by users of the book? As is almost always the case with manuscripts, it is difficult to tell with certainty. Yet, the way in which the layered commentary is at some places 'squeezed' in between the main text, decorations, and even other marginalia, suggests that it should be seen as part of the book's user context. The inconsistency of the used sources, and the irregular number of annotations around the book suggests the same. However, this still leaves open the possibility that at least some of the notes in the layered manuscript margins were added by the same copyist as Horace's main text, which would have implications for our understanding of the commentary's composition.

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[235] See e.g. *Epodes* 1: (v. 1) ¶ Aepodos dicuntur uersus quolibet metro scripti et sequentes clausulas habentes particularum, quales sunt hae in quibus singulis uersibus singule clausule adiciuntur. Dictae epodos συνεκδοχικωσ a partibus uersuum, quae legitimis et integris uersibus επασονθαι, id est, accinuntur.

[236] This poet is mentioned a few times in the commentary: see for instance *Epodes* 6.

[237] Black 2001, 302: only 98 of the 246 manuscripts analysed by Black contain citations of other authors; almost all of the authors that are listed as being cited in *all* of these manuscripts, also occur in VLO 6, indicating that this commentary contains a relative large scope of citations.

Summarizing the observations on the scholia, the script types, and their relationship with the main text, I arrive at the several possibilities that I will briefly mention here:

1. The main text and some layers of the scholia have been written in the same hand, as suggested by De Meyier and by Geelius. This, in turn, could point to different scenarios. One of these could be that the scholia were written in the margin by a professional scribe who wrote the book and copied both text and commentary based on one or more existing commentaries – in contrast to Suringar's assumed educational context. This would implicate, however, that this professional copyist would have copied the notes from existing sources, mistakes, lacuna's and all. An alternative scenario, which does adhere to Suringar's hypothesis, would be that the writer of both main text and commentary was the same person (a student, or a teacher?), who wrote his own book and embellished it with his own notes. After all, we know that some scholars, or even 'semipro' students, were known to publish books to pay their way through university.[238] In turn, a problematic aspect about this scenario is the very neat execution of the notes (written very small) and the book as a whole, showing that the copyist was, at the very least, skilled in his craft.

2. A second group of possibilities opens up if one assumes that the writer of the commentary was *not* the same person as the copyist who wrote Horace's text. The palaeographic analysis of De Meyier, after all, merely suggested that it *could* be the same hand.[239] As I argued above, the chronology of scripts exhibited on f. 3v – neat script with a resemblance to the main text (2) being written *around* another layer of scholia – also speak in favour of the solution of reckoning the notes to perhaps various users rather than a single copyist.[240] This would insinuate that the copyist of Horace's poems may have been a professional, producing a manuscript for a reader – a student or teacher? – who subsequently added his own annotations, ones that were possibly elaborated upon by later readers.

Dictation?

The next issue concerns the nature of these sets of annotations: were they copied from some commentary, scribbled as notes on a lecture, or written as *ad hoc* observations and notes on the text? As was discussed above, Suringar argued for the second option, at least for one of the layers of commentary. Suringar's dictation-model does not only explain some of the auditive (Greek) errors and lacuna's in the commentary, but also corresponds to the traditional view on humanist educational practice and the paraphrase commentary, thus linking the commentary to education.[241] Yet, Geelius already questioned the validity of some of Suringar's arguments, and pointed to prove of copying instead.

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[238] Buhler 1960, 23; 33; see also Chapter 1.

[239] De Meyier 1977, 16.

[240] The evidence on 3v is however not conclusive: if both annotations in question were written by the same scribe in two different hands and in illogical sequence, one above/around the other, this same scribe could still be the copyist of the main text. This scenario is not very straightforward, but still a possibility that cannot be excluded.

My examination of the commentary's sources further complicated this debate. These sources were of variant sizes and scope, including the late-antique Pseudo-Acro, the *Proposuerat*-commentary on the *Epistles* that is dated around the thirteenth century, and Servius' commentary on Vergil's *Aeneid*. Most of the sources appear to have been rather basic works, used in educational contexts, but mixed together here in a 'pick-and-choose' fashion. The structure of the commentary is further confused by the *topoi* of genre and hierarchy, which are conspicuously present in the snippets of commentary but ignored in the compilation and selection of Horace's works. Most importantly, Suringar's contention that the *audietis* in the opening scholion relates to the fact that this specific commentary was dictated, is challenged by my discovery that this specific comment was borrowed from the *Proposuerat*-commentary, insinuating that the *audietis* may have become formulaic and traditional throughout the ages.

This objection problematizes one of Suringar's arguments for a dictated commentary. Furthermore, I have found several corrected mistakes in the commentary that seem to correspond to Geelius' observations instead. These are for instance, the correction of *describit* to *sequitur*[242] and the curious confusion of the repeated *capite* with *lapide.*[243] Additionally, the corrected mistake of repeating *voce* instead of *lyra* in a description of the sirens was already noted by Geelius.[244] The latter two are examples of dittography – a copyist mistakenly repeats a word that was already mentioned earlier in the same sentence – and are usually associated with faulty reading and the act of copying. Yet, for some of them, the cause may have been the faulty reading of a dictating schoolmaster and not necessarily refute Suringar's thesis. Moreover, Suringar's examples of auditive errors and lacuna's in the commentary still have some ground, even though these too may have been based on a longer tradition of mistaken copying. In short, Geelius rightly nuances

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[241] See Grendler 1989, 249: "What did the student do as the teacher delivered the paraphrase-commentary? He wrote down the paraphrase interlineally on his printed or handwritten copy of the text. He added names of rhetorical tropes in the margins. And, above all, he copied into his ubiquitous notebook phrases of vivid descriptions and moral *sententiae* pointed out by his teacher."

[242] *Carmen Saeculare,* (v. 14) ¶ **Ilithia** Homerum describit sequitur qui eam sic apellauit quasi hominum principiis fauens.

[243] *Odes* 3.16, (v. 5) [...] filiumque Perseum educauit, qui quom adoleuisset caputque Medusae amputasset in Argos ueniens Acrisium eum hospitio inhibente ostenso capite gorgonis in <lapide> conuertit. Instead of *lapide* we find the abbreviation *cap* with a horizontal stroke.

[244] *Epistles* 1.2, (v. 23) ¶ **Sirenes** tres fuerunt Acheloi fluminis filiae ex Caliope musa. Una dicta est Parthenope, altera Leuchosia, tertia Ligia, harum una voce, altera voce, altera lyra, alia tybiis [...]. Geelius mentions this aspect in his argumentation *contra* Suringar's hypothesis of dictation: see Suringar 1835, 183.

Suringar's 'evidence', but it may still be possible that at least a part of the marginal annotations were dictated. In addition, I want to point to the possibility of a combination of these contexts; I could, for instance, imagine a reader taking notes during a lecture and, afterwards, copying quotations from Classical authors from other sources in a neat hand such as the one found on f. 62r (see 'Layered Hands').

Education

The miscellaneous sources employed in the commentary give rise to the question who compiled all these snippets of information. For Suringar it was clear: this was the schoolmaster's doing, who may have had some of the source-commentaries (or an earlier collection of excerpts) in his possession. There is much to say for such a traditional ascription of VLO 6 to a school context, making it a 'paraphrase commentary' of sorts.[245] All of the categories discussed – glosses and grammar, geography and history, mythology, rhetoric, interpretative and poetic scholia – can be found in contemporaneous schoolbooks, corresponding to a large extent even regarding qualitative and quantitative characteristics per category.[246] This points to the educational context in which Horace, throughout the ages a school-author *par excellence*, would easily fit.[247] Moreover, although the content of the commentary does not offer us many hints about the identity of its intended audience, there is one gloss – helpfully providing "the four ways that win over the love of women for us" – that could support the idea of a group of male, and perhaps marriageable readers.[248]

It should be noted, however, that some types of scholia usually related to an educational context are (largely) lacking in VLO 6. These are most notably accentual glosses, vernacular glosses, mnemonic verses, scholia commenting on the correct text, and annotations or signs for word order (construe marks).[249] The latter are deemed particularly important in the tripartite model constituted by Gernot R. Wieland in an attempt to categorize what kind of glosses could be seen as 'typical' for a schoolbook. VLO 6 would tick two of the three 'boxes' that Wieland carefully introduces – it is glossed (relatively) consistently, and the annotations (rougly) cover all the area's a teacher may have commented on – but does not contain the categories of annotations that

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[245] See Introduction.

[246] Black 2001.

[247] Although Horace's popularity in the classroom seems to have diminished in the fifteenth century compared to earlier ages, his texts remained present in the curriculum (Black 2001, 244-247).

[248] On *Odes* 3.10, (v. 13) **¶ O quamuis neque te munera** quattuor sunt quae mulierum amores nobis conciliant: munera, eloquentia, forma et doctrina. Compatible to this context would also be some of the misogynistic comments (see Chapter 3, 'Segmentation') and the commentator's adherence to the Ciceronian equation of sound morality and oratory for good and noble men (on *Odes* 1.24).

[249] Black 2001, 275-330 and Wieland 1985, 165-167 (on construe marks and accentual glosses); see Reynolds 1996a, 110-117 for mnemonic verses in a classroom context.

Wieland identifies as the most important (construe marks and *quare hoc* glosses).[250] At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that the reading of Horace need not be restricted to a classroom context, as is exemplified by Paulina Taraskin in her thesis on a much earlier (tenth century) Horatian manuscript, Harley 2724. This book is similar to VLO 6's commentary in its appropriation of various sources, including commentaries on other classical authors.[251]

Yet, the main argument for a scholarly library context is the annotator's preference for encyclopaedic information, of which language – the favoured subject of the schoolmaster – constituted only a small part.[252] VLO's tendency to explain relevant and irrelevant vocabulary, and the (subtle) moralizing lessons found in the interpretative scholia, are still reminiscent of a classroom rather than a library context. When it comes to Wieland's strict categories, moreover, these characteristics are of course based on his own corpus of (mostly English) manuscripts, and therefore not necessarily binding for this specific, Italian case study.

Taking all these options into account, it is tempting to conclude that the scholia do correspond to a classroom context, but to a more advanced level of study – conforming with the attention to metre, and the difficulty level of Horace's text, which both would be suitable for students with at least a few years of experience in reading Latin.[253] A final comparison with a different example may provide a bit of context: of an printed copy of Horace, including in the printed section the commentaries of Pseudo-Acro, Porphyrio and Landino, we know that it was used and embellished with handwritten notes in late 15th century Padua.[254] Despite the difference in material form, there are multiple aspects in the handwritten notes that coincide with those in VLO 6 – the usage of *maniculae*, metrical notes and scarcity of grammatical signs: thus, this provides at least one example of similar matters being taught in a known educational environment. At the same time, however, this university edition highlights several aspects of Horace's poetry that are neglected in VLO 6, such as an above average attention for Greek terminology, rhetoric, and textual criticism, on top of the information that can be found in its printed commentaries. The question remains whether these differences are indicators of a higher educational level or of a schoolteacher’s affinity with humanism. The latter humanistic aspects of teaching will be one of the key themes of the following chapter.

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[250] Wieland 1985, 170. The former serve to explain syntaxis and link words in the same cases; the latter to highlight that a specific part of the texts should be questioned, likely serving as a reminder in a teacher's manual to ask a question to his students at this point in the reading. See also Wieland 1985, 168.

[251] Taraskin 2013, 262. Harley 2724, in Taraskin's words, "illustrates and documents the study of Horace outside the school-room by an adult reader accustomed to using a library. Uninhibited by any apologetic scruple, the scholiast employs Horace as a guide to the pagan world."

[252] Taraskin 2013, 262.

[253] Grendler 1989, 242: "teachers in the Renaissance did not begin the study of metre until students had acquired a sufficient mastery of Lain, which might take three to five years." See also chapter 3, 'Traditions in Transition' on metre. See Black 2001, 30-31 for a sketch of the specialization of education from the later Middle Ages onwards, shaping divisions between the elementary teacher, the *grammaticus* and (from *c.* fourteenth century) the *auctoristus*. The diverse nature of the commentary in VLO 6 makes it difficult to connect to only one such level of study.

[254] The book in question was owned and annotated by the young Willibald Pirckheimer, later famous because of his scholarly accomplishments and friendships with Albrecht Dürer and Erasmus. See White 2016.

3 Analysing the Scholia

Several core aspects of VLO 6's material context and of the general content and structure of the scholia have been discussed in the preceding chapters. Some questions, however, remained unanswered, regarding, for instance, the unstructured selection of passages that were commented upon – does this tell us something about which poems in this copy of Horace's oeuvre were less frequently read? Another question concerns the commentary's production in a transitional age, prompting the inquiry whether its character corresponds more to the medieval commentary tradition or contains traces of 'typical' humanist scholarship – if one can even make a clear distinction between the two.

Questions such as these warrant an in-depth analysis of several scholia in VLO 6, which will be central to this final chapter. Since we do not have an *accessus* or other introductory or methodological remarks of the commentator illuminating his own goals or assumptions, there is a need to read between the lines and look at the annotations themselves. Helpful for this cause is Christina Kraus' categorization of contemporary areas of scholarship on historical and modern classical commentaries, to which the questions above largely seem to correspond. Hence, the three focal areas distinguished by Kraus – segmentation, tralaticiousness, and parallels, first mentioned in the Introduction – will form a helpful framework in our assessment of the scholia. In what follows, the three aspects and the questions connected to them will be separately introduced, each introduction being followed by a discussion of selected scholia, including a consideration of the case-studies' representability for the content of VLO 6 and for the existing commentaries beyond this single book. In the end, it will be my aim to show that an analysis of scholia through these concepts offer novel perspectives, both for the ways in which the commentator constructed his authorial *persona*, and the manner of which a reader of commentary and poems can be influenced to engage with Horace's text in a certain way.

Segmentation

The interest in the 'segmentation' of a commentary – also called 'atomisation', 'morselisation' and 'lemmatisation' in commentary studies – rests, according to Kraus, on several specific questions of categorisation: these include, from the commentator's point of view, the question how (freely) one selects bits of text to comment on, and, from the reader's point of view, how these selected lemmata (or the lack of lemmata) influence the ways in which a reader perceives the text.[255] These processes of selection and lemmatisation, although sometimes presented as 'natural' or

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[255] Kraus 2002, 11.

‘inevitable’, are of course part of the complex choices made by a commentator, and thus influenced by his “ideological background, preconceptions, assumptions, and judgment of what an audience requires just as any other act of interpretation.”[256]

Although Kraus limits the assessment of her case-studies to segmentation of the text on word-level, I believe it would be useful to take on a more extensive approach to the selectivity in VLO 6. After all, this commentary, unlike modern ones, does not only show a process of selection of the words or passages commented upon, but also leaves entire (parts of) poems without scholia. To examine the reasons behind this larger-scale process of selection – does it betray a preference (or rejection) on the commentator’s part? – it is useful to regard ‘segmentation’ on a broader scale than proposed by Kraus.[257] Furthermore, the non-verbal signs that we occasionally find in the margins of VLO 6 can be regarded as instances of selective processes as well, since they focus on the highlighting of significant verses, for instance through the drawing of *maniculae* (‘small hands’) in the margin (image 18).

I leave out the word-for-word study of lemmatization, since I believe this would become particularly interesting in comparison to other commentaries and the processes of lemmatization employed in those parallel case-studies. Such a comparison on word-study, however interesting it may be, falls beyond the scope of this project. In this part of the analysis, then, two textual levels of selectivity will be considered: (1) the selection of commented poems (or parts of poems) and their consequences for the reader, and (2) the highlighting of certain passages or verses with the usage of non-verbal signs.

Selective Reading

To get a general idea of the presence of marginal annotations in the whole of VLO 6, an adaptation of the method developed for the Marginal Scholarship database may prove a useful tool.[258] The first section of the book shows a high density of marginal annotation: 100% of the first forty pages has some kind of annotation, including interlinear glosses, whereas as much as 70% of the pages has a more elaborate commentary in its margins. This ‘enthusiastic’ start is usual in many annotated books.[259] The presence of annotations in the rest of the book is still quite strong: only 13% of the total of 238 pages lacks any form of annotation, and this number changes to 32% if glosses are excluded from the count. Finally, the annotations on the most densely annotated page

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[256] Kraus 2002, 13. These choices may be intentionally or unconsciously made, and are often themselves anchored in a commentary tradition.

[257] On an even larger scale, the selectivity of the codex itself is evident, which, as we have seen in chapter 2, excludes the *Satires.* This aspect, however, is not necessarily based on the choices of a commentator, and will consequently not be further discussed in this section.

[258] Teeuwen 2017, 23-27.

[259] Teeuwen 2017, 23.

(f. 14v) take up an estimated 65% of the total marginal space. Only thirty one pages, then, are without any form of glosses, comments or signs in their margins. Of these, a substantial part is constituted by the final pages of the manuscript (107r-119v), which contain the secondary treatises on Horace's text and, consequently, do not require much explanation. Significantly, the other part is almost completely constituted of the pages containing the *Ars Poetica* (98v-107r), which is completely without annotation.[260]

The presence of glosses was crucial for a student to read a text as difficult as Horace's.[261] The absence of glosses, then, indicates that the *Ars Poetica* was not (actively) read in this manuscript. Furthermore, the lack of attention curiously corresponds to the lack of embellishments in this section that was discussed in Chapter 1: there is only a small, unfinished looking initial introducing the *Ars Poetica*, even though the following secondary treatises on metres and Horace's life have detailed red initials with blue pen embellishment (image 17). Yet, references to the *Ars Poetica* occur several times in the commentary, often including several cited verses.[262] The lack of attention perhaps indicates that the *Ars Poetica*, if it at all, was read using a different edition – perhaps a printed one? – that may have been accompanied by its own commentary.

With regard to the poems in the book that were 'neglected' to the extent that they solely received interlinear glosses, it is difficult to find a pattern (see Appendix IV). It may be expected that poems that were regarded as 'offensive', such as the ones dealing with erotic or pederastic themes, would be among the less read: after all, the sixteenth century saw the arrival of an expurgated version of Horace's poems.[263] Yet, although *Odes* 4.10 (Horace warns Ligurinus that he will not stay young and beautiful forever) and *Epodes* 11 (Horace is 'always' in love) are 'skipped' to the extent that they are only glossed, other love poems addressed to a male addressee (such as *Odes* 4.1, to Ligurinus) *are* commented upon, without any signs of disapproval or tendencies of expurgation.[264] Two poems to Bacchus are (almost) without scholia as well – *Odes* 2.19 and 3.25 – but it would be strange to imagine the commentator purposefully expurgating poems alluding to drunkenness or Bacchic fever, since Horace speaks of drinking in other poems just as well. Moreover, some poems that could have been expected to be attractive to a commentator interested in morals and history are skipped over as well: *Odes* 2.10 on the Golden

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[260] Besides the 30 unannotated pages of the *Ars Poetica* and the secondary treatises, f. 22r (*Epistles* 2.1) is also left blanc, although the glossator seems to have skipped this page by mistake.

[261] See e.g. Black 2002, 25. For a difficult Latin text such as Horace's, it was generally accepted that glosses were crucial to derive at a thorough understanding of the text.

[262] See Appendix VI for an overview of citations.

[263] e.g. *Quinctus Horatius Flaccus ab omni obscenitate Romae expurgatus,* Dilingae excudebat Ioannes Mayer 1596; see Stadeler 2015, 92 ff. for an overview of the expurgated poems in this edition, as well as an analysis of Landino's euphemistic 'strategies' for the poems in question.

[264] See Harrison & Stray 2012.

Mean; 2.18, advocating against *luxuria*; 4.7, song on the cycle of nature. This remarkable absence of a pattern suggests that the poems lacking marginal annotation were not skipped because of some attempt to expurgate 'unchristian' poems.[265] Moreover, the interlinear glosses that are present in almost all cases indicate that the poems were read or at least meant to be read, even though they may have received less attention.

The same remarkable lack of a pattern – of expurgation or otherwise – can be discerned in the poems on the other end of the spectrum, i.e. the ones that received uncommonly dense annotation. As an example we may look at *Odes* 1.25, the ode in which Horace, as a spurned lover, draws a vivid image of the future of Lydia, scornfully predicting that she will be old, unloved and ugly.[266] Compared to the poems around it, there are more annotations surrounding this particular poem. Why choose to comment more elaborately on this ode? The scholia themselves do not offer many clues: some of them are merely brief explanations of words – of the sort that one would expect to be interlinear – whereas others stress, or even enhance in its interpretation, the rather misogynistic tone of the poem. The commentator, for instance, explains Horace's, in his words, skilfully veiled reference to the *rem turpem, id est menstrua muliebria* ("a scandalous business, that is, women's menstruation")[267] and, at the end of the poem, explains Horace's metaphor of a young twig to refer to the beautiful girl Lydia once was in a way that turns out quite negatively for girls:

> (gloss on *verenti*, v. 17) Arb<o>res uirentibus foliis sed tortuosis spiritibus atque paruis, in quibus nihil laudatur nisi sola uiriditas, pro quibus intelligit puellas similes.
>
> Trees with green leaves but tortuous souls, and small ones, in which nothing is praised but their green hue. In reference to which he understands girls to be similar.

Is it this misogynistic streak that incited the commentator to single some poems out above others?[268] Compared to the rest of the commentary, it does not seem this way. Yet, it is striking that poems that we may expect to have been skipped because of their erotic references or explicit content (such as *Epodes* 12), are in fact often accompanied by several annotations, even if these are mostly occupied with explaining seemingly insignificant details.[269] Besides this curious absence of expurgation there is no clear pattern to be found in the scope of marginal annotation.

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[265] This corresponds to Friis-Jensen's observation that sexual passages in poetry are often dealt with rather bluntly in medieval commentaries, although they are often accompanied by warnings or, in some cases, left out altogether. There are no such warnings or omissions of text in VLO 6. Friis-Jensen 2015, 121; see also Stadeler 2015, 92 ff.

[266] See for the theme as a literary motive Nisbet & Hubbard 1970, 289-292.

[267] This note seems to be prompted by Horace's description of stormy weather and moonless nights (*Odes* 1.25.11); I have found no parallels for this curious remark.

[268] A preference for maxims dealing with women (often in an unfavourable way) could be said to exist in, for instance, surviving *gnomai* in Greek education: see Morgan 1998, 135-138.

Marginal Signs

Throughout the manuscript, there are several instances of marginal signs to be found – signs that usually single out specific passages or verses and can thus be seen as being part of the process of segmentation that the commentator has imposed on the text. Although not all of these marks are aimed at the 'highlighting' of certain passages – the marginal signs discussed in Chapter 1, for instance, served to guide the reader to a section of a poem that the copyist had mistakenly placed elsewhere – the placement of *maniculae* in the margins of several poems does, it seems, function as a means of selection. These *maniculae* are found from the *Odes*-section of the manuscript onwards (see Appendix V), and mostly refer to *sententiae*. Collections of such *sententiae*, including many of Horace, had been used in education from Late Antiquity onwards, enabling students to get acquainted with the ethical lessons in the proverb as well as its language, and, after compiling collections of *sententiae* themselves, to be able to use them in their own writing.[270] The highlighted maxims range from very (in)famous ones, such as *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (*Odes* 3.2.13) or *fortuna non mutat genus* (*Epodes* 4.6), to less familiar verses, such as *nullum / saeva caput Proserpina fugit* (*Odes* 1.28.19-20).[271]

In the *Epistles* section of the book the same highlighting function seems to have been fulfilled by several paragraph signs, such as the famous maxim *mors ultima linea rerum est* (*Epistles* 1.16.78) on 14v. 'Death' is a prominent theme in the maxims highlighted by the annotator, as well as maxims touching on wealth and avarice, and several passages on Roman religion and the relationship between men and gods. The latter theme is interesting in light of the commentator's Christian background, although it was not uncommon for, for instance, medieval schoolteachers to have an interest in Roman religion.[272] An obvious result of the *maniculae* and other highlighting signs is that they draw the reader's eye to the verses or passages the annotated marked; these passages may have simply required more extensive reading or, in the case of maxims, warranted to be included in a (student's) collection.[273] The difference between the simplistic red paragraph signs used for this purpose in the *Epistles* section of the manuscript and the detailed *maniculae* and excerption signs we find from the *Odes* onwards provides another difference between the two 'sections'.

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[269] In fact, both *Odes* 1.25 and *Epodes* 12 were amongst the works of Horace that were deleted from the expurgated sixteenth-century editions; see the list of 'obscene' poems gathered in Stadeler 2015, 93.

[270] See Quint 1988, 22ff. for a study of the presence of Horace in medieval *sentenzensammlungen* and florilegia; see Black 2001, 320-324 for examples of the place of *sententiae* in the late-medieval curriculum.

[271] As an indication for the extent to which the *sententiae* were well known in the Middle Ages and early modern period, I have examined which ones feature in the elaborate collection of medieval proverbs and *sententiae* assembled in Walther, 1963-1969 (I-V). See Appendix V.

[272] Black 2001, 294.

[273] Note, however, that there are not many maxims to be found in the commentary itself or in the quoted parallel passages.

Except these 'selective' signs, we find some annotations with a different motive than simply displaying that a passage is of interest. Often, a red text in the margin next to the signs employed enlightens their purpose: some illustrate a *comparatio* employed by Horace, while others mark a passage as being *hyronicos* (96r-96v). A basic 'calculation' in the form of a simple diagram is found in the margin of the passage in the *Carmen Saeculare,* where Horace speaks of a "cycle of ten times eleven years" (97v).[274] Finally, some signs may concern matters of textual criticism, such as the trigon (sign of three dots) used as a tie mark on f. 11v, pointing to a note indicating that, in different versions of the text, the word *glomos* (in classical Latin *glomus* (n), 'ball of yarn') is found instead of the main text's *globos* ('round objects').[275] A correction sign in the margins of *Epodes* 12, shaped as a vertical line with the letters A and B, indicates that line 15 was misplaced by the copyist (error of transposition) – paradoxically, the sign unintentionally also draws attention to one of the many explicitly erotic passages in the poem.[276] This again underlines the absence of active expurgation in this commentary.

Tralaticiousness

The apt term 'tralaticiousness' is used by Kraus to connote "the well-known tendency of lemmata and illustrative material to reproduce themselves from generation to generation [...]."[277] In other words, it concerns the genre's engagement with a lengthy tradition of commentaries, ranging from an employment of this tradition to provide one's commentary with authority and disguise a commentator's individual, subjective voice, to the inherent tension between tradition and originality, sometimes resulting in processes of *aemulatio* and anxiety of influence.[278] This anxiety, in Kraus' case-study, may be apparent in both openly acknowledged disagreement or hesitantly admitted agreement with predecessors, as well as in veiled 'dialogues' with the commentators who came before, some of which may be long dead.[279]

In VLO 6, the study of the tralaticiousness of the commentary is first of all intertwined with the study of its sources, such as Pseudo-Acro, a 'predecessor' of sorts whose lead is almost always followed but is sometimes ignored and at other times seems to be consciously altered (or emulated?). This engagement with Pseudo-Acro and other predecessors, such as the medieval *Proposuerat* –commentary, will be the first focus within this section. Secondly, and on a broader level, the aspect of tralaticiousness can be related to the overarching question whether this commentary is strictly anchored in a medieval tradition, or betrays traces of early renaissance scholarship or practices of commentary writing. Granted, it has long been acknowledged that renaissance scholarship itself does not necessarily imply a clean break from the medieval tradition but could rather been seen as an elaboration on the basis of what already existed. Nevertheless, it may prove fruitful to examine what typical traits of medieval and renaissance commentaries have been observed in general, and compare these traits to the commentary of VLO 6. This will form the second focal point of this section.

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[274] *Undenos decies per annos* (*Carmen Saeculare* 21).

[275] Referring to *Epistles* 1.13.14. Both the variation *glomos* and the 'correct' *glomus* can be found in the manuscript tradition, with a modern preference for the latter.

[276] *Inachiam ter nocte potes, mihi semper ad unum / mollis opus. [...]* ("you can manage Inachia three times a night, with me you're too soft for a single job"). In VLO 6, the line is placed in between what are normally known as verses 18 and 19.

[277] Kraus 2002, 16.

[278] Kraus 2002, 16-17.

[279] Kraus 2002, 18-19.

Dialogues with Predecessors

As noted in the previous chapters, the commentary in VLO 6 employs a variety of sources throughout, but there seems to be a certain disconnection between the *Epistles* section of the commentary and the *Odes* section (including the *Epodes* and Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*). Whereas the commentator frequently borrows from Pseudo-Acro and the *Proposuerat*-commentary in the *Epistles* section of the book – especially regarding what I have called the 'interpretative scholia' that present the general 'moral message' of Horace's poems – parallels to Pseudo-Acro are almost completely absent in the second section of the commentary. Only a few annotations on the *Odes* and *Epodes* are copied from Pseudo-Acro; several others do copy the same lemmata and address roughly the same themes or mythological stories, but they use distinctly different words that do not absolutely refer to Pseudo-Acro. It may be that these later sections are still based on Pseudo-Acro but paraphrased in different words, or that the commentator used different sources here.

Tracking down all the possible sources per individual scholion is a task too elaborate for my purpose: in this section, therefore, several examples will suffice to illustrate how the commentator engages with sources and predecessors. Particularly interesting are those scholia that deviate from the source material in such a way that they seem to suggest an implicit 'dialogue' with predecessors. Yet, because there are no explicit 'debates' in which sources are mentioned to be found, there is a need to be careful. After all, some scholia are misleading, as exemplified by the comparison below:

VLO 6 (Note on *Epist.* 1.15, extract)	**Pseudo-Acro 1.15.5 (ed. Keller 1967, 255)**
¶ **MIRTETA** Non longe ab Auerno lacu sunt callidis[280] aquis abundantia. Sed non ideo mirteta ***quod*** omnes animae mortuorum inde inferos petere credantur. Mirteta per proprie sunt aquae sulphureae calidae atque salubres [...]	[...] Murteta non longe ab Auerno lacu sunt calidis aquis habundantia; sed non ideo murteta, ***quod*** arbores myrti habeant, sed quasi mortueta (*sic*), ***quod*** omnes animae mortuorum inde inferos petere credantur.
Myrtle-groves. Not far from lake Avernus is an abundance of warm water springs. But they are not called *myrteta* because all spirits of the dead are believed to make for the Underworld from that place. Myrtle groves, strictly speaking, are sulphurous waters, warm and healing [...].	Myrtle-groves are found not far from lake Avernus, overflowing with warm water springs: but they are not called *myrteta* because they hold myrtle trees but in similarity to *mortueta*, because all the spirits of the dead are believed to make for the Underworld from that place.

Although this scholion cites parts of Pseudo-Acro word for word, there appears to be a contradiction in the explanation of the etymology of the word *myrteta*, the commentator in VLO 6 explicitly claiming that the springs are *not* called that because of the belief that they are portals to the underworld. Upon further examination, however, something else seems to be at play: the commentator provides no alternative etymology of *myrteta*, and a look at Pseudo-Acro's text shows that the repeated beginning of the subordinate clause – *quod... quod...* – may have easily led to the first part of the sentence being accidentally skipped (*saut du même au même*), either by the commentator in VLO 6, Suringar's dictating schoolmaster, or the copyist of an earlier exemplar.[281] What appears to be a conscious deviation, then, is more likely an unconscious mistake.

A different annotation on *Odes* 1.25 (the Lydia ode, discussed above) similarly illustrates the difficulties in establishing a 'dialogue':

VLO 6	**Pseudo-Acro (Keller 1967, 98)**	**Antonio Mancinello**	**Christophoro Landino**
¶ **Agniportu[282]** per quod scilicet nulli amplius iter faciant. Est autem agniportus uia stricta quasi angustus portus. Qui differt a fundali,[283] eo quod hoc	Angiportum alii dicunt uicum sine exitu quasi in loco deserto et sine conuentu, ubi fletura[284] esset, alii uicum angustum et flexuosum in modum anguis uel ipso	Agiportu. Angusto uico. Intelligit autem ambitum id est domorum circuitum; in quo moechi lateri solent et imbribus et	Angiportu. Uicum flexuosum ab anguis flexibus appellant angiportum. Varro dicit angiportum quo nihil possit agi.

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[280] The commentator probably meant *calidus* ('warm').

[281] Reynolds & Wilson 1968, 226.

[282] Here and elsewhere in this scholion, the commentator meant *angiportus*.

[283] The commentator probably meant *fundula* ('cul-de-sac'); this reading is strengthened by the resemblance to Varro's entry on the word (see below, n. 263).

[284] Some versions of Pseudo-Acro read *flexura* ('curves, bending'); cf. the edition on www.horatius.net (last seen 04-11-2018).

peruium non est: scilicet non habet exitum. Ille angustus est sed peruius.	secreto serpentibus tutum, quasi anguis portum.	uentis expositi. Lidia uero uicissim id patietur.	
Alley. Through which of course no-one makes their way spaciously. For an *angiportus* is a narrow street, as in 'narrow gate'. Which is different from a cul-de-sac because that one is not accessible: it naturally has no exit. The former is narrow but accessible.	Some say that an *angiportum* is a street without exit, as if it is in a deserted place and without meeting (others), where she was about to be crying; others, a narrow street and winding in the way of a snake, or in the secret itself like snakes to behold, as in 'the gate of the snake'.	**Alley.** Narrow street. But he means the periphery, which is the surroundings of houses, in which adulterers were wont to lurk, exposed to rain and wind. But Lydia undergoes this fate in her turn.	**Alley.** A winding street they call '*angiportum'*, from the windings of a snake. Varro calls an *angiportum* something through which nothing can be carried. [Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 5.32 and 6.41]

To explain the meaning of the word *angiportus* (usually translated as 'alley, narrow street'), a dreary place where, as Horace predicts, a lonely, old Lydia will be crying,[285] the commentators cited above use various techniques. Pseudo-Acro's explanation is oldest and offers two options: it means either a street without exit – such as a *cul-de-sac* – or a narrow street winding like a snake (derived from *anguis portum*). The fifteenth-century commentary of Landino follows Acro's second option, whereas Mancinello emphasises the function of such an alley in the context of the poem. The commentator in VLO 6, in contrast, explains the concept by contrasting it with the concept of a *cul-de-sac,* emphasizing the fact that an *angiportus* (misspelled as *agniportus*) is accessible (*pervius*), while a blind alley is not.[286] Moreover, he provides an etymology in saying *quasi angustus portus* ('as in: narrow gateway'), making no mention of the 'snake-etymology'. Does he deliberately go against Pseudo-Acro's first option in doing so? Perhaps, even though, as stated above, the presence of Peudo-Acro in the *Odes* section to the manuscript is decidedly more difficult to establish than in the *Epistles* section.[287] Another aspect of our commentator's choices is even more interesting. Regarding the content of etymology, the choice of words such as *pervius* and *exitus*, and the inclusion of an explanation of the word *fundala* ('cul-de-sac', misspelled in the commentator as *fundali*), the commentary recalls Varro's explanation of these terms in *De Lingua Latina* 5.145, strongly suggesting that the commentator in VLO 6 used this classical source to write this comment.[288] Of Varro's two options, the commentator picks the first (from *angustus*), while Landino clearly opts only for the second (from *agere*).[289] This, in turn, underlines the commentator's inclination to, in this case at least, choose his own path, based on classical sources that he probably interpreted on his own – even if it is impossible to say whether he consciously reacted against Pseudo-Acro or other commentaries.

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[285] *Invicem moechos anus arrogantis / flebis in solo levis angiportu.* "You, in turn, grown old, will weep over your arrogant adulterers, a trivial person in a lonely alley." The suggestion is that she is, in vain, looking for clients; see Nisbet & Hubbard 1970, 296.

[286] In rejecting the explanation offered by Pseudo-Acro, the commentator's solution is reminiscent of modern commentary entries: cf. Nisbet & Hubbard 1970, 296: "In spite of ps-Acro, it was not necessarily a cul-de-sac. [...] Rome must have been a warren of such alleys."

[287] Later in the commentary on the same ode, the commentator cites various verses of Vergil's *Georgics* that are quoted from roughly the same passages alluded to in Psuedo-Acro at the same place.

Although the presence of a conscious 'dialogue', then, is difficult to establish, the scholia above do tell us something about the way the commentator frames his own image in light of his sources, establishing a 'voice'. This process deserves closer examination. Firstly, it should be noted that he does not, here or elsewhere, explicitly mention Pseudo-Acro as a source, a practice which does occur, for instance, in the *Proposuerat*-commentary.[290] This lack of reference can be seen as establishing the 'impersonal', authoritative voice of the commentator that Kraus alluded to.[291] Yet, other sources, such as Servius' commentary on Vergil, and historical works of for instance Livy or Trogus, *are* explicitly referred to – although it is significant that these referrals only occur in the *Odes* section of the manuscript. It seems that the mentioning of Servius may in a paradoxical way be used to enhance the authority of the commentator's notes (the subject for the section on 'parallels' below). Perhaps Pseudo-Acro is more of a 'rival' to our commentator, writing on the same subject, whereas references to historians, in contrast, show his erudition.

In addition, there are sections – although they are scarce – that somewhat undermine the image of 'anonymous authority' connected to the commentator's voice. These scholia again only occur in the *Odes* section of the manuscript. In a note on *Odes* 4.7 we read, for the first time, through the voice of the commentator, who uses the first person mode: this annotation is a 'double' scholion on the same lemma, of the type discussed in Chapter 2 ('Layered Hands'), although in this case the hand appears to be the same for both annotations.

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[288] Varro, *On the Latin Language* 5.145: *Fundulae a fundo, quod exitum non habe<n>t ac pervium non est. Angiportum, si<ve quod> id angustum, <sive> ab agendo et portu.* "*Fundalae* 'blind streets' from *fundus* 'bottom', because they have no exit and are not accessible. *Angiportum* 'alley', either because it is *angustum* 'narrow', or from *agere* 'carry' and *portus* 'entrance'." See also Varro, *On the Latin Language* 6.41: *Qua vix agi potest, hinc angiportum*. "The place where hardly anything can be driven, is called *angiportum.*" The commentator on *Odes* 3.17 in VLO 6 demonstrates his knowledge of Varro's *On Agriculture* by citing from that work and mentioning the author by name.

[289] The two options are mentioned in *On the Latin Language* 5.145; the latter option, that Landino preferred, is repeated in 6.41. See above.

[290] To be found in Fredborg's unpublished edition, for instance in a comment on 1.14.14 and 1.15.3.

[291] This quiet adherence to Pseudo-Acro was not uncommon even in humanist commentaries: see Pieper 2013, 229 on Landino: "He acknowledges the authority of his predecessors almost without exception. He quotes from them often (mostly without referring to them explicitly, of course), and he rarely diverges from them with regard to factual information."

> [on *Agileus*, partly interlinear] Apollo atthica lingua qui [~~a~~] uicis ubi eius oraculo moniti sacrificabant ei in urbe Atthica sic dixerunt ΑΓιλειΗ[292] uici dicuntur.[293]
>
> Agileus. Apollo a Medis uocatur ut nonnullis placet, quod eorum lingua 'exorabilem' significat. Vel, quod verius puto, Agileus subtracta uocali *i* ex Graeca diphtongo dicitur. Nam splendorem orientis solis significat. Unde *** quasi *** splendidus.[294]
>
> [on Agileus]. Apollo in the Attic language, because, in the streets where they sacrificed to him instructed by his oracle in the city of Attica they called (him that); streets were called ἀγυιάι.
>
> Agileus. Apollo is called this by the Medes, such as it pleases some, for in their language it means 'lenient'. Or, what I believe to be more true, 'Agileus' with the vowel *i* taken away from the Greek diphthong is meant. For this means 'the splendour of the rising sun'. Hence *** as meaning glistering.

The word requiring explanation here is an *epitheton* on Apollo encountered mostly in Greek tragedy, ἀγυιεύς (translated as 'Lord of the Highway').[295] Its occurrence here in Horace's poem is the first in Latin, until Macrobius 1.19.6.[296] Misspelled in VLO 6 as *agileos*, the commentator offers up three possible interpretations for the nick-name's etymology. The first corresponds to Acro in its details and usage of words, linking the name to the Greek word for 'street', ἄγυια, and to the practice of setting up altars or offerings for Apollo outside.[297] It is this explanation, similar to Porphyrio's, that seems to be echoed in Landino's and Mancinallo's humanist commentaries as well;[298] modern commentaries, likewise, seem to largely adhere to this tradition, connecting the epithet to the aniconic pillars representing the god that were found outside houses to ward off evil.[299] The other two options suggested by the commentator in VLO 6 – suggesting a meaning as 'lenient' in the language of the Medes, or, his preference, a meaning similar to the Latin *splendorem*

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[292] I accordance with the rest of the transcription, I have presented Greek texts as much as possible as they are written in the manuscript. In my translation, I chose to display the word that I think the commentator must have meant, based on the context: ἀγυιάι ('streets').

[293] Cf. Pseudo-Acro (Keller 1967, 349 and Hauthal 1966, 404) for the same explanation with two slightly different phrasings.

[294] Suringar 1835, 167. The lacuna here should have probably been filled in by a Greek word.

[295] Thomas 2011, 170; Rudd 2004, 239.

[296] Thomas 2011, 170. Cf. Macrobius, Saturnalia 1.6: idem Apollo apud illos et Ἀγυιεὺς nuncupatur, quasi viis praepositus urbanis; illi enim vias quae intra pomeria sunt ἀγυιὰς appellant, Dianae vero ut Triviae viarum omnium tribuunt potestatem.

[297] Pseudo-Acro (Keller 1967, 349): **leuis agileu.** Leuis inberbis. Agiei uero Atheniensi lingua uici dicuntur, quo nomine ideo Apollo uocatus est, quia ex oraculi responso in uicis publicis urbis suae statutis altaribus ei sacrificia instituerant, unde Agieus dictus. *Agyieus Apollo dicitur, quia in omnibus uicis colitur; agyias enim dicunt Graeci uicos.

[298] Note that Prophyrio and Mancinello, following him I assume, both refer to Varro's description of the setting up of dedicatory altars on the streets, thus enhancing their authority. Mancinello, furthermore, is the only one of these commentators who, like the commentator in VLO 6 attempted, makes use of Greek script.

[299] Thomas 2011, 170; Rudd 2004, 239 (n. 21).

– are unaccounted for in the commentaries I consulted. It seems likely to me that he is confusing the term with ἀγλάϊος ('splendid'). Furthermore, the way in which the 'solutions' are presented is interesting in light of Kraus' view on the commentator's voice. After all, although the commentator's *quod verius puto* seems to refute the two other options, he is revealed, by mentioning them and professing his own preferred solution instead of simply imposing one on the reader, for a brief moment only as less impersonal and authoritarian than Kraus' general characterisation of commentator's voices suggested.[300]

Now, this presentation of multiple solutions for a problem is certainly not unique to this commentary. Other commentators' opinions are in Pseudo-Acro already frequently indicated by the formula *alii dicunt...* ("others say..."), as in other commentaries such as Servius'. The commentator in VLO 6 uses this phrase once as well, in a note on Amphion in *Odes* 3.11, who is described as the son of Zeus, although "some say" of Mercury.[301] Somewhat similarly, the commentator acknowledges the existence of mythological variants when narrating the tragic story of Idomeneus who, "as some say, wanted to sacrifice his son; as others say, sacrificed him."[302] As these examples indicate, commentators did not always make their position clear, which gives those multiform scholia an almost 'post-structuralist' feel, allowing a reader to pick and choose which solution suits him best. Within the context of Kraus' framework, these multiple choice lemmata seem to widen the scope of interpretation for the reader – there are more options to choose from – rather than imposing a single solution for the text based on the commentator's judgement only. Similar cases of "interpretative schizophrenia" can be found in the work of renaissance intellectuals, who sometimes explicitly defended their choice to gather all remotely plausible interpretations of a text rather than imposing their own.[303]

Again, it may be relevant that we find these acknowledgements of uncertainty or multiplicity of meaning only in the *Odes*-section of the manuscript in VLO 6. The overall tone of the commentary, and the presentation of the commentator connected to it, remains, moreover, reminiscent of the distant voice of the impersonal commentator – or schoolmaster – providing clear-cut answers on clear-cut questions. Occasionally, one may find 'roleplay' passages, in which the commentator's voice blends with that of the author, a technique of authorization examined in the well-known article of Baswell.[304] Yet, this merging of the author's and commentator's voices is relatively scarce, nor are there any dialectical question-and-response dialogues to mirror classroom practices. Except for a few glimpses of individuality we can catch, the commentator is impersonal and distant, hidden behind the mixture of sources and authorities he cites or alludes to (see 'Parallels', below).

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[300] Kraus 2002, 4.

[301] [64r] (v. 2) ¶ **Amphion** Jouis et Anthiopes filius, alii dicunt Mercurii, a quo suscepta lira adeo dulciter canebat quod saxa ad struendos muros Thebanos traxisse dicatur. Dicente Horatio in Poetria "Dictus et Amphion Thebanae conditor arcis saxa mouere sono testudinis et prece blanda" [Horace, *Ars Poetica* 394-395]

[302] (v. 20) ¶ **Idomeneus.** Deucalionis filius a Troiano bello rediens quom tempestate premeretur, uouit diis si sospes in patriam redireet quicquid sibi primum occurrisset, quod quom forte filius ei primus euenisset eum imolare uoluit, ut quidam dicunt, ut alii immolauit. Qua immanitate Cretenses commoti cines sui eum exegerunt, qui deinde in Calabriam iuxta Salentinum promontorium appulit, ibique Pithiliam opidum condidit.

[303] An example is Filippo Beroaldo, commentator on Apuleius, Suetonius and Propertius, citing Saint Jerome as his authority. Grafton 1985, 636.

Traditions in Transition

For a full understanding of the following section, the reader may be referred to the introduction, which offered a sketch of the debate on the developments spurred on by the humanistic tradition in the Italian classroom (Introduction, 'Humanist Traditions'). Keeping in mind the emphasis on continuity, or at least the stress on gradual, non-abrupt change during the fifteenth-century education of the classics that has been set out by scholars such as Woods and Black, it remains interesting to review how VLO 6's commentary fits in the complex picture of the humanist classroom. After all, VLO 6 as a manuscript could certainly be said to 'fit' in the story of humanist influence, showing material characteristics that adhere to the fashions and tastes of this tradition. Does its content as well?

Firstly, there is the matter of citations and parallels: compared to Black's survey of school manuscripts, VLO 6 contains rather a lot of citations from a broad range of authors, some of which had received not much attention before the humanists 'rediscovered' them (see below).[305] The improperly spelled Greek texts suggest that the commentator – or at least the person taking notes – was not very familiar with that language.[306] Even less fruitful is an attempt to find aspects of textual criticism or much concern about the 'original' text in the margins: there is a disjunction between text and commentary visible in the commentator explaining the five meanings of love, whereas the textual variant of Horace's text in VLO 6 speaks merely of four. Yet, no trace of criticism can be found here, neither do such disjunctions seem uncommon in annotated manuscripts of various ages.[307] The few annotations about the text that we find (e.g. the trigon on *globos*, 11v) hardly qualify as the textual criticism humanist scholars are known to have worried about.[308] In general, an 'encyclopaedic' trend may be allocated to the broad array of subjects alluded to in the commentary, but there are no comments touching upon the contemporaneous fruits of "humanist learning."[309] It could, furthermore, be questioned whether such a scholarly, encyclopaedic tendency is strictly typical for the humanist tradition.[310]

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[304] Baswell 1992. An example of such direct paraphrases, in 'Horace's' voice, is found on *Odes* 2.19: e.g. **Impio Saturno.** Benefica Iouis stella eripuit te a malefica Saturni et me faunus a *** lapsu subtraxit et sumus seruati vt qui sub uno signo nati sumus sub uno etiam moriemur.

[305] See Black 2001, 428-431.

[306] Then again, learning Greek can be seen as being more an objective of scholars than of schools; Grendler 1989, 268.

[307] *Odes* 1.13.16, *Quarta* (sic.) *sui nectaris imbuit*. Note in VLO 6: [35r] Nam prima pars Veneris, id est amoris, est uidere; Secunda cogitare; Tertia desiderare; Quarta tangere; Quinta potiri. See also Teeuwen 2015, 39 for examples of the ways in which the main text and the marginal text can be out of sync.

More encouraging is the presence of metrical studies in VLO 6, which, according to Grendler and Black, was one of the innovative features in humanist education.[311] Metrics were, according to Grendler's overview, only reinstated as an aspect of the curriculum after Nicollò Perotti published his general work on metre, *De generibus metrorum* (1453).[312] A more specific treatise by the same author, *De metris Horatii et Boetii*, is added to the end of VLO 6. Combined with the various annotations on metre and traces of scansion we find in the margins of the *Odes* – the *Epistles,* in dactylic hexameter, hardly needed metrical tools – this indicates that metre was an important aspect for whoever read Horace using this manuscript.[313] At the same time, Horace's *Odes* – that is, when they *were* read in the Middle Ages – would often if not always have required some basic metrical knowledge or tools.[314] Yet, although attention for metre may not be a humanistic element *per se*, Perotti's treatises on metrics, at least, are known to have become immensely popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,[315] the *Odes* were more frequently read, and the preoccupation with metrics can be found in school manuscripts of various authors from the fifteenth century onwards.[316] Both the inclusion of the treatise and the attention for metrical aspects, then, could be said to be in line with the humanistic tradition.

Finally, scholars have pointed to the, sometimes conflicting, 'humanistic' tendency to historicize without allegory or, in other cases, refrain from the theological allegorizing of the Middle Ages in favour of moral allegory.[317] It is hard to reconcile these tendencies with the commentary in the margins of VLO 6. After all, the majority of the 'interpretative scholia' on the

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[308] See e.g. White 2016, 106-107 for the conjectures on Horace's text proposed by the late fifteenth century teacher Calphurnius in the annotated book of his student Pirckheimer.

[309] Verhaart 2014, 45.

[310] E.g. Taraskin 2013, whose analysis of a tenth century Horatian commentary reveals its encyclopaedic trends.

[311] Grendler 1989, 237-238; Black 2001, 318.

[312] Grendler 1989, 253.

[313] We find scanned verse e.g. on 38v, 59r, 86v; more elaborate notes are found e.g. in the margins of 3.12, [65r] ¶ Primi duo uersus trimetri sunt ionicis minoribus constantes. Tertius tetrameter, IIIIor constans ionicis.

[314] See e.g. Leiden, VLQ 21 (ff. 1-122v) for an earlier (eleventh century) manuscript including Horace's *Odes* with rubricated letters designating their metre included for the majority of the poems.

[315] Friis-Jensen 2011, 86.

[316] Black 2001, 318-320 mentions metrical discussions in annotations on Horace's *Odes,* Vergil's *Aeneid*, Cicero's *De Oratore,* and Boethius' *Consolation*, writing about the latter that "it is evident that the growth of humanism began to have its first effect on the Boethius commentary tradition with the new interest in metrics apparent in Italy mainly from the turn of the fifteenth century" (Black 2001, 320).

[317] See e.g. Grafton 1985 for an attempt to reconcile both tendencies.

Epistles, often characterized by the moralizing language of reproach (*reprehendit*), is word-to-word borrowed from the medieval *Proposuerat*-commentary (see chapter 2). The moral lessons drawn from the *Epistles*, then, stem from a medieval and late-antique tradition. The smaller, fewer interpretative notes in the *Odes*-section of the manuscript may just as well be based on a medieval tradition, even if I have not (yet) been able to identify which. Mythological scholia, which we find frequently in this section, often lack any allegorical or moralizing explanation, which could be seen as an indication of humanist 'historicism'; yet, they also correspond to the general lack of moralizing elements distinguished by Black,[318] as well as to Grendler's observation that commentators on Horace tended to avoid allegory.[319] I have found only one exception to this rule: in a note on *Odes* 2.16, the commentator summarizes Horace's argument in a single sentence and explains the poet's mythological examples.[320] However, this connection between myth and moral is based solely on Horace's poem, nor does it occur elsewhere when the commentator writes about Chiron, Penelope, Medea or others.

The diversity of scholarly views on what the humanists changed in Italian fifteenth-century education, as well as the diversity that appears to have existed between the methods of the humanists themselves, results in a complex picture of our commentary's place in the various traditions of its time. Some elements are in keeping with the fashions of humanist tradition – the wide scale of references and quotations, attention for metrics, the lack of Christian allegory in mythological annotations – but many other elements associated with this tradition are missing: textual criticism, complicated encyclopaedic knowledge, and moral lessons or moral analogy, to name a few. The at times dominating presence of Pseudo-Acro and the *Proposuerat*-commentary furthermore suggest an affinity with the medieval and late-antique tradition, although this reliance on earlier sources was certainly not uncommon for commentaries written by humanists.[321] In general, then, the commentary seems to incorporate elements of both traditions, bringing to mind Black's argument that "only in one or two marginal areas [...] was there any sign of [humanist] innovation in the approach to the authors."[322]

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[318] Black 2001, 28.

[319] Grendler 1989, 253.

[320] [53r] Contenti paruo esse debemus: quia nemo perfecte felix est. Nam si Achilles fortissimus fuit cito occidit et Titonus Aurorae filius quamuis longam uitam impetrauerit tamen in cicadam conuersus fuit. ("We must be content with little: for no one is completely happy. For although Achilles was the bravest, he died young, and although Titonus, son of Aurora, obtained a long life, he was changed into a cricket").

[321] Cf. Pieper 2013 on the reliance of Landino's *Ars Poetica* commentary on Pseudo-Acro and Porhpyrio.

[322] Black 2001, 275.

Parallels

An aspect of contemporary commentaries that seems typical for the ones written on classical texts is the commentator's tendency to assemble an abundance of parallels on a given word, sentence or notion, characterized by the abbreviated instruction to the reader to compare and contrast them: 'cf.'[323] On the one hand, these parallels can be seen to further enhance a commentary's authority, and with it the commentator's interpretation, making them hand-picked building blocks of his argument. Yet, on the other hand, Kraus rightly points out how parallels, when looked up and contemplated by the reader, inherently open up 'intertextual' links, inviting a reader to open new lines of enquiry, or precisely to question the authority of commentators' interpretations.[324]

These intertextual references occur in VLO 6's commentary as well. Beyond examining and questioning their general function, as Kraus suggests, there are in this case further questions to be asked when confronted with the network of quotations and references in the margins of the manuscript. Firstly, the parallels obviously illuminate which authors and works were, in some way, known to the commentator – and, presumably, the manuscript's later readers as well – and to what extent he may have had access to various texts and genres. The study of parallels works both ways: they may not only shed light on the way in which a commentator read Horace within a literary 'network' of quotations, but also on the way in which the individual authors behind those quotations were read, and how the quotations alluding to their works may have changed meaning over the ages – a perspective which in the past has been explored regarding references to Ovid in Servius' commentary on Vergil.[325] Secondly, VLO 6's commentary contains both references to authors and a few opinions or associations *about* authors, seemingly (de)valuing them or making them legendary figures. At the heart of this final section, then, will be a quantitative and qualitative survey of the references and quotations in the commentary, and an examination of the appreciation and valuing of ancient literature and authors that may be documented in the margins of VLO 6.

A Network of References

The collection of references and parallels can, again, be surveyed most practically in a schematic overview: see Appendix VI. The total number of references that I encountered in the marginal commentary adds up to 139, referring to as much as 39 authors – note that this number encompasses all instances in which the names of classical authors or their works are mentioned, as well as direct quotes.[326] Of these 139, 100 references are direct quotations from classical works. These quotations are not always easily identifiable: sometimes they are indicated by material characteristic of the commentary, such as a divergent script, or by the explicit mentioning of the author's name or his work; at other times, quotations are by no means divergent from the other annotations. From a quantitative perspective, the majority of quotations are accompanied by a direct reference to the author, his work, and in some cases even the specific book from which the citation is taken.[327] Finally, for the 38 references that do *not* include citations, it makes sense that they are all instead indicated by the mentioning of the name of the author or his work. The number of cited authorities seems quite high in comparison to the Florentine manuscripts of school authors examined by Black.[328]

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[323] Gibson 2014.

[324] Kraus 2002, 21-22: "The plurality of cited voices invites the dialogue between ancient authors and modern readers that is essential to each subsequent generation's understanding of a classical text – and that can even release a reader's creativity, awakening the writerly in the readerly tutor text."

[325] Haynes 2015.

The presence of this large amount of parallels to different authors provides us with the unique opportunity to investigate which texts the commentator had knowledge of and, perhaps, access to. This should be done with caution: it would be rash to assume that the commentator actually *read* all the authors he quoted or alluded to – as Justin Haynes has pointed out, Servius' poor knowledge of Ovid suggests that the commentator would sooner have had access to an already 'corrupted' commentary including references to Ovid, than to Ovid's poems themselves.[329] Still, it is possible to get a general view of the commentator's knowledge. It may, for instance, not come as a surprise that by far the majority of the quotations in VLO 6 are of Vergil (36 allusions, of which 33 quotations). Most of these references, of course, allude to the *Aeneid* – with a preference for book 1 – but references to the *Georgics* and the *Eclogues* are referred to throughout the commentary. Other Roman authors that may be expected are present as well: Juvenal (10 allusions, of which 9 quotations), Persius (9 quotations), and Terence (2 quotations)[330] are found almost exclusively in the *Epistles*-section of the commentary. Allusions to Ovid occur 5 times (3 quotations), and references to Propertius are found 4 times (3 quotations) throughout the commentary. Perhaps less expected is the presence of Cicero (7 allusions, of which 4 quotations) predominantly in the *Odes*-section of the commentary.[331] Finally, a substantial part of the allusions is reserved for references to Horace's own work, taking up 15 quotations in total.[332] Paradoxically, these include several references to passages that are devoid of any glossing, such as the *Ars Poetica*.

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[326] I have also included in this broad overview citations or references to authors that are copied from other sources, for instance citations that were already mentioned in Pseudo-Acro. Excluded are copied texts from commentaries, that occur throughout the commentary, but usually not explicitly (except for five references to Servius).

[327] Such explicit parallels, often distinguished by the usage of an 'extra' paragraph sign (pilcrow sign), can be seen on f. 62r (image 15).

[328] Black 2001, 428-431: only 19 out of the 98 examined manuscripts quote more than five different authorities. In VLO 6, as many as 20 different authors are cited.

[329] Haynes 2015, 221.

[330] See Gehl 2015 for Terence's popularity in 15th century publishing business, commentary writing and classroom.

In contrast, the commentator's knowledge of Greek authors is far more limited, as he only refers to anecdotes about their lives and literary accomplishments (Alcaeus, Archilochus and Sappho), or simply in general to their work (Homer). There are no quotations of Greek texts: this is understandable, because many of the more obscure texts were inaccessible or undiscovered at the time of writing, even though the language itself had received more and more attention of fifteenth century scholars alongside Latin.[333] The commentator does expand a bit more on Euripides' *Bacchae*, in the context of Horace's dramatic simulation of this play in *Epistles* 1.16, but these sentences are, again, mostly borrowed from Pseudo-Acro. Other authors that are conspicuous by their absence, based on Black's overview, are Isidore and Boethius; Christian authors appear to be largely missing as well,[334] and the Bible is only cited once.

In other respects, however, the parallels in the commentary may reflect the exiting and changeable scholarly climate in which the book was produced. Catullus' works, for instance, had, although they had been discovered in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, received little critical attention before the *editio princeps* in 1472, which proved a first step towards stabilizing the text and making it more and more widely accessible.[335] The single quotations of the first five lines of Catullus' *Carmen* XIII (*Ad Fabullum*) do not necessarily mean that the commentator had access to Catullus' printed text – several florilegia with excerpts of Catullus had circulated from the fourteenth century onwards. Yet, the inclusion of the author makes sense given the more prominent accessibility of his work. A more recent discovery for the commentator were the works of Columella, who is not quoted but mentioned twice in the commentary: once in relation to the 'fun-fact' that Roman farmers organized a festival for Faun on the Nones of December (*Odes* 3.18), and once in a description of the star Cepheus (*Odes* 3.29). Yet, although Columella's *De Re Rustica* was only recovered in its entirety in the early fifteenth century, at least four editions of his work had appeared before the turn of the century.[336] Neither the occurrence of Catullus nor Columella is therefore highly unusual, but the insertion of these authors does stress the fact that the commentator was aware of humanistic discoveries and editions to such an extent that he chose to include them.

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[331] In comparison, Vergil, Juvenal, Persius, and Ovid are found several times in the medieval *Proposuerat*-commentary as well – Cicero and Propertius are not (based on the unpublished transcription by Fredborg).

[332] The listed quotations of Horace exclude lemmata, citation of single or very few words, and verses in the margin that were clearly meant to supplement the main text (e.g. because verses were missing).

[333] E.g. Grendler 1989, 265-268. Yet, as Grendler justly notes, Greek was only studied by few, and did not become part of the curriculum.

[334] The exception is a single reference to Eusebius (writing about Inachus and Io) in a note on *Odes* 3.19.

[335] Gaisser 1993, 25; 272: in the early years after Catullus' rediscovery, "they could do little more for the next hundred years than produce a handful of manuscripts and cull quotable verses for their anthologies and correspondence."

Finally, it is worth examining what the functions of the parallels in VLO 6 are. Some of the parallels are part of the commentary, whereas others are not accompanied by any elucidation. Helpful for these latter cases is particularly a modern typology of the parallels that is offered by Roy Gibson (2014), who distinguishes between as much as seven different functions.[337] Many citations in VLO 6 serve the function of 'comprehending the text', becoming pieces of evidence for the commentator's explanation: a quotation of Vergil and another of Terence, for instance, illustrate the different meanings of the word *fingere* in a note on *Epistles* 1.2.[338] Many of the cited verses are characterised by this practical purpose, having nothing more in common with Horace's text than that they happen to contain the same verb. Other 'comprehensive' parallels serve as examples to explain Roman habits or 'fun-facts', such as the shaving of the heads of slaves who had just reclaimed their freedom (*Epistles* 1.7).[339]

Another set of parallels is thematically linked: when Horace, according to the commentator, "admonishes those who, on account of their heir, are afraid to make expenses" (*Epistles* 1.5.12-14), this is linked to a verse of Persius in the voice of an angry and vengeful heir, characterizing precisely that fear. The moral lesson extracted from Horace is thus automatically extended to interpret Persius' verse in the same vain (*quod etiam Persius clarius docet*).[340] The only similarity between the quoted *Carmen* 13 of Catullus and Horace's *Odes* 4.11 (invitation to Phyllis) is the fact that both have an invitation to a *convivium* at their core, although of course many other poems share that theme. These thematic resonances perhaps qualify as instances of

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[336] *Iunii Moderati Columellae hortulus* [Rome: Printer of Silius Italicus, ca. 1471] (book X only); Georgius Merula, Franciscus Colucia (eds.) *De re rustica* Opera et impensa Nicolai Ienson: Venetiis, 1472; Lucii Iunii Moderati *Columellae de Cultu hortorum Liber .xi. quem .Pub. Virgilius .M. i[n] Georgicis Posteris edendum dimisit.* [Padova]: D[ominicus] S[iliprandus], [ca. 1480*]; Opera Agricolationum: Columellae: Varronis: Catonisque: nec non Palladii: cū excriptionibus .D. Philippi Beroaldi: & commentariis quae in aliis impressionibus non extant.* Impensis Benedicti hectoris: Bonon., xiii. calen. octob. [19 Sept.], 1494.

[337] Gibson 2014, 333-344. The categories are: (1) establishing the text, (2) comprehending it, (3) establishing a register within a text, (4) contextualizing the text, (5) identifying allusions or intertexts, (6) identifying *topoi*, and (7) supplementing the text with additional information.

[338] (v. 64) ¶ **Fingere**. Interdum effigiare vel facere. Vergilius liber II: "Nec si miserum fortuna Sinonem finxit, vanum et mendacem improba finget" [*Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.79]. Interdum simulare mendactum Terentius in Andria: "fingunt nunc quandam inter se fallaciam" [Terence, *Andria* 15].

[339] [8r] (v. 50) **Adrasum** id est nuper libertate donatum. Sic enim erat apud antiquos consuetudo. Unde Plautus in Amphitrione "Quod ille faciat Iuppiter, ut hodie raso capite summam pileum" [*Plautus, *Amphitryon* 461-462].

[340] ¶ Et hic reprehendit eos qui pro herede timent facere sumptus. Etiam exiguos quod etiam Persius clarius docet in ultima satyra: "Tune bona incolumis minuas" [Persius, *Satires* 6.37].

Gibson's category of 'parallels identifying *topoi*'.[341] Expressed on word-level, this thematic similarity is reminiscent of Gibson's class of parallels 'identifying intertexts/allusions':[342] an example is the reference to Vergil's description of the setting sun being scribbled next to Horace's twilight scene in *Odes* 3.7.41-44.[343] Assuming a broader approach to Gibson's categories, the historical paraphrases of and references to Livy or Trogus may qualify as 'supplementing' parallels, being only loosely connected to that text, and the quote-less references to Archilochus or Alcaeus loosely echo the function of 'contextualizing' a text by establishing its genre.[344] However, I have not found examples of parallels supporting 'textual variants' or 'establishing register'.[345] Another difference is the citation or reference to single parallel passages per lemma in VLO 6, in contrast to the abundant *comparanda* in Gibson's modern sources. Furthermore, although some of the quotes are decidedly well-known – an example is Vergil's *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* ("to spare the downcast and overthrow the proud")[346] – there are not as many maxims among them as we might expect: many citations are merely scraps of verse, difficult to understand out of context.

The different types of parallels and their different functions have a distinct influence on both the presentation of the commentator's authority and the reading experience of (later) readers. Firstly, some of the parallels, such as the citation of Catullus, seem to have no direct bearing on our understanding of the text, and therefore seem to illustrate the indirect function of presenting the commentator's erudition particularly well. Secondly, a distinction can be made between the parallels and quotes that are a component of the commentator's argument – these intrinsically make the commentator's interpretation or explanation more authoritative to later readers, regardless of their familiarity of the text – and the citations that are scribbled into the margins without further comment. For the latter cases, I would argue that the form of the quotations implicitly invites the reader to compare and ponder on the relation between the quoted text and Horace's poem (as I have done to determine their function). This more active engagement with the parallel texts is not guided by the commentator's remarks, and may therefore lead to readers “opening up new lines of enquiry.”[347] Yet, compared to the modern readers Kraus examined, historical readers of VLO 6 may not have had the same easy access to parallel texts. This aspect ties in with a third aspect of distinction: parallels in the commentary either form a completed whole, or – more often – are decontextualized scraps of verse. The latter may point to a ‘bookmark’ function, enticing a reader of the commentary to look up the parallel verses or retrieve them from his memory; in alternative cases, the scraps of verses may be enough for him to understand the quotation’s link to the text, for instance in the case of similar word usage. How exactly the reader’s engagement with text and parallels worked in practice, then, is hard to establish, but it can be stated that both aspects of ‘parallels’ – their authoritative, argumentative function, and their role in opening up potential new lines of interpretation – can be illustrated by the commentary.

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[341] Gibson 2014, 343: "establishing the standards or conventions, usually through the compilation of parallels for images and phrases, has been thought a necessary prerequisite for understanding classical texts."

[342] Gibson 2014, 340. Of course, it is difficult to establish whether it was the intention of the commentator to point to allusions here, and likewise whether the perceived allusions were ever intended as such by Horace. See Gibson 2014, 341 for a sketch about the debate about the distinction between such 'intentional allusions' vs. 'accidental confluence'.

[343] *¶* Vir. Buc. ¶ "Aspice aratra domum referunt suspens<a> iuuenci. Et sol decendens crescentes dopplicat umbras" [cf. Vergil, *Eclogues* 2.66-67].

[344] See Gibson 2014, 344-346.

[345] See Gibson 2014, 333-346.

[346] Probably referring to *Carmen Saeculare* 52-53, *"bellante prior, iacentem / lenis in hostem,* "(May he be) first in battle, mild towards a vanquished enemy."

The Commentator on Authors

The various remarks in the margins of VLO 6 can be seen to shape a picture of Horace, a poet of wisdom and moral lessons – explicitly so in the ‘interpretative scholia’ discussed in Chapter 2 that are almost exclusively borrowed from the medieval commentary tradition. Yet the commentary also refers to a few other authors in ways that may shed an interesting light on the way in which these authors were perceived by the commentator, and, in consequence, perhaps also by his later readers. In what follows, I will discuss two of these instances in detail.

At first sight, for instance, the allusion to Tibullus in the margins of *Epistles* 1.4 – the only reference to Tibullus in the entire commentary – seems to incorporate a condemnation of his poetry:

> ¶ **Albi nostrorum.** Ad Albium elegorum scriptorem et eum redarguit de tribus: de adulatione, descriptorum multorum inutilitate et de avaritia. Albius iste quoniam inutiliter scribebat vt laudarentur sua aliorum carmina probabat.[348] Albius Cubellus[349] creticus[350] fuit elegorum scriptor. Qui uidebatur eius sermonum libros multum laudare.[351]
>
> **Albius.** To Albius, writer of elegies, and Horace reprimands him about three things: about flattery, the uselessness of many writers, and about avarice. This Albius, because he wrote uselessly, approved of other people’s poems so that his poems would be praised. Albius Tibullus the critic was a writer of elegies, who seemed to praise Horace’s books of Satires extensively.

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[347] Kraus 2002, 21-22; see above.

[348] The comment thus far is almost identical to the *Proposuerat* commentary (Fredborg, unpublished).

[349] A misspelling of Tibullus.

[350] The scholiast probably meant *criticus*, which would make much more sense in this context.

[351] Cf. Pseudo-Acro 1, Hac epistola Albium Tibullum elegiorum scriptorem alloquitur, qui uidebatur libros eius sermonum multum laudare. Albius iste criticus fuit, poeta et scriptor philosophiae (Keller 1967, 226; Hauthal 1966, 389).

The comment incorporates both the commentary of Pseudo-Acro and the *Proposuerat*-commentary, which, as noted above, is a prominent presence in the 'interpretative scholia' on the *Epistles.* Whereas Pseudo-Acro identifies Albius Tibullus as the poet – and, somewhat puzzling, as a writer of philosophy (*scriptor philosophiae*) – the *Proposuerat*-commentary adds to these 'facts' the observation that Tibullus wrote 'uselessly' (*inutiliter*), and was forced to depend on flattery to gain any appreciation for his own works.[352] To understand this negative reading of the poem, the comment should, of course, be understood in the context of the brief epistle it appears in. The Albius of *Epistle* 1.4 has indeed often been identified with the known elegist Albius Tibullus – even though this interpretation is nowadays not readily accepted.[353] In the poem, Horace addresses Albius, who is called the "impartial critic of [Horace's] Satires" (*nostrorum sermonum candide iudex,* 1.4.1), to question whether he is writing poetry or meditating in his country retreat. While questioning him about his pursuits in life, Horace points out that Albius has everything one can wish for (*gratia, fama, valetudo,* 1.4.10), and reminds Albius to live as if every day is his last, presenting himself as an example of such an Epicurean life-style.[354] The charge against flattery (*adulatione*) that is referred to in the scholion could be based on the characterisation of Albius as a *iudex*; yet, a ground to accuse Albius of *avaritia* is harder to find. The commentator's harsh judgement on Albius' poetry, too, appears unwarranted based on the content of the poem. Could it be that he interpreted Horace's presumed activities for Tibullus' day – walking through the woods and contemplating things (1.4.4-5) – as *inutiliter*? Or is the value of Tibullus' poetry implicitly at stake here?

It seems to be more a matter of interpretation than an earnest condemnation of Tibullus' poetry. The negative interpretation of Albius' role as *criticus* – framing him as a useless flatterer – is consistent with the moralizing streak we found in the discussion of the 'interpretative scholia' in Chapter 2. Another clue may be found in a different note on the same poem, this time judging the poetry of Cassius Parmensis, a figure Horace names in (favourable) comparison to Albius. This Cassius Parmensis, however, was confused in the scholia with a certain Cassius Etruscus,[355] an unknown figure ridiculed by Horace in *Satires* 10 because of the unnecessary length and terrible quality of his poetry. Going beyond the famous anecdote alluded to in *Satires* 10 that Etruscus was burnt on a pile made out of his own poems after his death, the commentary in VLO 6 insinuates that Cassius Etruscus wrote so many useless verses that the audience beat him to death during one of his lectures.[356] A comparison with a poet seen as so dreadful explains the negative light in which Tibullus is mentioned here.[357] The commentator thus seems to comment on Tibullus purely because the interpretation of the poem has led him there, and not because he has an independent view on Tibullus' poetry – there is no reason to assume he knew Tibullus' poetry at all.

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[352] This idea, in turn, is echoed in the scholia edited in Botschuyver IV, 1939 *ad loc.*: Reprehendit per Albium illos, qui naturales aptitudines per avaritiam sinunt vilescere et eas non exercitant. Hic enim Albius erat bonus clericus et ingeniosus, sed cum hanc aptitudinem naturaliter haberet, neutrum faviebat, nec scribebat nec etiam in aliquibus libris studebat impeditus studio avaritiae. Tangit et illos viles poetas qui, quotiens libros faciunt, semper in illis quoscunque alios laudant, ut ab illis laudentur, quod notat in isto primo versu "candide iudex", idest tu semper laudasti mea carmina, sed tamen non tibi parcam. Hic Albius ierat ad Pedanam regionem, ut ibi studeret, sed noon poterat propter avaritiam.

[353] Mayer 1994, 133.

[354] Horace famously presents himself here as a "hog in Epicurus' herd" (*Epicuri de grege porcum*, 1.4.16). His advice may point to the general idea that poetry is not enough for happiness, but that a right disposition is wanted (Mayer 1994, 136) or to the simpler interpretation that Tibullus apparently was regularly troubled by concerns (Heinze 1957, 44).

[355] The connection is seen in the commentary to VLO 6, but also in Porphyrio and the *Proposuerat*-commentary.

A completely different but equally fascinating identification of an author occurs in another section of the commentary, in a small note on *Epodes* 17:

> [95v] [inner margin] (v. 3) Non enim numina Dianae excluduntur ab arte magica ut in Ischiomantia Virgilii.
>
> For the divine powers of Diana are not excluded from the magic art, as in the *Ischiomantia* of Vergil.

Epodes 17 forms the dramatic final poem of Horace's *Epodes*, in which he proclaims to yield to the powers of the elusive witch Canidia. To convince Canidia to turn back the wheels of time that she set in motion – including the aging of Horace himself? – the speaker beseeches her by both the kingdom of Proserpina, and the "divine powers of Diana that should not be provoked" (*per et Dianae non movenda numina*, 17.3). It is to this final verse that the marginal note refers, connecting religion to *arte magica*, and, in particular, an unknown work ascribed to Vergil.

The title of the mysterious work is difficult to translate: it may have been coined by the commentator, as was usual for words related to magic in medieval Latin. The suffix –*mantia* refers to the mystical nature of the magical art described, whereas *ischia*– is reminiscent of the Greek ἰσχία ('hips, hipjoins'), which may in some way be connected to Diana's double-role as goddess of fertility and pregnancy. Another option is a confusion with the term *ichthyomantia*, used to designate the art of divination through the examination of fish. The annotation may either be misspelled, or refer to an unknown form of 'magic' or divination. In either case, the connection to Vergil ties in to the medieval tradition of representing this poet as a 'magician' (*magus*), a cycle of legend and literature that continued throughout the Renaissance and posed a problem for several early humanists who took it upon themselves to separate fact from fiction.[358] Yet, the idea of the poet as somehow connected to magical arts held stock even as late as the sixteenth century,[359] and it appears to be present, however indirectly, in the VLO 6 commentary.

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[356] (v. 3) **Cassius Parmensis.** Qui pactus scribere gesta Philippi pro quolibet uersu laudabili bisantiv proquolibet turpi colophum recepit. Nouem milia uersum composuit, in quibus tum modo quinque inuenti sunt laudabiles. De reliquis singulis colaphis acceptis recitando periit.

[357] It may even point to the charge of *avaritia* that is alluded to in the scholion; the length of Cassius Etruscus' poems could be seen as a way for Horace to criticize unnecessary abundance.

[358] Stok 1994, 15.

Final Remarks

Looking back, it seems the commentary in VLO 6 has a tendency to lead a modern reader astray. What appears to be a conscious deviation of its sources turns out to be a simple mistake; what reads as a devaluating remark about an author is based on a misinterpretation of Horace's poem. It forced me to re-evaluate my hypotheses and check my assumptions again and again. The image of the commentary that emerged is a complex one, providing double-edged answers to the questions asked at the set out of this chapter.

Focussing firstly on the commentator's point of view, the study of several commentaries exhibited the ways in which uncredited sources as well as a wide range of credited sources, citations and references attributed to the authority and anonymity of his voice, with just a few notable exceptions. The parallels mentioned in the commentary in particular displayed his knowledge of a wide range of classical authors and works, sometimes adduced specifically to make a point, at other times quoted without having much bearing on Horace's text. Although occasionally acknowledging different solutions, the commentator's voice was mostly distant and impersonal. The comments furthermore started enthusiastically, died out during the second book of *Epistles*, and resurfaced more sporadically in the *Odes*-section of the manuscript, but without revealing much of a pattern of preference or expurgation. The *Ars Poetica* was seemingly ignored by the commentator. Marginal signs highlighted several maxims that were, unexpectedly, not as present in the commentary itself as might be expected.

On another level, I reflected on the ways in which the addition of this marginal commentary could have influenced a reader of both text and commentary. In light of concepts from modern commentary theory, it appeared as though this reader was at times the passive recipient of the commentator's explanation and interpretation, and yet, at other times, was expected to have a rather active role: he was forced to do so, in order to, for instance, understand the link between parallels and poem, or – in some cases – to even recognise a comment as a citation at all. Some lemmata, moreover, provided him with multiple options and solutions to problems. Yet, at the same time, the commentary's selectivity would have influenced his understanding: reading *Epodes* 12, for instance, a reader of the commentary would have learned more about species of fish and crocodiles than about Horace's love-life.[360] His eye would have been drawn to maxims in Horace's text, problematic words, and collections of explanations or facts that were of little direct importance to understanding the text; because of the generally small scope of the commentary, however, I would argue that he was less at risk to be flooded with stacked information or parallels than readers of modern commentaries may sometimes be.[361] Finally, the commentary would have offered him both the moralizing – though not explicitly religious or allegorical – Horatian lessons of the medieval commentary tradition, and the broad knowledge of classical authors and the required knowledge of classical metre that could be seen as traits of the humanist tradition the commentary seems to be anchored in.

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[359] Scott Wilson-Okamura 2010, 56.

[360] Three out of the four annotations on that particular *Epode* deal with explaining the characteristics of a cuttle-fish (*polypus*), crocodile (*cocodrillus*), and purple-fish (*murices*).

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[361] A feature stressed in modern commentary theory; see Gibson 2014, 354ff.

Conclusion

After this manifold discussion of a commentary of varying content, this conclusion has the difficult task of bringing all those strands of examination together in a focussed synthesis. To do so, the first section will assemble the most important observations made on VLO 6 and its commentary, and answer the layered question in what ways this source can illuminate our understanding of the manner in which the texts of Horace were read and studied in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance. The final section, in contrast, will have a more reflective character, outlining the methodological advantages and disadvantages of exploring a single manuscript from various perspectives.

Outcomes

The first chapter provided a detailed description and examination of the material aspects of the manuscript, explicitly leaving out its margins (for now). VLO 6 was shown to be a humanistic, Italian looking manuscript, corresponding in many of its aspects – script, *bianchi giari* decoration, *quinios* as possibly 'prefabricated' quires – to the fifteenth century it was associated with because of Perotti's metrical treatise in its final pages. The book had a professional, albeit unfinished, appearance, even though it exhibited here and there seemingly amateurish initials, and was not without mistakes in the convergence of text and quires. Despite a (very) slight change in script ('updating' from a *semi-textualis* to a 'proper' *textualis*) and an alteration in the system of display scripts roughly between the *Epistles* and *Odes*-sections of the book, there were no indications that might suggest a change in scribe. Finally, the book as a whole was not unlike some of the Florentine 'schoolbooks' identified in the voluminous study of Black (2001).

Moving towards the margins of the book, the second part of this project explored the commentary on different levels. A brief examination of the script showed that the commentary was layered, pointing possibly to multiple, anonymous annotators. At least two different hands could with some certainty be distinguished and recognised. The commentary's varying scale and 'crammed' position on the page, furthermore, suggested that it should be ascribed to the user layers of the book's history rather than to its production layers. This, in turn, problematized the assumption that main text and paratext were written in the same hand, unless one assumes that the commentator and copyist were the same person. In the case of VLO 6, the question had to remain open-ended.

Similarly complex was the matter of sources and composition. While emphasizing the commentary's miscellaneous and variant character, I identified some of the sources it had absorbed, most notably pointing to the influence of the *Proposuerat*-commentary, not noticed by – or unknown to – Suringar in his earlier study. Particularly the finding that the opening scholion to the *Epistles* was copied from an existing medieval commentary problematized the importance Suringar attached to the usage of *audietis* in that section. Furthermore, I could point to several mistakes in the commentary usually seen as the result of misreading while copying, which supported Geelius' preference to see the commentary as having been, at least partially, transcribed.

The pedagogical character assumed for the marginal commentary remained a likely possibility as well, although the assumption of such an educational context has been problematized and debated in modern scholarship on the subject. It remained likely for VLO 6 on the grounds that its subject matter and the level of its engagement with philological and – here and there – moralizing content would befit a classroom setting. Yet, other decisive evidence for a schoolroom function, such as mnemonic verses and the usage of the vernacular, were lacking from VLO 6's commentary, illustrating the difficulties of categorizing historical commentaries to a clear context.

In the third chapter, I examined some selections of the scholia to a more detailed extent, using concepts and ideas from modern commentary theory to illuminate interesting aspects in, on the one hand, the commentator's own construction of authority, and on the other hand the effect that the existing commentary may have had on later readers. Part of the analysis rested on the concept of 'segmentation', which emphasized the fact that the amount of annotations was not visibly connected to any pattern of preference or – in the case of 'skipped' poems – expurgation. Another form of selection was formed by the occurrence of *maniculae* in the *Odes*-section of the manuscript, which in most cases served to highlight *sententiae* in Horace's text, perhaps intended for later reference. Other marginal signs had varying functions without a clear system, again pointing to the varying structure of the commentary as a whole and perhaps even to the various contributors to the commentary.

Focussing next on the commentary's engagement with commentary traditions, I compared several passages to late-antique and other humanistic commentaries. It was difficult, however, to be able to find traces of 'dialogue' between the commentary and its predecessors: one example was more likely an honest mistake than a conscious deviation; other examples did deviate from Pseudo-Acro, but without explicitly stating so. Similarly, where the commentator does follow the lead of his predecessors, he does so without further comment. Only at a few places, his own voice breaks through the anonymity, using formulaic phrasing (*quod verius puto...* or *alii dicunt...*) to reflect some kind of debate or acknowledge the existence of different versions. At these scarce places, the commentator's voice becomes less authoritative and less anonymous. Moreover, while on the one hand following late-antique and medieval predecessors, the commentator at other places – most notably its attention for metrics, lack of Christian allegory in mythological annotations, and wide range of cited and mentioned *auctores* – shows some instances of what has been labelled as humanist traits.

The scope and function of parallels quoted and alluded to was my next subject. The commentator cites relatively many verses from relatively many different classical authors, notably excluding many citations from Scripture or Christian authors. Some of the authors quoted (Catullus, Columella) had been 'rediscovered' by the humanists; Greek authors are mentioned but not cited. Functions of the parallels ranged from explanation of basic words or textual pieces of information to more extensive thematically linked quotations. Some of the parallels were elucidated in the commentary whereas others stood alone; their presence may have both enhanced the commentator's authority and bestowed upon him an erudite *persona* but at the same time encouraged a reader to actively search for the links between text and parallels. Finally, this reader may have gained impressions of other authors than Horace through the commentary, most notably on Tibullus, whose bad reputation in the commentary is likely based on the interpretation of the poem and the 'mystical' associations attributed to Vergil.

A recurring topic throughout the analysis of this commentary was the perceived 'boundary' between the *Epistles* and *Odes* section of the book, ranging from the material changes pointed out in Chapter 1, to observations on the scope, hands, and sources of the commentary (e.g. the more easily identifiable presence of Pseudo-Acro in the *Epistles*-section). Some of these boundaries may be explained by a change in genre: it is to be expected, for instance, that more mythological annotations are found in the *Odes* section, whereas the references to Satirists such as Juvenal more often occur in the *Epistles* section. Another option may be the divergent hands, that seem to become more and more layered in the closing sections of the commentary. It is, however, not possible to simply say that the comments from the *Odes* onwards were predominantly written by another annotator, or by the same annotator in different stages of writing or education: the matter is more complicated than that.

How, then, were Horace's poems read, based on this examination of VLO 6 and its commentary? Another, useful way of phrasing the question, is to ask what a reader of VLO 6 obtained when he studied the book and either wrote in or read from its margins. Firstly, the knowledge imparted on him would be practical, providing, through basic synonyms, etymology, and explanations of words by comparing and contrasting them, the vocabulary tools for dealing with Horace's complicated Latin – we must assume he had already tackled the necessary grammar skills at an earlier level. He would have found similarly useful tools in the explanations of Horace's rhetorical tropes, and the instructions when it came to understanding his metre; the many historical and mythological facts would have provided him with glances of the ancient world, which appear to be fuelled more by curiosity in all kinds of aspects from ancient history – from Roman religion and toga's to Cleopatra's dramatic suicide – than by a noble endeavour to provide moral exempla or teach life lessons. More suitable to the latter purpose is Horace himself, who, definitely in the *Epistles*, is interpreted as a moral exemplum, even if the commentator at times has to go to some lengths to establish the poet's status as such. He can follow medieval commentaries to do so, underlining the fact that the commentator-reader likely had a number of sources – or a mix of sources – at hand to make sense of Horace's texts. Similar moral lessons were literally pointed at by some *maniculae*, although the presence of maxims in general is perhaps less than could be expected. A reader's attention was thus guided by the commentary as a whole, but the commentary simultaneously opened up occasional spaces for contestation, addition or interpretative choice. Meanwhile, a reader was not actively prohibited from reading even those passages that would have been deemed 'offensive'. Finally, the commentator showed his forte in citing from and referring to a relatively broad range of classical authors, confronting a reader with a variety of parallels – some complete, others just snippets; some explicitly related to the main text, others penned next to Horace's verses without any justification, inviting a reader to perhaps look them up, memorize them, or at least ponder on other texts than only Horace's. All this paints a picture of Horace's texts in VLO 6 as part of the larger study of classical poetry and the antique world.

Methodological Reflection

In one of his important articles on medieval commentaries on Horace, Karsten Friis-Jensen commented on the difficulties – dangers, even – of writing about part of a commentary when so many sources remain not available or only partially transcribed.[362] I experienced the same issues during the editing and analysing of a single commentary among many. Because the focus of this research project has been exclusively on VLO 6, it was at times difficult, if not impossible, to relate my observations to larger scale theories and developments in the field, to search for sources and parallels of certain ideas expressed in the commentary, or to formulate VLO 6's representability in a certain aspect. These issues of representability, however, are a problem for many studies of marginalia, since so much of the material is still either unedited, unavailable or completely unknown. Many scholars have pointed to the online availability of annotated manuscripts, and the possibilities of gathering, editing, and searching through large quantities of texts online, as exciting tools for the study of historical commentaries, and rightly so: a more large-scale view of commentaries and manuscript margins may provide fresh possibilities to create order in the chaos of copies, alterations, and versions these texts have proven to be , subject to.[363]

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[362] Friis-Jensen 2015, 161.

Yet, despite the downsides pointed to here, the case-study approach should not be overlooked. My choice of concentrating on a single book by means of different approaches has illuminated the broad scope and endless questions that even a non-famous manuscript as VLO 6 can evoke. I say this, even though not all questions can be answered – I even found cause to problematize some of the answers or solutions that *had* been provided in the past.

The combination of material- and 'philological' approach to the margins was mostly interesting in respect to the 'reconstruction' of the quires, showing that marginal texts and signs bore relation to the corrected mistakes in text and quire construction. Another interesting convergence was the relation between the decidedly humanistic character of the decorations employed, in contrast to the sometimes Gothic characteristics in the script, and, more importantly, the mixture of influences and traditions perceivable in the commentary's content. This blend of traditions made VLO 6 interesting evidence for the 'continuity' side of the scholarly debate on humanist innovations. On another note, I rediscovered the importance of a 'hands-on' approach to manuscripts when, having forgotten it through the availability of high-quality and easy-to-magnify images of the margins of VLO 6, I was impressed by the small size of the neat handwriting (and the book as a whole) when holding it in my hands during one of my visits to Leiden. It is all too easy to forget how impressive the art of writing neatly in the margins is, once your image is adapted to digital pictures with a 'zoom-in' function![364]

Furthermore, I found myself almost unconsciously adapting a decidedly 'New Philological' perspective when analysing, for instance, mythological mistakes in the commentary, looking for more information about the commentator's sources and his intended audience. The approach sometimes yielded more questions and problems than answers. While engaging with Suringar's and Geelius' work, however, I realized that their perspective – analysing spelling mistakes and lacuna's in a marginal commentary to understand its annotator, expressing value for the commentator's work despite these imperfections, and paying some attention to material aspects such as parchment quality and polished script – was reminiscent of one of the most 'innovative' aspects of Nichols' article. Either Suringar and Geelius, then, were way ahead of his time, or 'new' philology is not quite as new as its name suggests.[365]

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[363] The database of annotated manuscripts set-up in the project Marginal Scholarship (Mariken Teeuwen, Huygens ING, 2017) is an interesting example of such a large-scale approach to explore annotated manuscripts in groups, although I understand that it will take a lot of time and work to build up similar for manuscripts from other ages as well. See Teeuwen 2017, 14-15 for an overview of the developments in the digitalization of manuscripts in recent decades.

[364] The incident, to me, underlined the truth of De Hamel's argument, when he writes that "no one can properly know or write about a manuscript without having seen it and held it in the hands. [...] There will always be details which no one has seen before. You will make discoveries every time. Unnoticed evidence may be wrested from signs of manufacture, erasures, scratches, overpainting, offsets, patches, sewing-holes, bindings, and nuances of colour and texture, all entirely invisible in any reproduction. The questions manuscripts can answer face-to-face are sometimes unexpected, both about themselves and about the times they were made" (De Hamel 2016, 2).

Perhaps the most fruitful of the 'combinations' of approaches proposed in this project proved to be the relation between modern commentary theory – most notably Kraus' – and the fragmentary, smaller-scale commentary in the margins of VLO 6. Interesting about this combination was the fact that it shed light both ways: the approach appropriated to modern commentaries did not only illuminate processes of selection, quotation and traditions in VLO 6, but the differences between the historical and modern source material simultaneously drew attention to certain aspects of modern commentary (theory), prompting questions about its layered character – do modern commentaries betray a similar stratification, pointing either to different commentators, or commentators in different stages of thought or education? – or about the effect of its usages of parallels on the (active role of the) reader – what difference does it make when less information is provided surrounding the parallels in question?

To illustrate the importance of the marginal signs, explanations, and visual aids essential for a reader to properly use the book, Teeuwen underlined the fact that "a book was not finished when the copyist had written the last word of the last sentence on the final page, even if he celebrated the moment with the late-antique exclamation *explicit feliciter*."[366] The same could be said of the 'biography' of VLO 6, and, on a larger scale, the study of marginal commentaries as a whole. My edition and discussion of the commentary in VLO 6 is a first step in disclosing a 'common' set of notes on a text found in heaps of unedited manuscripts; yet, the provisional edition may be complemented, questioned, and expanded upon, acquiring, in time, perhaps new marginalia of its own.

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[365] Although, it should be acknowledged that neither Suringar or Geelius give any attention to issues as decoration or rubrication, whereas the importance of these material aspects are stressed in Nichols' conception of New Philology. See Nichols 1990, 7.

[366] Teeuwen 2017, 13.

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Appendix I: Provisional Edition of the Annotations in VLO 6

Introduction to the Edition

The process of transcribing and presenting a medieval text has been shaped by difficult decisions, in which I constantly tried to find a balance between, on the one hand, staying as close to the manuscript as I could, while on the other hand providing the reader with an easily legible text. In this section, I will briefly set out the practical choices I have made in presenting the marginal commentary of VLO 6. In doing so, I was guided by several sources: I took stock of earlier editions of marginal commentaries on Horace that I used as an example[1] and consulted university-based guides for medieval text editing, such as the one issued by the University of Toronto (2012).[2] Finally, it should be noted that this edition is a 'provisional' one, since not all words have been completely deciphered, the critical apparatus is not complete and the interlinear glosses in VLO 6 have not been included in this transcription.

Scholia Layout

There is no special area marked for the subsidiary material that was added to the text. The glosses, (metrical) signs, and other notes were simply added either in the margins of the manuscript, outside of the text area, or between the lines of the poems, within the text area. In Gumbert's terminology, this would make the former 'marginal glosses', whereas the latter are known as 'interlinear'.[3] These interlinear glosses are inherently brief and almost always consist of explanatory words or phrases on word-level. The marginal glosses, at least in the first section of the book, are found primarily in the outer left or right margin, with some exceptions that are placed in the upper or lower margin. Following Suringar and other editions of scholia, I have chosen to (largely) limit myself to the marginal scholia, not taking into account the interlinear glosses that are scribbled between the lines of almost all poems. Hence, whenever the edition states that 'scholia are lacking' on a certain poem or page, this is meant to refer to the absence of marginal scholia only. Exceptions to this rule are, for instance, the glosses that start interlinear but continue in the margin through lack of space – these I have included in the edition. In addition to interlinear glosses, notes can also be found in the inner margins of the page, instead of the more common outer, upper and lower margin. The numbering of the folia, the position of the scholia that deviate from their 'common' position in the outer margins of the page, and other editorial info, are indicated in [square brackets]; references to the modern verses to which the lemmata correspond, wherever these are clear, are indicated in (round brackets). New paragraphs in the edition mirror those in the manuscript margin; these do often, but not always, coincide with the discussion of a new lemma.

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[1] Such as Fredborg 2015, 237-244, and Taraskin 2013.

[2] Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto: 'Text Editions: Supplement to the Guide Sheet for PhD Dissertation Preparation.' Revised 12-01-2012. Via: https://medieval.utoronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/editionsguide.pdf (last seen: 01-02-2019)

[3] Gumbert 2004, section 334.

Orthography

Because this is an edition of a Latin text based on a single manuscript, I have striven to preserve almost all of the characteristics of the scribe's orthography (including his sometimes cryptically written Greek). As such, I have preserved the manuscript distinction between *u* and *v*, with the exception of initial capitals *V* or *U*, which I have transcribed as appropriate to their function in the word. Regarding the distinction between *i* and *j* (and *I* and *J*) the same principles apply. The copyist's varying representations of *ae*, I have, in view of legibility, replaced by the grammatically logical form. Interesting to keep in mind, however, is the scribe's occasional (and inconsistent) usage of the originally Carolingian *e-caudata* to designate *ae*, whereas at other points in the text the combined letters of the diphthong (*æ*) or simply the letter *e* are used. Other, frequently seen deviations from classical Latin include the omission (or unnecessary inclusion) of the *h*, the writing of *t* instead of *c* (as in *delitia/delicia*), the confusion of *oe* and *e* (as in *cepere/coepere*), and the incorrect duplication (or lack of duplication) of consonants (as in *panosus* instead of *pannosus*). Finally, both *quom* and *qum* can occasionally be found throughout the commentary as variants of the conjunction *cum*.[4]

Abbreviations have been expanded and included in the edition without further annotation. The majority of the abbreviations used by the copyist can be found in handbooks, such as the well-known dictionary of A. Capelli.[5] At the places where I am in doubt about the correct reading of the text or about the expansion of an abbreviation, this is indicated by means of an explanatory footnote and, in extremely uncertain readings, by printing the word in question in *italics.*

As is common usage, I have employed [square brackets] to indicate words or letters that, in my view, should be deleted from the text; letters or words that should be added are <inserted>. The latter can occur due to several causes: some letters may be 'cut off' from the page (as mentioned earlier), while others should simply be inserted in a misspelled word for it to make sense.[6] At times, parallel texts or scholia made it easy to fill out 'missing' letters; at other times, the insertion may be uncertain, which I have indicated with a question mark. Where necessary, any changes I made to the text are explained by means of a footnote. Similarly, obviously visible lacuna's and illegible sections in the text are indicated with ***, and suspected lacuna's with <***>. Finally, deletions in the text that were already indicated by the copyist himself are printed using dots or ~~lines~~, dependent on the method employed by the copyist at that time.

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[4] When functioning as a preposition, *cum* has retained it classical form. Yet, it also occurs occasionally as a conjunction in this spelling variant.

[5] Capelli 1912.

[6] Note that the leaving out of double consonants, as in *panosus/pannosus*, is viewed as typical for the commentator's orthography and therefore explained in a footnote rather than 'corrected' by means of brackets.

Punctuation and Paragraphs

The punctuation in the edition is adjusted to modern standards at those places where this improves legibility. Interesting aspects of the copyist's use of punctuation that occur here and there throughout the manuscript are the usage of dots to indicate the beginning and ending of a citation, and the usage of large diagonal strokes as 'comma's'. The paragraphs and layout characteristics of the commentary are retained as much as possible. The lemmata are sometimes preceded by a red paragraph sign, encountered in two different and occasionally alternating variants. The first is the common 'paragraphus' type in the shape of a gallows – indicated, by lack of a gallows-sign, with a pilcrow sign (¶) in the provisional edition. The second paragraph sign is truly a pilcrow sign, found less frequently and only employed in the commentary on *Odes* and *Epodes* – this variant is represented in the edition by a cursive pilcrow sign (*¶*).

Another aspect concerns the lemmata cited in the margins and followed by an explanation. These lemmata are usually rubricated (underlined in red ink), although the ink seems to have faded in some spots. Both the text that is written in red ink and the text that is underlined in red ink, such as most of the lemmata, are printed **bold** in the edition.[7] At the places where the lemma in question is (mistakenly?) not underlined in red ink, or only partially, this is indicated by the footnote with the explanation 'non-rubricated lemma'. Moreover, the layout of lemmata, such as the usage of capital letters, is retained in my transcription. In contrast, the underlined headings that indicate the beginnings of a new poem are my own addition.

Quotations and Parallels

Establishing all the sources of this manifold commentary would warrant a research project of its own. Since it was not my present focus, I had to be selective when it came to comparing the scholia to existing commentaries. Correspondences to Pseudo-Acro – both in the edition of Hauthal (1966; first edition 1864) and Keller (1967) – have been annotated, as well as scholia that seem to have been borrowed from the *Proposuerat commentary* (as illustrated by the unpublished edition of Fredborg). Regarding other commentaries, such as Servius, the Botschuyver scholia, the

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[7] In contrast to Suringar, I have chosen to exactly reproduce the lemmata as they are written in the manuscript, rather than rewriting them to match modern systems of lemmatization, as he seems to have done.

Cruquius Commentary, or the early printed commentary of Christoforo Landino, I have had to limit my assessment to a cursory glance.

Parallels or copies of other source texts, wherever noticed by me, are indicated with footnotes. Quotations of other authors, who are sometimes explicitly named by the copyist, are supplied, in the case of exact copies, between brackets, e.g. [Verg. *Aen.* 1.153]. If the quotations do not conform to current editions of their source text, including deviations in word order, I have referred to this as e.g. [*Verg. *Aen.* 1.153]. The quotation marks, used to accentuate which text is a direct citation, are my own addition.

The Provisional Edition

Epistles 1.1[8]

- [1r] Hanc ergo primam epistola<m>[9] Horatius scribit ad Maecenatem excusans se, quod amplius non posse <ly>rica, praetendens rationem competentem et congruam, adducens similitudinem. Haec est autem ratio: quia mutauit aetatem, debet mutare et animum in melius. Et per hoc reprehendit <i>llos qui cum mutarent aetatem non mutent in melius mentem. Similitudinem autem in sequentibus audietis. Ita ait: O Maecenas.[10]
- (v. 2) ¶ **Quaeris.** Apparet Horatium oratu Maecenatis hos libros scribere officio scribendi. Ludum autem metaphoricos uocauit ut ostenderet periculosum opus scribendi esse quia post pugnam contulit se ad agriculturam.[11]
- (v. 4) ¶ **Veianius.** Nomen unus gladiatoris et per similitudinem ostendit se non posse amplius lyrica carmina scribere, non magis quam Veianius potuit gladiaturam exercere: postquam fuit meritus et arma reddidit Herculi.
- (v. 6) ¶ **Extrema harena.** Ideo extrema, quia extremae sortis homines pugnent:[12] aut, quod iuxta podium adorantes currant. **Exorret.** Ne sub circo Amphitheatri stans petat rudem. Nam ibi consuetudinis est, stantem gladiatorem petere missionem.[13] **Est mihi.** Est mihi inquit magister philosophus qui personet aurem et faciat purgatam.[14] Non qui aurem meam purgatam personet: sed qui uerba personet et faciat aurem meam purgatam.
- (v. 9) ¶ **Peccet.** M. Tullius primo de officiis: "Luxuria uero cum omni aetati sit turpis, tum senectuti foedissima est. Sin autem libidinum intemperantia accessit: duplex malum est, quod et ipse senectutis concipit dedecus, et facit adolescentium imprudentiorem intemperantiam" [*Cicero, *De Officiis* 34.7].
- (v. 19) ¶ **Relabor.** Bene per hoc notat se a iuuentute sua fuisse Epicur<e>um. Ut Aristippus, a quo Cyrenaici et Annicerii philosophi surrexerunt, qui in voluptate omne bonum posuerunt.
- (v. 19) ¶ **Conor.** Quia quando diversos adimus magistros, singulos celebrare uolumus. Alias. Quoniam auari poecuniis seruiunt, ideo Horatius quasi philosophus dicit: conor ut mihi seruiant poecuniae, non ego illis seruiam. Nam illa nobis seruiunt quae contemnimus.[15]

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[8] The annotations on *Epistles* 1 were edited and printed by Suringar 1835, 174-180; I have gratefully made used of his transcription; any alterations I have made to his transcription are indicated by means of footnotes. From *Epistles* 1.2 onwards, all transcriptions are my own unless otherwise indicated.
[9] Some letters of this scholion are faded. This text is written in the upper margin.
[10] Cf. the opening of the *Proposuerat* commentary (see Chapter 2, 'Sources').
[11] These are two scholia, glued together by the commentator: the former (until *scribere*) is reminiscent of Cruquius, whereas the latter is borrowed from Pseudo-Acro (Keller 1967, 205),
[12] Instead of *pugnant.*
[13] Cf. Pseudo-Acro (Keller 1967, 206).
[14] Cf. Pseudo-Acro (Keller 1967, 206).
[15] From *quoniam* onwards, this annotation is borrowed from Pseudo-Acro (Keller 1967, 207).

- (v. 22) ¶ **Pupillis.** Id est pueris patre carentibus, qui nondum quartum decimum annum superarunt.
- [1v] (v. 18) ¶ **LINCEVS.** Quia dicit quodsi ego non possum videre quantum Linceus, non tamen dimittam curare et praestare omnibus officium meum. Linceus enim lupus est ceruarius, qui acie uisus parietem penetrat. Lynceus fuit vir quidam summae in uidendo acuitatis, teste Seneca in Medea “Quique trans pontum quoque summota Lynceus lumine immisso uidet” [Seneca, *Medea* 231]. (v. 32) ¶ **SI NON DATVR VLTRA.** Quod dicit uolo dicere quid sufficat mihi si non possum prodire in illud excelsum culmen sapientiae ad quod reliqui philosophi peruenerunt. (v. 34) ¶ **LENIRE DOLOREM** Uitium morbus est animi: ambitio amor est laudis.
- (v. 39) ¶ **NEMO.** Posset aliquis dicere, quare incipis cum non possis omnibus prodesse. Respondet imo ni tenuatur. Nam illud desiderium uirtutis magna pars est uirtutis: quoniam qui effugit uitium, paruo temporis interuallo virtutem sibi reddet familiarem. ¶ **REPVLSAM.** Vocat reiectionem ex equestri puluino. Ut ait Juuenalis “Cedat et de puluino surgat equestri ciuis res legi non sufficit” [Juvenal, *Satires* 3.154].
- (v. 49) ¶ **PAGVS.**[16] Pagus est fons. Inde pagani dicuntur eo quia iuxta pagos habitant.
- (v. 54) ¶ **YANVS.** Primus rex fuit in Italia, tantae prudentiae vt nihil umquam in regno pertulerit aduersi. Ob quam causam deus meruit appellari. Et in eius tutela ingressum aedium id est ianuae sunt dedicatae. Hic biceps pingebatur, inaurata ueste, quae erat inscripta his versibus: ‘O ciues ciues quaerenda poecunia primum est, Virtus post numos’[17] etc.
- [2r] (v. 58) ¶ **SI[18] QVADRINGENTIS.** Post legem Ros<c>ii Othonis latam de equestri ordine in scenam disponendo ad spectacula. Cautum enim erat ea lege vt qui non haberet censum quadringentorum sex milium sextertium, in proximis gradibus quatuordecim ab orchestra id est a pulpito hic est ornato ubi ludi agebantur. Reliqui omnes, ut ditiores ita proximiorem locum obtinebant. Hanc legem poeta tamquam rem stultam uictu pera,[19] dicens ‘O ciues ciues quaerenda pecunia’ etc.
- (v. 61) ¶ **NIL CONSCIRE.** Sensus est hic: qui neniis puerorum futurus sit rex, hic constantissimus ut nihil agat qua conscientia teneatur, et culpari possit. (v. 64) ¶ **MARIBUS CVRIISQUE CAMILLIS.** Id est uiris nobilibus non ab histrionibus ut tragedia Puppi. (v. 65) ¶ **ISNE MELIVS SVADET.** Ostendit quomodo secundum legem Ros<c>iam debemus aequirere

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[16] The main text (in VLO 6 and modern editions) reads *pagos*, not *pagus.*

[17] Instead of *nummos.*

[18] Modern editions read *sed* instead of *si.*

[19] *pera* means “bag, wallet”; Horace’s wallet having been ‘overcome’ may be an allusion to the poet’s complaint that a man of sense, morals, eloquence and honour would still not be considered part of the *equites* without a fortune of at least 400.000 sesterces (*Epist.* 1.1.58-59).

diuitias. Si possumus recte; si non iuste et iniuste. Quod etiam Juvenalis dicit: “Unde habeas, quaerit nemo: sed oportet habere” [Juvenal, *Satires* 14.207].

- (v. 71) ¶ **NON VT PORTICIBVS.** Est autem porticus locus tectas aut fornicatus, ubi ciues aut sedent aut deambulant simul colloquentes: in quibus antiqui imagines maiorum habebant, et triumphos suos pictos in parietibus accendentibus ostendebant.
- (v. 30) ¶ **OCCVLTO FOENORE.** Propter legem maiorum, quas in fures et foeneratores lata erat his uerbis: furem dupli, foeneratorem quadrupli condemnamus.[20]
- [2v] (v. 87) ¶ **LECTVS GENIALIS IN AVLA EST.** Hoc est, si uxorem habet, non habere cupit, si non exoptat habere. Et sic numquam quiescit.
- (v. 90) ¶ **PROTHEA.** Per similitudinem ostendit animum diuitis numquam contentari:[21] nam nunc unum nunc aliud cupit, non minus quam Proteus et Vertumnus deus, qui diuersas formas sibi assumebant. Sic insipientis uoluntas semper mutabilis est. ¶ **COENACVLA.** A coenando dicta. Erat autem locus in parte aedum eminens, adeo ut per scalas in eum fieret adscensus, ubi antiqui comedebant.
- (v. 101) ¶ **INSANIRE PVTES.** Per quandam similitudinem insanientis in sacris deorum ostendit insaniam populi, quod scilicet ut in sacris deorum spernit interesse, sic etiam populus negligit philosophiae praecepta, neque curat nisi quae sunt contraria.
- (v. 108) ¶ **PICTVITA.**[22] Morbus, qui intra nares ueniens totum nasum inflat: propter quem poeta notat inanem gloriam.

Epistles 1.2

- [3r] (v. 2, *declamas*) Declamare est declamationes facere, in causis agendis vel orationibus recitandis.
- (v. 2) **Praeneste** dicta est civitas quasi locus quo condita est praestet mor***[23]
- (v. 4) ¶ Crisippus philosophus fuit Tarensis filius et Elecintis discipulus. Vir ingeniosus et acutissimus Stoycae sectae. **Cantor**[24] philosophus fuit conspicuus a Senocrate praeceptore suo et a Palaemone, qui Senocratis ex scolam excoepit admodum amatus.[25]
- (v. 7) ¶ **Barbariae**. Apud Graecos ante urbem conditam omnes nationes praeter Graecas barbare dicebantur. Et post urbem conditam longo *** latini barbari dicti sunt Plautus in

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[20] A reference to the Law of Twelve Tables (see Suringar 1835, 179).

[21] Of lat. chr. *contentare*, “contenter, apaiser, consentir; être content, d’accord” (Blaise 1975).

[22] As in the main text of VLO 6, but *pituita* in modern editions.

[23] This page was cut off. Perhaps abbreviation of *moribus* (*mortem* would also perhaps be an option according to Capelli’s overview, but makes less sense in the context).

[24] Instead of *Crator* (as mentioned in the main text).

[25] Cf. Pseudo-Acro (Keller 1967, 217).

***nais in *rius fecit barbariae. Sed postea *** ut omnes nationes praeter Graecos et Latinas barbarae dictae sunt.[26]

- ¶ "Sapientia est rerum diuinarum humaniorumque cognitio. In qua continetur deorum et hominum communitas et societas inter ipsos, princeps omnium uirtutum. Quam Graeci sophiam vocant" [*Cicero, *De Officiis* 1.153.9-15].[27]
- (v. 23) ¶ **Sirenes** tres fuerunt Acheloi fluminis filiae ex Caliope musa. Una dicta est Parthenope, altera Leuchosia, tertia Ligia, harum una voce, altera voce[28] altera lyra, alia tybiis canebat et comites Proserpinae, quae ob dolorem raptae dominae in monstrum maris conversae sunt, quod ex parte faciei et pectoris est virgo, ex parte reliquorum membrorum desinit in piscem, quae nautas in precipitium trahebant, tanta dulcedine cantus afficiebant et habitabant iuxta Pelorum inter Siciliam et Italiam.
- [on *nebulones*, v. 28] Nam nebulones et tenebriones dicti sunt qui tenebras et nebulas mendaciis suis et astutiis obiciunt.
- [on *iuuentus*, v. 29] Multitudo iuuenum. Nam Juuentas dea iuuentutis. Juuenta ipsa aetas.
- [3v] (v. 32) ¶ **Latrones** dicuntur obsequi et servire mercede;[29] unde latrones dicuntur conducti milites quasi laterones, quia circa latera leguntur; quos nunc Satellites uocamus.[30]
- (v. 34) ¶ **Si nolis sanus cures ydropicus**; Methaffora ab animo ad corpus. Hoc est si non addisces a pueritia in qua potes, cupies addiscere in senectute in qua non poteris et illud eueniet Persianum. "Sed cum lapidosa ciragra Frengerit articulos, ueteris ramalia fagi. Tu uero crassos [written horizontally] transire dies lucemque palustrem" etc. [*Persius, *Satires* 5.58-60].
- (v. 37) ¶ **Torquere** inflectere significat. Terentius in Eunuco, "vnde ille sibi os contosit carnifex" [*Terence, *Eunuchus* 670].[31] Interdum gyro celeri rotare. Virgilius: "ast illam ter fluctus ibidem torquet agens telis." [*Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.116]. Interdum iacere sive mittere.
- (v. 43) ¶ **Labitur**. Labor et labo distant nam labi est leniter sensimque deorsum ire ut labuntur flumina. Labere[32] est fluere, ruere et repente cadere. Virgilius: "labat ariete crebro ianua." [Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.492].

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[26] Some words in this annotation have become illegible due to faded ink.
[27] This scholion seems a summary of selected passages in Cicero's *De Officiis* 1. .153.9-15: *Princepsque omnium virtutum illa sapientia, quam σοφίαν Graeci vocant [...] illa autem sapientia, quam principem dixi, rerum est divinarum et humanarum scientia, in qua continetur deorum et hominum communitas et societas inter ipsos.*
[28] This section appears to have been marked as 'deleted' by being underlined with a dotted line. It appears to be a dittography.
[29] The dative (*mercedi*) would be expected, since both *obsequor* and *servio* go with a dative.
[30] Cf. Suringar 1835, 170: Geelius thinks *esse sequuntur.*
[31] *[...] illud vide, os ut sibi distorsit carnufex!*
[32] Misspelling of *labare*.

- (v. 42) ¶ **Rusticus expectat**. Quasi vult dicere ille qui producit horam sequendi bonas artes est tamquam rusticus, qui volens aliquo ire: impeditus fluminis intermedio: in illius ripa expectat quousque eficcetur.[33] Qui semper usque dum orbis erit iugiter fluet. Tempus enim et fluuii par est conditio.
- (v. 54) ¶ **Sincerum est**. Id est nisi pectus bonum et purum sit quicque huic dederis non potuit esse gratum. Et allegoricos dicit vas pro hominis corpore.
- [4r] (gloss on *tyranni*, v. 58) id est Dionisius et Phallaris. Tyrannus apud maiores nihil distabat a rege. Ut “Paris mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse tyranni” [*Vergil, *Aeneid* 7.266].[34] Hodie dicitur qui regnum usurpat.[35]
- (v. 64) ¶ **Fingere**. Interdum effigiare[36] vel facere. Vergilius liber II: “Nec si miserum fortuna Sinonem finxit, vanum et mendacem improba finget” [*Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.79].[37] Interdum simulare mendactum Terentius in *Andria*: “fingunt nunc quandam inter se fallaciam” [Terence, *Andria* 15].
- (v. 70) ¶ **Cessare** est ab operibus vacare. Hoc est ocio[38] se trahere.[39] Vergilius in Bucolica: “Et siquid cessare potes requiesce subumbra” [Vergil, *Eclogues* 7.10].

Epistles 1.3

- ¶ Claudius fuit priuignus august<i> qui relictis studiis humanitatis una cum vitrico militiam accessit quem cohorti augusti prefecit. **Priuignus** dicitur qui ante igitur mater secundo nuberet est progenitus patri, enim antiqui *propre*[40] dixerunt.
- [4v] (v. 17) **Palatinius Apollo.** Hoc est templum Apollinis, quod in palatio constitutum est. Nam Romae haec fuit consuetudo. Ut quicumque scriptores, poetae aut hystorici seu quicunque alii opera sua composuissent: illa aedilibus darent quae approbata in templum Apollinis reponebantur seruanda. Et illic imago scriptoris publice erecta constituebatur corona hederae supposita. Unde Juvenalis: “ut dignus venias hederis et imagine <m>acra” [*Juvenalis, *Satires* 3.7.29]. Et Persius: “Eliconiadas palidamque pirenem / illis relinquo quaeret imagines lambunt / hederae sequaces” [*Persius, *Prologus* 4-6]. Dehinc tractum est ut a reponendo libros reponere scribere dicatur Juvenalis “nunquam ne reponam” [*Juvenalis, *Satires* 1.1]. Et Horatius: “scriptori honoratum si quando reponis Achillem” [*Horace, *Ars Poetica* 120].

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[33] Misspelling of *efficitur* or *efficietur.*
[34] *Pars mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse tyranni*.
[35] Cf. Suringar 1835, 170.
[36] ‘to form, fashion, potray’, late Latin (Lewis & Short).
[37] *Nec si miserum fortuna sinonem finxit vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget*.
[38] The copyist likely meant *otio* instead of *ocio.*
[39] According to Suringar, the magister meant *tradere* instead of *trahere*: Suringar 1835, 169.
[40] Unclear: the text reads *pro/pre*.

- (v. 25) **Prima feres hedere praemia.** Hoc est: ex primo carmine assequeris lauream coronam mistam hederae ut optas. Ut summa ederae et lauro antiqui poetae coronabantur. Persius: "Quorum imagines lambunt ederae sequaces" [Persius, *Prologus* 5-6].
- (v. 29) **Si nobis viuere cari.** Hoc est si uolumus ut vitae nostrae nos non peniteat. Ut eos qui vitam palustrem transiuere. Persius: "Et sibi iam seri uitam ingemuere relictam" [Persius, *Satires* 5.61].
- (v. 36) **Pascitur** aut carmen in uestro reditu scribitur: aut imolabo pro uobis iuuencam. Nam lyrici Juuencam imolant: Tragici hyrcum. Poetae, id est, heroico carmine gesta describentes, taurum.[41]

Epistles 1.4

- (v. 2) **Pedana** regio inter Tibur et Praeneste est. A Pedano quodam cuius adhuc monumentum extare dicitur.[42]
- (v. 3) **Cassius Parmensis.** Qui pactus scribere gesta Philippi pro quolibet uersu laudabili bisantiv proquolibet turpi colophum[43] recepit. Nouem milia uersum composuit, in quibus tum modo quinque inuenti sunt laudabiles. De reliquis singulis colaphis acceptis recitando periit.
- (v. 1) ¶ **Albi nostrorum.** Ad Albium elegorum scriptorem et eum redarguit de tribus: de adulatione, de scriptorum multorum inutilitate, et de avaritia. Albius iste quoniam inutiliter scribebat vt laudarentur sua aliorum carmina probabat.[44] Albius Cubellus[45] creticus[46] fuit elegorum scriptor. Qui uidebatur eius sermonum libros multum laudare.[47]
- [5r] (v. 14) **Spero.** Pro credo usitatum est. Quintilianus: "facilis ut uos animadiuere spero defensionis meae cursus est" [*Quintilian, *Declamationes Maiores* 9.19.5].

Epistles 1.5

- (gloss on *lectis*, v. 1) Mensis thoris[48] quibus antiqui utebantur in conuiuiis discumbentes.
- ¶ Archias Tarentinus fuit philosophus epicureus. Epicuri enim maxime uescebantur herbis. Unde Juvenalis "gaudet Epicurus in hortus."[49]

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[41] Cf. Pseudo-Acro, *<iuuenca>. Aut carmen pro uestro reditu scribetur aut immolabo pro uobis iuuencam. Nam lyrici iuuencam immolant, tragici hircum, poetae taurum*. (Keller 1967, 226).

[42] Cf. Suringar 1835, 171.

[43] The context suggests that the copyist may have meant *colaphum* ("blow, cuff").

[44] Thus far, the comment is almost identical to the *Proposuerat* commentary (Fredborg, unpublished).

[45] A misspelling of Tibullus.

[46] The scholiast probably meant criticus, which would make much more sense in this context.

[47] Cf. Pseudo-Acro: *Hac epistola Albium Tibullum elegiorum scriptorem alloquitur, qui uidebatur libros eius sermonum multum laudare. Albius iste criticus fuit, poeta et scriptor philosophiae* (Keller 1967, 226; Hauthal 1966, 389).

[48] From *torus*, 'cushion, couch'.

[49] This seems to be no direct quotation of Juvenal, who does write about *Epicurum [...] exigui laetum plantaribus horti* in *Satires* 13.123 and *quantum, Epicure, tibi paruis suffecit in hortis* in *Satires* 14.319.

- (v. 5) **Minturnae** cum id est Latino et terra[50] exili fuit oppidum Campaniae habens propinquas paludes in quibus Marius, quom[51] Syllae rabiem fugeret, latuit. De quo Juvenalis in Satyra omnibus in terris "exilium et carcerem minturnarumque paludes" [Juvenalis, *Satires* 10.276].
- ¶ Et hic reprehendit eos qui pro herede timent facere sumptus. Etiam exiguos quod etiam Persius clarius docet in ultima satyra: "Tune bona incolumis minuas" [Persius, *Satires* 6.37].

Epistles 1.6

- [6r] (gloss on *in apricum*, v. 24). In apertum. Dicimus autem apricum delectabile et sine frigore et hoc de loco. Nam apricus homo dicitur sole gaudens Virgilius in v^{to}: "Et apricis statio gratissima mergis" [Vergil, *Aeneid* 5.128].
- [6v] (v. 40) **Ne fueris hic tu.** Quasi dicat sperne seruos multos, in quibus emendis et alendis pecuniam consumas; et in hoc ironice totus loquitur.
- (v. 41) ¶ Scaena dicta est a Graeco uocabulo 'schem' quod est vmbraculum. Est autem locus circulariter ductus per multos scalarum gradus. In medio spatiosus. Ubi fabulae recitabantur et theatrales ludi fiebant.
- (v. 46) **Fur.** Inde dicitur quod veteres Romani furuum nigrum apellauere et fures per noctem quia nigra est facilius furantur.
- ¶ Unde hic nota morem Romanorum qui in tanta luxuria uiuebant. Ut nec pedes nec in equo per urbem ire uellent. Sed in lectica clausi a seruis ceruicibus se ferri iubebant. Quam rem tangit Juuenalis in primo. "Cum iam sexta ceruice feratur" [Juvenalis, *Satires* 1.64]. Et Propertius. "Aut lectica tuae sudet operta morae" [*Propertius, *Elegies* 4.8.78].
- (v. 61) Juvenalis "et Crudum pauonem in balnea" [Juvenalis, *Satires* 1.143].
- (v. 62) **Caerites** populi fuerunt qui multotiens foedus cum Romanis inierunt et postea fregerunt. Unde Romani ob eorum inconstantiam illud tabulis certis notauerunt.
- (v. 66) **Viue**. Bene viue. Quoniam qui uitiose uiuit etiam si uita fruatur mortuus etiam censetur.
- [7r] (v. 67) **Candidus** id est vir boni consilii. Vocabulum tractum ab his qui consulatum petebant. Quorum consuetudo fuit ut alba ueste prodirent.

Epistles 1.7 (Part 1)[52]

- ¶ In hac epistola Oratius excusat se Moecenati, qui vltra placidum ruri moretur propter aestatem scilicet $_{\text{feruidam}}$, quam timebat pati, si Romam ueniret. Aestiuo enim tempore grauis habitatio est Romae, nisi quibusdam nobilibus qui in remotioribus locis viridaria habent. Quidem uero alicubi patrimonia habentes illuc secedunt. Et quia Moecenas multa comoda[53] contulerat Horatio propter quae cum[54] semper sibi praesentialiter rogabat, inuehitur Horatius in illum dicens se omnia malle recipi a Moecenate quam tam grandi seruitio cogi. Hac epistola asperius ac districtius Moecenati describit libertatem se opibus non vendere.[55]

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[50] The abbreviation reads */t/*.
[51] Used here and elsewhere as alternative spelling for the conjunction *cum*.
[52] This epistle is divided into two parts; see below, note 64.
[53] Instead of *commoda.*

- (v. 6) **Littoribus[56] atris.** Littores alitando dicti hic est sacrificando.[57] Serui erant consulis qui ante eum fasces perferebant virgarum, quibus fontes percutiebant. Item dicebantur littores polintoris[58] serui, id est, eius quo corporum sepeliendorum curam habebat, qui capulum ante defuncti hostium ante designatorem euntes ferebant, et totum funeris officium explebant.
- (v. 10) **Albanis agris.** Alba ciuitas est quam Ascanius condidit, Aeneae filius. Ubi CCC° annos uiguit imperium. Under Virgilius "Hic iam ter centos totos dominabitur annos gente sub hectorea" [*Vergil *Aeneid* 1.272].[59]
- (v. 14) **Hospes** hospitii vinculum apud ueteres sanctissimum fuit. Quod quidem uiolare foelestissimum fuit. Dicebatur ante hospicium quoniam quis non alias uisus: primo recipiebatur, deinde uero in amicitiae nomen transibat.
- (gloss on *onustus*, v. 18) oneratus piris.[60] Differentia inter honustus et honeratus. Nam oneratus est qualicumque pressus pondere, honustus uero cui omnis honor est, ut si quis de hostibus spolia referret.
- (v. 21) **Haec seges ingratos tulit.** Id est pyra.[61] Scilicet hoc munus ingratos tulit, ut dominos vel amicos vel homines simpliciter.
- [7v] (v. 24) **Merentis.** Dicimus enim 'sum de te bene meritus' hoc est a te beneficium accepi et est contrario 'es de me bene meritus', hoc est beneficium tibi contribui.
- (v. 26) **Nigros**. Ostendit se tunc fuisse iuuenem quando in Moecenatis amicitiam deuenit primum. Dicit autem se malle a Moecenate recipi qui omnia bona ei intulerat, quam saepe in suo seruitio morari. Insuper ostendit quod si nollet eum dimittere requireret ab eo omne seruitium quod ei in iuuentute fecerat. Significat autem dulce latus et nigros capillos, dulce eloquium et per risum decorum, quem in eius seruitio amiserat.[62]
- (v. 37) **Rexque Pater**. Vocat eum regem et patrem a quo acceperat omnia quae usu erant uitae. Unde in primo odarum: "O et praesidium et dulce decus meum" [Horace, *Odes.* 1.1.2].

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[54] Hauthal's edition reads *eum* here.

[55] Almost word-for-word copied from Pseudo-Acro in the more elaborate edition of Hauthal 1966, 407. Keller 1967 only takes up the latter part (*hac epistola asperius....opibus non uendere*) in his edition.

[56] Here and elsewhere, the commentator misspelled *lictor*, 'attendant granted to a magistrate'.

[57] This part of the scholion is difficult to understand. The synonym *summotores* is known to have been used of *lictores,* but it is not clear whether the commentator intended to point to such a synonym here.

[58] Of *pollinctor*, 'one who washes corpses and prepares them for burning, an undertaker'.

[59] *Hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos / gente sub Hectorea.*

[60] The *piris* ('pears') here refer to the specific section in the poem – a Calabrian host offering pears.

[61] *Pira* ('pears') is meant instead of *pyra* ('funeral pile').

[62] Copied from Pseudo-Acro (Hauthal 1966, 410).

- (v. 40) ¶ **Haud male Thelemacus.** Tangit hystoriam cum enim Moenelaus rex grecorum Thelamaco Ulixis filio dare equos uoluisset fertur Moenelao respondisse "tua dona tibi sunt apta, mihi non conueniunt. Quoniam ita regio mea monstruosa est nec herbam genat equis aptam." Qui refert iste ad se dicens sibi vetulo non conuenire in multa stare "haud male Moenelao respondit."[63]

Epistle 1.7 (Part 2)[64]

- ¶ Ad prandium.[65] Quoniam antiquis post nonam usus fuit. Ante uero inuitio. Iuvenalis: "Exul ab octaua Marius bibit." Detrahens Mario. Unde sequitur. "At tu uitrix provincia ploras" [Juvenalis, *Satires* 1.49-50].
- (v. 48) **Carinas** uocat forum iudiciale. Quod factum fuit ex rostris carinarum Cartaginensium in aeternam victoriae memoriam.
- [8r] (v. 50) **Adrasum** id est nuper libertate donatum. Sic enim erat apud antiquos consuetudo. Unde Plautus in Amphitrione "Quod ille faciat Iuppiter, ut hodie raso capite summam pileum" [*Plautus, *Amphitryon* 461-462].
- (v. 51) **Cultello.** Vocabulum infimo stilo conueniens. Satyrici enim poetae ut plurimum bis utuntur. Ut palumbus, caballus, cultellus.
- (v. 61) **Ad coenam.** Bene ad coenam, quae sola antiquis in usu fuit. Nam prandium militum erat propter laborem militae et victus asperitatem. Unde dicta est coena ἁΠο Τοῦ chinon,[66] quod est comune.[67] Quoniam omnibus comunis fuit. Tam ciuibus quam militibus. Vel a coeundo id est conueniendo ex quibus duabus originibus patet in principio per diphtongon 'oe' scribi debere.[68]
- (v. 66) **Tunicato**. Apud Romanos in vrbe triplex erat vestimenti genus. Praetexta toga et tunica. Sed praetexta puerorum fuit usque ad XIIII et etiam regum vestis stricta et oblonga. Toga hominum ususque ad talos dimissa. Tunica itidem ad talos dimissa. Sed praetii minoris quam toga. Qua plebs utebatur. Sicque aetas dignitas et conditio quoiusque patebat.
- (v. 71) **Post nonam.** Nam ex lege ciuibus Romanis coenare licebat. Qua hora a media noctis sumitur a qua Romani diei natalis principium sumebant.

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[63] This section is found in some editions of Pseudo-Acro (Hauthal 1966, 412); according to Geelius (Suringar 1835, 182) the same annotation is found in the *Cruquianus* commentary as well.
[64] The second section of the poem is marked as if it is a poem on its own in VLO 6, distinguished by an initial and its own title ('De Humana Conditione Ad Moecenatem').
[65] It is not clear to which word in the poem this scholion refers; it is placed in the margin of verses 46-50 (a section that is marked as if it is a 'new' poem in VLO 6, by using an initial and title), but does not echo any of the words in the text.
[66] The commentator means ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ; see Suringar 1835, 167.
[67] Instead of *communis*, here and elsewhere.
[68] Cf. Surgingar 1835, 167, who leaves out *duabus*.

- (v. 75) ¶ **Cliens** a colendo dictus est. Consuetudo enim fuit Romanis principibus ut ex plebe homines haberent qui mane eos salutarent et hii sola uictus necessitate ad tale officium currebant. Quorum etiam patrocinio utebantur. Unde et patroni dicti sunt. Verum patroni causatum defensores dicuntur et clientes quorum causae defenduntur.
- [lower margin] (v. 77) **Manni** equi sunt ducentes currum. (v. 76) **Rura sub urbana** dicta sunt quae vrbi vicina sunt.
- [8v] [in triangle] ¶ Sextertium dicitur quasi semis tertium. Quod scilicet duarum et semis sit librarum quod esse potest argenti, auri, aliarumque rerum quae ad pondus dantur, et nummus qui numerantur, etc.
- (v. 79) **Requiem**. Hoc est habitio cliente qui rura sua diligentia adhibita procuraret et exeundi vrbem necessitatem non haberet.
- (v. 84) **Crepat** diligenter inuestigat. Vocabulum traslatum. Quoniam crepare est tinnitum dare ex quo uitrea et fictilia vasa dignoscuntur.
- (v. 86) **Furto** id est nocturno dolo. Quoniam furtum dicitur a furuo colore, id est obscuro, quia per noctem, quae obscura est, fiat.
- (v. 91) **Vultei**.[69] Bissillabum est quod ex carminis percussione dignoscitur. Hoc modo: "Durus ait Vultei nimis" quod nisi scilicet ultima consona remaneat stare non potest.
- (v. 95) **Obsecrare** est per fidem hominum; obtestari per deos. Ut hic obsecrat enim per dextram. Obtestatur per genium et deos penates.

Epistles 1.8

- ¶ Hanc epistolam scribit ad Celsum Albinouanum et eos reprehendit, qui de prosperitate insolentes fiunt et arrogantes. Hoc est facit gratia ipsius Celsi, qui quoniam factus erat scriba Neronis nimium superbiebat. Ut autem facilius reprehendere queat uitia ipsius Celsi Horatius in se callide transfert.[70]
- (v. 3) **Multa et pulchra.** Reprehendit inconstantiam eorum qui dicunt velle sequi honesta et se philosophiae totos tradere. Tamen inlata uia Vitiorum procedunt. Quoniam nec scire audent nec discere incipiunt, qui semper misere uiuunt. Cum videant uirtutem et laudent eam quam nullo modo assequi conantur.
- [9r] (v. 6) ¶ Armentum dicitur collectio animalium maior<um> vt bouum et equorum dictum qui cornu, pedibusue tanquam armis vtuntur. Et se defendunt. Vel quia armis id est dorso pugnatores ferunt. Et mediantibus illis bella attententur.

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[69] Modern editions have *Voltei*.

[70] This note corresponds, aside from word order, to the corresponding passage in the *Proposuerat* commentary (see Fredborg, unpublished).

- (v. 10) **Veternus** morbus est qui ex longa infestatione nascitur. Et corpora corrumpens mortem inducit. Qui et aqualiculus intercutaneus et idropicus appellatur. Nam veternosus idropicus est. Unde est illud Catonis: "Veternosus quam maxime bibit tam maxime sitit" [Cato, *Incertorum Librorum Fragmenta* 5.1]. Hic morbus uitio comparatur et enim sicut ille corpori mortem. Sic uitium animum mortalibus occupationibus suffocat.
- (v. 16) **Auriculis** Bene auriculis quae animalium sunt: et insipientum.
- (v. 17) **Ut tu fortuam etc.** Quasi dicit: qualiter in hac fortuna foelici amicos intueberis: sic et ipsi te uenerabuntur. Si humiliter: te amabunt. Si superbe: odio te habebunt.

Epistles 1.9

- ¶ Hanc epistulam scribit Horatius ad Claudium Neronem, arguens eos, qui cum principis sint adepti familiaritatem, sua tamen comoda[71] attendentes et propiam opem dissimulantes dignos comendatione comendare nolunt. Hoc autem gratias facit ipsius Septimii. Hic enim cum uideret familiaritatem Horatii circa Claudivm Neronem, rogabat Horatium vt penes eundem comendaret. Ne igitur Horatius sua tantummodo attendere comoda et propriam opem dissimulare videretur, scribit hanc epistulam ad Claudium Neronem comendans illi Claudio Septimium. Septimius hic est de quo superius "Septimi gades aditure mecum." [Horace, *Odes* 2.6.1]. Per hac autem epistula[m] Septimium Neroni commendat.[72]

Epistles 1.10

- ¶ Hanc epistulam scribit Horatius ad Fustum Aristium. Cui illam scripsit odam "integer uitae scelerisque purus" etc. [Horace, *Odes* 1.22.1]. Eumque ad priuatam uitam et naturalem inuitat. Quae rure exercetur, ostendens illi multas comoditates et delectationes rusticanae uitae. Et per hoc arguit illos qui frequenti vrbium habitatione et nimia aedificatione naturam minimi secuntur. Hac epistola alloquitur Aristium Comediarum scriptorem, dicens se aetate et studio illi conuenire nisi quod Aristius vrbe morari desideret ipse rure.[73]

No notes on Epistles 1.11; Epistles 1.12

- [11r] (v. 5) **¶ Si ventri bene si lateri pedibusque.** Per has tres corporis partes vitam ip<s>ius tangit. Quia per uentrem gulae cupiditatem, per latus luxuriam, per pedes furtam. Dicit autem si uitiis se abstinentu antecedere reges foelicitate.

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[71] Instead of *commoda*, here and elsewhere.

[72] Cf. Pseudo-Acro for the latter part of the scholion: *Hac autem epistula Septimium Claudio Neroni commendat* (Keller 1967, 241).

[73] We find this opening marked in Hauthal's edition of Pseudo-Acro (1966, 422): *[Hac epistula alloquitur Aristium scriptorem tragoediarum, dicens, se aetate et studio illi convenire, nisi quod Aristius in urbe morare desiderat, ipse rure.]*

- (v. 7) **Abstemius** dicitur a temeto, hoc est vino, abstinens sed hic abstemium sobrium, abstinentem et in omnibus contentum significat.
- (v. 7-8) **Herbis et vrtica** Unde Senecha ad Lucilli<um>[74] liber primo: "et cibis non tantum uilibus uti sed taetris et orridis. Quemadmodum desiderales[75] <d>elicatas[76] res luxuria[77] est." [*Seneca, *Epistulae* 5.4].
- (v. 8) **Urtica.** Catesochen[78] est figura. Vt est "Dana<um> atque imitis Achilli" [*Vergil *Aeneid* 1.30]. Et in Salustio "leonem atque alias feras" [Sallustius, *Jugurtha* 6]. Et in Sacris "Dicite discipulis et Petro" [*Marcus 16:7].[79]
- (v. 9) **Confestim.** Hic notat furtum ex quo dicit illum cito inaurari, id est ditari. Contagia lucri vitia corporea ad animi uitia transfert. Per scabiem enim ostendit auaritiam illius *ipsoris*[80] qui vt nunc maxime uigebat. Per contagia ostendit humanam corruptelam procedere. Et alterius corruptione. Vt enim ex una pecude scabiosa, totus grex: sic ex uno vitio totus populus inficitur ex circum[81] mistione[82] et haec non tamen ad uitia hominis referunt quantum ad tempora.
- (v. 20) **Empedocles an Stertini.**[83] Alter horum philosophorum censebat animam a corpore humano transgressam ad diuersa corpora animalium transuolare. Ibique donec purgaretur permanere. Et ideo ne animabus illis fieri iniuria uideretur, si trucidatis animalib<us> illis in quibus quasi purgatae euadere praedicabat a carnibus homines abit<ione>m, quae est sententia Pithagoreorum. F<aciet> [i]in principio quartidecimi recenses Ouidius.[84] At Stertinius non solum in animalia animas hominum purgari. Sed etiam in multa vegetabilia. Hinc est quod apud Egiptios non nullos allia; caepae; porri et multa alia in religione habebantur. Et si quis eorum aliqua interpretasset[85] sacrilegium facere putabitur. Quam rem tangit Iuuenalis in pen<ul>tima satura in qua superstitiosa ac diuersa Egiptiora religione carpit. Dicit enim: "porr<u>m et caepe nephas uiolare et frangere mo<r>su*.*" [*Juvenalis, *Satires* 15.9]. (v. 22) **Utere Pompeio Grospho** praeceptvm quod auarus pater et nequam dat filio. Ut similis sit **s u Q*[86] omnia Horatius *deridenio*[87] carpit. (v. 29) **Pleno cornu** Dum Achelous

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[74] The edge of this margin is cut off, and some letters should be supplied.
[75] The commentator probably means *desiderare*, based on Seneca's text.
[76] The first letter of this word is faded, but it could be a *D.*
[77] Unnecessary usage of the *e*-caudata.
[78] *catexochen* or κατ'ἐξοχήν, the usage of an example *par excellence*.
[79] Suringar 1835, 165.
[80] Unclear: perhaps used instead of *ipsius*? The abbreviation reads *iporis* with a horizontal stroke.
[81] The abbreviation reads *cc* with a horizontal stroke above.
[82] For *mixtione,* 'the act of mingling'.
[83] This passage as a whole is partially faded and therefore at times hard to decypher.
[84] This, I assume, is a reference to Pythagoras' long speech in *Metamorphoses* 15 – it is unclear why the commentator refers to Book 14 instead.
[85] Partly illegible.
[86] Difficult to read and expand. The Perhaps: *successiva* ('following, heriditary')?
[87] Difficult to read and interpret.

o*** Herculem tenderet et in diuersas formas conuersus virtuti eius cederet: tandem in thaurum conuersus est: quem Hercules corn<ua> apprehendens harenae prostrauit; et unum cornu factum multa ui in mare proiecit. Quod nimphae accipien<tes> floribus diuersis coronarunt. Et deae copiae dedicarunt. Quod fertilitatem agrorum figit dum plenum est dum uacuum itila***

Epistles 1.13

- <¶ > [11v] [outer margin edge is cut off] <H>anc epistolam ad Vinnium seruum <su>um scribit et qualiter et quando bros suos debeat offerre eum <in>struit. Videlicet si Caesar validus et <le>tus erit. Si denique poscet per hoc ar<g>uit illos qui sibi mandata male of<f>erendo illis odium pariunt.[88]
- (v. 2) ¶ **<V>OLVMINA.** Ab inuoluendis <c>artis volumina dicta sunt
- (v. 8) ¶ **CLITELLAE.** Dicuntur haec quibus sarcinae colligatae mulis portantur. Sed est locus Romae propter similitudinem. Et in uia flaminea loca quaedam deuexa. Subinde ac decluia est etiam tormenti genus eodem nomine appellatum. (v. 10) ¶ **CLIVI** Loca aspera dicuntur. A quibus et omnia difficilia 'cliuia' ab antiquis dicebantur. Unde 'cliuia auspicia' illa dicebantur quae aliquid fieri prohibabant. (v. 10) ¶ **LAMAS.** Lamae dicitur Lacunae maiores continentes aquam caelestem. Emnius: "Siluarum saltus latebras lamasque lutoses" [Ennius, *inc.118 (Hunink)].[89] (v. 15) **Tribulis.** Dicitur de eadem pluribu<s?>, qui fuit homo gaudens conuiuiis, qui ut amitteretur[90] in coenis et pra<n>diis publicis soleas et pileum tectum portabat donec ianuam conuiuii intrasset. Inde nemine preuidente[91] soleis et pileo se exornans inter conuiuiis aff<er>ebat[92] sic iubet ferre suum onus, vt ille ferebat. (v. 12) ¶ **Sic positum seruabis onus.** Monet Vinnium quo se habere debeat per castra cum ad Octauianum peruenerit in epistolis ferendis. Scilicet quod non ferat aperte vt omnes uideant. More rustici ferentis agnum per urbem uenum. Aut quem admodum vinosa Pirria, id est mulier, illa ebria floccos lanae quos furata est. Nam per vinum nescit tegere. Sic nec Vinnius amore caecus forte epistolas ferret aperte.

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[88] Cf. *Proposuerat*-commentary (unpublished edition Fredborg).

[89] Cf. Pseudo-Acro, who also quotes Ennius here (Keller 1967, 250).

[90] *admitteretur* would perhaps make more sense, since the scholiast is describing the arrival of a *tribulis* – a humble man – at a dinner party, where he needs to carry his own cap and sandals since he does not own a slave to do so.

[91] Misspelling of *providente*?

[92] This word is partly faded and difficult to read.

Epistles 1.14

- ¶ In hac epistola Horatius rusticum arguit de inconstantia. Qui in urbe ruris habitationem desiderat: ruri autem vrbem. Se autem dicit in urbe positum ruris desiderio tangi. Castigat uillicum suum quod illic ager sordeat quemcumque aliquando possiderunt senatores.[93]
- (v. 4) ¶ **SPINAS.** Sensus est: videamus utrum tu agrum an ego uitium colam.[94] Ad octauum lapidem ultra Tyberi[ni]s uia Valeria. Valerienses ergo senatores agellum suum possedisse significat. (v. 5) ¶ **AN RES** Mea Lamia[e].[95] Alius sensus discrepans a textu, sed tamen utrumque potuit legi: etiam inquit si amici causa in urbe nunc detineor vt eum consoler, tamen rus amo. Hic est Lamia, qu[a]em[96] in carminibus alloquitur.
- [12r] (v. 13) ¶ **IN CULPA EST ANIMUS** Quasi dicit: homo qui composuit animum et instituit ad recte uiuendum. Ubicumque sit laetus est, quod super in epistola ad Bullatum uberius docuit. In qua conclusum est: "est ulubris animus si te non deficit aequus" [Horace, *Epistles* 1.11.30].
- (v. 14) ¶ **TACITA PRECE** id est inhonesta. Nam omnes preces aperte esse debent. Under Persius: "Mens bona, fama, fides, haec clare ut audiat hospes" etc [Persius, *Satires* 2.8].
- (v. 19) ¶ **TESQUA** Cicero loca aspera appellat et tantummodo pluraliter declinantu<r>
- (v. 21) ¶ **POPINA** Dicitur ea quae[m] nec tabernam appellamus. Inde 'popinones', tabernatios. Vel qui in taberna uitam agunt.[97] (v. 23) ¶ **Angulus iste feret piper et thus ocius vita.** Angulus dictus est qui angustus locus. Est autem angulus extremitas loci quadrati uel triangulati. Videtur autem Oratius dicere: impossibile est ut agellus meus ferat uuam et alia non minus quam piper aut thus. Quae in italia non inueniuntur. Sed apud Arabes et Sabeos. Et uere quoniam inuitus eum colit cum teneatur vrbis cupiditate. Dicit enim unum quemque parum proficere in ea re quam non ex animo agit. Quod concludit in vltimo uersu. "Qua sit uterque libens censebo exerceat artem" [Horace, *Epistles* 1.15.44]. (v. 28) ¶ **Strictis frondibus.** Stringere est amputare. Abscindere decutere. Vergilius "Agricolae stringunt frondes" [Vergil, *Eclogues* 9.61]. Alibi "Iam stringent ordea culmo" [*Vergil, *Georgics* 1.317]. (v. 30) ¶ **Docendus** Metaffora est ab inanimato ad animatum. Nam homines docentur, non fluuii. Concentum.[98] Sententiam quare non consonem et non idem sentiamus.

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[93] Cf. Pseudo-Acro 1.14; Suringar 1835, 169. The parallel indicates that *quemcumque* is probably a mistake, and that the text should read *quem quinque,* as it does in Acro (Keller 1967, 251).
[94] Copied from Pseudo-Acro (Keller 1967, 251; Hauthal 1966, 439).
[95] Unnecessary usage of the *e*-caudata.
[96] Again, unnecessary usage of the *e*-caudata.
[97] Cf. Suringar 1835, 171.
[98] Non-rubricated lemma.

- [12v] (v. 40) ¶ **Urbana diaria.** Diarium pretium est in liberalium et sordidorum questuum. Ut mercennariorum omniumque quorum ipsa merces autoramentum est seruituris. (v. 36) ¶ **Sed non decidere[99] ludum.** Sed pudet supple<re>. Nam non ludere, sed non desinere pudorem.
- (v. 36) ¶ **LUDUM.** Inter ludum et iocum differentia. Iocus in uerbo est cui duplex est genus. Unum in liberale: petulans: flagitiosum: et obscenum. Alterum elegans: vrbanum: ingeniosum: et facetum. Ludus uero in re. In quo quidam modus est retinendus. Ut ne nimis omnia profundamus, elatique uoluptate in aliquam turpitudinem delabimur.
- (v. 42) ¶ **Calo argutus.** Calones apud ueteres dicebantur qui militibus ligna praebebant, id est portitores lignorum. Unde Persius: "Sambucam citius caloni aptaueris alto" [Persius, *Satires* 5.95].
- (v. 43) ¶ **Ephippia** bos.[100] Ephippiae [c]ludi sunt qui in honorem apollinis fieri Romae consueuerant. Dicti a phitone serpente quem Apollo interfecit. Hic ludus in equis uelocissimis exercebatur. Inde 'ephippia' ornamenta dicebant allorum equorum q ui <E>phippiis ludis inerant.

Epistles 1.15

- ¶ Hanc epistolam scribit Horatius ad Vallam, arguens eos qui ut splendidius uiuant de loco ad locum tendunt, et cum domi suae paucis, utpote pauperes contenti sint, apud alios superflua requirunt. De hoc uitio Vallam reprehensurus callide in se transfert. Et quasi eamdem dicturus Vitam diuersorum statum ab eo requiri.[101]
- (v. 1) ¶ **VELIAE** Adverbialiter est. Velia et Salernum oppida sunt Lucaniae. Salernum a Salis 'Cepia' dictum est. Consulit Vallam quid sentiat de salubritate regionis, quoniam ipse Horatius nolebat Baias ire.[102] (v. 5) ¶ **MIRTETA** Non longe ab Auerno lacu sunt callidis[103] aquis abundantia. Sed non ideo mirteta quod omnes animae mortuorum inde inferos petere credantur. Mirteta per proprie sunt aquae sulphureae calidae atque salubres. Ad quasdam infirmitates depellendas quales erant apud Baias. Ad quas frequenter et diuersis precibus confluebant. Sed postquam ob itineris longitudinem cepissent derelinqui et ad Clusinos fontes et ad Gabios vbi erant frigidae aquae cepissent concurrere intermissis Bais dicit quod ipse uicus cepit ingemiscere contemptis aquis suis.[104]

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[99] Modern editions have *incidere* here instead.
[100] *bos* is an non-rubricated lemma.
[101] Cf. the *Proposuerat*-commentary (Fredborg, unpublished work).
[102] Cf. Pseudo-Acro. *Velia et Salernum oppida Lucaniae; Salernum a salis copia est dictum. Consulit Valam, quid sentiat de salubritate regionis, quoniam ipse Horatius nolebat Baias ire.* (Keller 1967, 254),
[103] The commentator probably meant *calidus* ('warm').
[104] Cf. Pseudo-Acro. *<sane>. Valde, ut Sallustius ([hist.] II 18 M.): Belli sane sciens. Murteta proprie sunt aquae sulphureae calidae atque salubres ad quasdam infirmitates pellendas; quales erant apud Baias, ad quas frequenter ex diuersis partibus confluebant. Sed postquam ob longitudinem itineris coepissent derelinqui et ad*

- [inner margin] (gloss on *habena*, v. 12) quae laeua tenetur manu. Hoc quo modo *tonem*[105] mouendus est hanc, quam etiam debet habena uoluntatis.
- [inner margin] (gloss on *pascat*, v. 14) Hoc est scribe mihi utrum sit maior copia frumenti Veliae an Salerni.
- [inner margin] (gloss on *patique*, v. 17) Respondet tacitae questioni uel obiectione[106] quae posset ei fieri. Tu in rure tuo non bibes meliore vina.
- [13r] ¶Haec omnia merum facit. Unde uberius expressum est in epistula superiori ad Torquatum. "Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum? Contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?" [Horace, *Epistles* 1.5.19-20].
- (v. 23) ¶ **Echinos.** Echini pisces sunt marini qui maxime ad coitum faciunt, in fundo maris adhaerentes spinosi in modum castaneae exterius. Qui etiam uulgo 'Zizini' dicuntur.[107] (v. 24) Phaeax.[108] Phoeaces[109] populi sunt insulares. Inter Epirum et Calabriam. Qui ex aeris temperaturae et terrae vbertate delitiosissimi sunt effeminatique; arguat[110] enim haec ad praemissa spectant quo ad uictum aut eos reprehendit more suo, cum amico ludens, qui delitiis uitae totis se tradiderunt virtute obmissa.
- (v. 31) ¶ **Macellus.** Quidam fuit qui furtis damnatus a senatu, necatus est eiusque bona publicat<a> <s?>edes uero euersae vbi deinde Lanii carnes pisca<rii> pisces uendebant. (v. 34) ¶ **Abstulerat.** Quoniam timor eius nequitiae ei procacitatis erant qui Meuio alio<*>[111] donabant non amore. (v. 35) ¶ **Vilis** Bene uilis, id est perur*[112] pretii quoniam nil aut paululum abstulerat. Non ei paruo praetio poterat emere aut turdos aut obsonia meliora. Sed omasum quid uile est.
- (v. 34) ¶ **OMASUM.** Dicitur quod intro omentum continetur. Est autem omentvm membrana tenuis qui intestina collegit. Dictum ab omine quoniam intestis intestinis auruspices ominabantur. Ei futura predicebant. (v. 36) ¶ **Lamina[113] candente.** Est autem lamina ferrum

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fontes Clusinos et Gabinos, ubi erant aquae frigidae, coepissent contendere intermissis Bais, dicit, quod ipse uicus coepit ingemiscere contemptus in aquis suis. Murteta non longe ab Auerno lacu sunt calidis aquis habundantia; sed non ideo murteta, quod arbores myrti habeant, sed quasi mortueta, quod omnes animae mortuorum inde inferos petere credantur (Keller 1967, 255).

[105] The reading and meaning of this word is unclear; the abbreviation reads *tone* with a horizontal stroke above. Perhaps related to *tonus*, "the stretching or straining of a rope"?

[106] Grammatical mistake; the commentator meant *obiectioni*, 'to the (silent) objection'.

[107] Cf. Suringar 1835, 171.

[108] Non-rubricated lemma.

[109] Instead of *Phaeaces.*

[110] The abbreviation reads: *Aat*.

[111] Some letters may be missing here.

[112] Some letters of this word are cut of, because the page appears to have been trimmed.

[113] Modern editions read *lamna* here.

tenue et latum. Quom[114] antiqui seruorum delinquentium uentres urebant. Unde Juvenalis: "Uritur ardenti duo propter lintea ferro" [Juvenalis, *Satires* 14.22].

- (v. 37) ¶ **CORRECTUS.** Id est, modestus. Ironice loquitur. Unde subiungit 'Bestius idem.' Hoc est: ambitio se sapiens, qui se sapientem putat cum stultus est. (v. 38) ¶ **Praedae maioris.** Bene praedae. Nam praeda dicitur quicquid inuito domino rapit. Unde et super dixit. **Abstulerat.**[115] Quoniam quicquid sibi dabatur non amore ne dantibus obtrectaret. In fumum et cinerem. Per hac nota uiscera paruae esse substantiae.[116] Quae per fumum in stercora digeruntur.

<u>Epistles 1.16</u>

- [13v] [Outer margin is cropped] <I>n hac epistola Horatius Quintium <a>lloquit de situ agri sui et ex obliquo <l>oquitur de aequaminitate[117] et temperantia <s>ua quare paruo contentus esse debe<a>t. Unus quisque arguit qui quosdam <d>issimulantes uitiis magis bonos <u>ideri uelle et laudari quam fieri. M<a>ncipit describere situm agri sui <e>t hoc dicit: totus ille ager unus <m>ons est nisi dissotiarentur ipsi mon<t>es valle in medio iacente per quod <oste>ndit illum agrum inter duos <m>ontes iacere.[118] Et iuxta hanc *niam non debet legi ubi habent *si in quinto versu.
- (v. 4) ¶ **Loquaciter.** Hoc est non historice <v>el simpliciter vt res se habet. Sed prope poetice. Unde et Plinius Secundus <a>d Lupercum scribit. "Nam descriptiones <l>ocorum quae in hoc libro frequentiores <e>runt, non historice tantum: sed <p>rope poetica fas est prosequi" [Pliny the Younger, *Letters* 5.6].[119] (v. 7) ¶ **VA<P>ORET.** Bene uaporet quoniam propter calidi<t>atem diei sol occidens calidior fit. <Q>uemadmodum oriens propter humidita<t>em noctis frigidus est. (v. 11) ¶ **TARENTUM** nemus est iuxta Tiberim de quo oracu<l>um responsum dedit Romanis oportere, si pestem fugere uellent, qua plurimum laborabant. Ut Ioui infernali* diti aras ponerent Tarenti. Verum <t>um ad oppidum Tarentum legati sacri <af>ficatum missi esset, nihil minus cessauit pestis. Donec de loco admoniti sacra

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[114] *Quo* would make more sense in this context, but the manuscript clearly reads *quom.*

[115] The rubricator started to draw a paragraph sign before this lemma, but stopped and only drew a horizontal line.

[116] The abbreviation reads *sbe.*

[117] Misspelling of *aequanimitate.*

[118] See Pseudo-Acro 1.16.1 and 6: *Quintium alloquitur de situ agri sui, dicens ilium amoenitate gratissimum, ita ut inter duos montes situs conuallia teneat, oppositus soli orienti simul et occidenti, et ex obliquo loquitur de aequanimitate ac temperantia, quare paruo esse contentus debeat unusquisque, arguens quosdam dissimulatis uitiis magis bonos uideri uelle quam fieri. / 6. <si>. Vel 'ni'. Hic incipit describere situm agri sui; idest totus ille ager unus mons esset, nisi dissociarentur ipsi montes ualle in medio iacente; per quod ostendit ilium agrum inter duos montes iacere.* (Keller 1967, 257).

[119] Cf. Pseudo-Acro, *'Loquaciter', quod Graeci lalisti dicunt, non poetice, sed quasi prosa oratione et communi sermone ac simplicibus uerbis.* (Keller 1967, 257).

persoluerunt. (v. 15) ¶ **Hee[120] latebrae.** Respondet tacitae obiectioni quae posset fieri per Quintium: si nihil est tibi quod ad uitam facit humanam quod ergo permanes in his latebris ferarum neque te Romam recipis.

- (v. 19) ¶ **SED VEREOR.** Ne cui de te.[121] Hoc est non cognoscens te credis ea, quae false de te feruntur. Contra oraculum illud Phoebeivm. Noti seaphtaton, [122] hoc est cognosce te ipsum. Unde Plutarchus Traiano: "Tu uero quiduis rectissime geres. Si non recesseris a te ipso, si primum te conposueris. Si tua omnia disposueris ad virtutem recte tibi procedent uniuersa" [Plutarch, *Letter to Trajan*].
- (v. 23) **<¶> MANIBUS TREMOR ETC.** <***> [a lemma without further explanation]
- [16v] (v. 55) **Nam de mille fabae modium cum subripis[123] unum.** Hoc quoque probat exemplo quantitatem rei nihil facere ad peccatum. Verum solumodo, solumodo[124] ad damnum. Nam postquam excesseris lineam uirtutis nihil refert quantum digrediaris. Quod et Persius quoque dicit. "Digitum exere peccas et quantam paruum est. Sed nullo thure litabis?" [**Satires* 5.119-120].
- (v. 57) ¶ **TRIBUNAL.** Locus ubi singulae tribus in foro ante iudices conueniebant.
- (v. 57) ¶ **FORUM.** Omnia loca ubi feruntur res uenales. Nam forum a ferendo dictum est et duplicem habet significationem, iudici alae scilicet et uenale. Nam in iudiciali causae et controuersie feruntur, in uenali autem res necessariae ad uictum. Quod quamuis generatim di[d]catur.[125] Etiam cognomen additur. Ut dicatur bouarium vbi boues uenduntur. Olitorium ubi olerum copia. Piscarium ubi piscium. Ubi omnia genera cupedinis. Forum a cupiditate uel a fastidio. Et secundum has significationes testus[126] iste intelligitur.
- (v. 64) ¶ **OB AXEM.[127]** Consuetudo est ita in praeclaris ciuitatibus, ut nota ignominia auaris iniciatur: clauum in modum nummi. Signatum in triuiis figere. Et qui existimat nummum esse, id est terra, se dimittit. Et ab stantibus luditur. Et tristis recedit. Quod genus ludi hoc tangit Horatius et Persius cum dicit "Inque luto fixum possis transcendere nummum" [Persius, *Satires* 5.111].
- (v. 67) ¶ **PERDIDIT ARMA.** Metafora a milite. Qui metu hostis vt expeditior fugiat proicit arma, et desit locum sibi datum ab imperatore.

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[120] Instead of *hae.*

[121] Non-rubricated part of lemma.

[122] Cf. Suringar 1835, 168. Suringar deduces that γνῶθι σε αὐτόν was meant.

[123] Modern editions have *surripis* here.

[124] Instead of *solummodo.*

[125] The *d* may be marked as a 'mistake' already by the copyist, but this is unclear.

[126] The commentator probably meant *textus.*

[127] Modern editions read *ob assem.*

- [in triangle] (v. 72) ¶ **PENUS.** Hic tertiae declinationis. Alibi quartae. Ut ‘uxori legata penus’. Hic neutri est generis: illic foemenini. Est autem penus repositio rerum quas annuus usus exposcit. Cellarium uero ad paruum tempus.
- (v. 73) ¶ **VIR BONUS ET SAPIENS.** Hoc est tractum de tragedia Euripidis. In qua inducitur Liber Pater iussus ligari a Pentheo et ipse se uinculis soluens Pentheoque dicens: “Si me ligaueris te et bona tua subuertam.” Cui Pentheus “licet” inquit “omne pecus et rem ceteram perdas com pedibus tamen te tenebo.” Sed quod minas non timuit et eum incarcerauit in columi Baccho a suis dilaniatus est. Quod simile sapienti uiro est et bono, quem nec carceres neque moetus mortis nec ulla uis potest in seruitute retinere.[128]

Epistles 1.17

- ¶ In hac epistola Oratius instruit amicum suum Scaeuam de curiali uita hanc conferens cum[129] solitaria. Utramque tamen laudat inducens auctores, Aristippum curialis, Diogenem solitariae. Praecepta uitae ad Lolium Scaeuam equitem Romanum, an sectandi sint potiores, et laudat Aristippum con te *** qui affectauit cum regibus uiuere.[130] Initio autem hortatur Scaeuam quorum amicitiae maiorum obsequi debeat. Et dicit illi ut, si taedet eum morari in ciuitate propter strepitus et clamores tabernarum, transeat in Ferentinum oppidum desertum ac per hoc quietum. Laudat Aristippum ex sententia Platonis, qui cum inuenisset illum naufragum panno duplici indutum, id est diploide: ac per hoc uili uestimento indutum laudauit illum dicens omnis status et res decuit Aristippum. Sapientiam praeditum, si eam temptasset habere, qui ita sciebat paruis uti et magnis.[131]
- [15r] (v. 15) ¶ **FASTIDIRET OLUS.[132]** Ex historia sumit exemplum quod plerumque prosit amicitia maiorum proponens duos philosophos: Diogenem cinicum et Aristippum secte Epicureorum fauorem. Diogenem Alexandri magni et adulationem in maiorum declinantem te paupertate contentum. Quadam igitur die Diogene olera colligente dixit Aristippus: Diogenes si sciret regibus uti fastidiret olus sicut ego. Sunt autem qui putent antistare de Aristippo tale quid dixisse.[133]
- (v. 3) **Docendus** id est docilis per aetatem. Erat autem hic Scaeua adolescens. Unde infra dicit: “vel iunior audi.”

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[128] Cf. Pseudo-Acro, *Quod simile sapienti est, quam carceris difficultates et mori non metuentem nulla uis potest in seruitute retinere* (Hauthal 1966, 460).
[129] Suringar and Pseudo-Acro have *eum*.
[130] Suringar 1835, 166.
[131] Collection of statements from Pseudo-Acro on lines 1, 23 and 24 (ed. Hauthal 1966, 461-463). The lacuna after ‘*conte-*’ – which in Pseudo-Acro is filled by ‘Cyrenaicum’ (said of Aristippus) – may be an indication of the scenario that the notes were dictated, as Surginar argues.
[132] Instead of *holus.*
[133] Cf. Pseudo-Acro (ed. Hauthal 1966, 462). Suringar 1835, 170 argues that *antistare* is a misunderstanding of the dictated *Antithenem.*

- (v. 6) ¶ **Si grata quies.** Hoc est: si libertatem amas. Ut non miserrime uiuas. Ut illi qui ad alienum comedunt appetitum. Et ad alienium dormiunt somnum. Et si strepitus urbanus quietem tuam turbat: cede ex urbe et principum noli subiacere delitiis. Quibus qui subiacent si forte dormuerint: uolentibus illis exitantur. Neque dormiendi potestas illis est libera.
- (v. 7) ¶ **Strepitusque rotarum.** Id est clamor curruum qui per urbem uehuntur. Et clamor eorum qui ducunt currus. Qui obsistenti pipulo[134] conuitiabantur. Unde Juuenalis "Et stantis conuitia mandrae" [*Juvenalis, *Satires* 3.237]. (v. 8) ¶ **Ferentinum.** Ciuitas est Campaniae quid distat ab urbe ad quadragessimum lapidem. (v. 10) ¶ **Nec uixit male qui natus moriens que fefellit.** Hoc est: ille qui non praeteriit annos infantiae qui solo lacte nutritur non male uixit. (v. 13) ¶ **Si pranderet holus etc.** Diogenes et Aristippus philosophi sui temporis praestantissimi fuerunt. Sed uitae diuersae et opinionis. Nam Diogene sic uirtutem amplexabatur: Ut diuitias omnes et diuitiarum possessores penitus sperneret: uictum mendicari contentus. At Aristippus sic diuitias et diuitum familiaritatem diligebat. Ut nunquam locum et arma virtutis diferret. (v. 18) ¶ **Mordacem cinicum.** Epiteton conueniens. Nam Cinici philosophi errant dicti a chiri, chiros, quod est canis. Quoniam per urbem dictis suis uniuersos homines mordebant omnium uitam praetor suam reprehendentes. Hii iubebant quicquam natura posceret aperto fieri. Neque excedere naturalis necessitatis lineam. Quorum Cinicorum secta quoniam a ciuilibus moribus aborrebat: poenitus abiecta est.[135]
- (v. 25) ¶ **DUPLICI PANNO.** Hic est ueste refa[r]cta duplici coloris panno, quod signum est paupertatis.
- (v. 29) **Personamque.** Persona dicitur ea uniuscuiusque absentis similitudo. Quae ab aliquo geritur vt in ludis scaenicis, Pamphili, Glicerii et Chremetis. Quam diuerso tempore mimus unus referebat.
- (v. 30) ¶ **MILETI.** Miletus locus ubi apud antiquos purpura abunde rexebatur.
- [15v] (v. 31) **<¶> Morietur frigore.** Hic alludit ad historiam. Fertur namque quadam die quom in aquam lauandi gratia Diogenes nudus descendisset: Alexander rex qui illum obseruabat: abiecta panosa[136] clamide[137] illius: iussit afferri purpuream. Quam Diogenes nunquam etsi ab Alexandro rogaretur: tangere uoluit. Et, ne in unda stans longius moriretur, iussit suam referri. Ut sic pauperrime uiueret.

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[134] Misspelling of *populo*?

[135] Suringar 1835, 168: *Magister dicaverit a* κύων, κυνός ("the teacher will have said that it derived from κύων, κυνός, which is the Greek word for 'dog'").

[136] Probably instead of *pannosus,* "full of rags"; this is a far more likely meaning than *panosus*, "(coloured) like bread'.

[137] Usually spelled *chlamys*, 'Grecian upper garment of wool'.

- (v. 34) ¶ **Res gerere etc.** Hoc est: proximus est deo, qui res bellicas gerens de hostibus triumphauit. (v. 34) ¶ **Caelestia temptat** alludit ad Julium Caesarem: nam quo die Octauianus in honorem patris adoptiui funebres ludos celebraret, stella apparuit quae ab hominibus stella Caesaris deificati iudicata est. (v. 36) ¶ **Corynthus et Coritus** distant: nam Corynthus ciuitas Graeciae est ubi pulcherrima fiunt uasa, qui apud antiquos in summo habebatur[e] honore. Haec maiore[138] circumdata primo ab Alexandro, mox a Romanis oblegatos turpiter acceptos deleta est. Coritus absque ulla aspiratione et id est Latino opidum[139] est Ethruriae, super paruo colle eiusdem nominis positum et tyrrheno mari ad tria milia passuum[140] propinquum conditum a rege Corito.

No notes on 1.18. 1.19:

- [18v] (v. 25) Archilochus.[141] Poeta fuit Lacedemonius. Huic Lycamber tyramnus[142] desponsare Neobolem natam promiserat si laudes suas describeret. Quod quom fecisset Archilochus Lycamber alteri nuptio dedit. Quare indignatus poeta illum et filiam atque sororem usque adeo Yambicis est inuectus donec ad spontaneneum laqueum compulit. Dicente etiam Horatio in Poetria: "Archilochum proprio rabies armauit iambo: hunc sacri cepere pedes grandesque coturni" [*Horace, *Ars Poetica* 79-80].

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[138] The abbreviation reads *mai* with a curved line above the vowels.
[139] Instead of *oppidum.*
[140] 'p' is a correction (in same ink and handwriting, it seems).
[141] Non-rubricated lemma.
[142] Instead of *tyrannus.*

Odes 1.1

- [28v] (v. 3) **<¶> Puluerem olimpicum.**[143] Olimpicum certamen Hercules in honorem ataui materni Pelopis quo singuli anni quinterni numerarentur edidit.
- [inner margin] (v. 12) **Attalus**[144] Pergamenorum rex socius et amicus populi Romani usque ad eo extitit ut moriens eundem heredem instituit.
- [29r] (v. 34) ¶ **Lesboum refugit.** Id est, Alcei Lesboii poetae lyrici carminis inuentoris.

Odes 1.2

- [29v] (v. 18) **Ultorem** quia Amulius regno pepulit Numitorem patrem Iliae:[145] et filium necauit. Et Iliam sacerdotio ueste apposuit.
- (v. 20) ¶ Uxorii dicuntur uxoribus dediti, ut Virgilius “Pulchramque uxorius urbem” [Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.266].
- (v. 33) **Ericina**[146] **ridens.** Erix Veneris et Butae filius pugil praestantissimus ab Hercule in singulari certamine interfectus et sepultus in monte Siciliae cui Erici nomen inditum est a sepulto Erice. Ibidem ut crimen expiaret Hercules Veneri templum aedificauit quod Veneris Ericinae appellauit. Unde nomen mansit Venerisque ipsa Ericina dicta est.

Odes 1.3

- [30r] (v. 2) In ortu Pollucis et Castoris optima est nauigatio.
- (v. 12) Tiphis primus instructor nauium, Jason primus nauigator, Argon prima nauis.

Odes 1.8

- [32v] (v. 10) Discus plumbi massa est, quae in stadio dei[i]ciebatur et Graece To Πεγμα[147] dicitur.
- [inner margin] (v. 16) Licii[148] auxilio Venere Troianis duce Sarpedone, Jovis et Laudimiae filio.

Odes 1.13

- [35r] (v. 16) Nam prima pars Veneris, id est amoris, est uidere; Secunda cogitare; Tertia desiderare; Quarta tangere; Quinta potiri.

Odes 1.14

- [35r] ¶ Marcus Antonius, quom praeter modum affectaret suum nomen extendi titulis post pacem ab eo cum Parthis initam: neque causa neque consilio Araxem ad bellum Parthis mouendum cum XVI legionibus superauit. Sed gens illa armis praepotens astutiam uitibus addidit simulata fuga Romanos insequentes inprouisa manu circumuenit. Quorum sagittis duae [l][149] legiones oppressae sunt. Quod nisi omnipotentis dei miseratione interuenisset nox. Parum quoque adsequentis diei cladem id fuisset ni se in montana recepissent: Romani cuiusdam monitu qui regi Parthorum seruiebat in equo. Is noctu superueniens nuntiauit regem cum ingenti copia mane affuturum. Id quom fecisset Antonius: uox tandem: accepta clade: V legiones per Armeniae ardores et niues Capadociae fatigatas in Siriam. Unde mouerat exercitum reduxit. Amisso argento passimque caeso dolabris.[150] Petiit quoque saepius inter moras a gladiatore suo mortem egregius imperator. Quom autem ille exosus arma in [in] otio uitam agere instituisset incredibili mentis uecordia uictus. Acrior aliquanto factus amore Cleopatrae Egiptiorum reginae non quasi[151] uictus sed uictor, ratus quoque Romana arma Parthicis inferiora: petente Cleopatra et per res iuuante vrbi bellum mouit. Quod ubi compertum Romae hanc odam fecit Oratius illum nauem quasi uirum instabilem nominans. Sic: 'o nauis…'[152]

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[143] Traces of rubrication and paragraph sign.
[144] Misspelling of the name Attalicus.
[145] Poetical name of Rhea Silva.
[146] Usually spelled Eryx.
[147] It is unclear which Greek word is meant here. A πῆγμα is a fixture made of boards, referring usually to either a bookcase or a piece of wooden machinery in the theatre. The Greek term for the quoit used in sports is simply called δίσκος, and the throwing of a quoit δίσκημα.
[148] Usually spelled Lycius.

Odes 1.15

- [36r] (gloss on *melior patre*, v. 28) quia non comedit caput hominis sicut fecit Tideus qui caput Menalippi ex quo letali ictus uulnere peribat lupi more uorauit.[153]

Odes 1.17

- [36v] [inner margin] (v. 9) Norici sunt populi crudelissimi Scithiae in Alpibus ultra Illiricos, vbi fiebant optimi gladii.

Odes 1.18

- [37v] (v. 6) ¶ **Quis non te potius Bache pater.** Tibur ut Cato facit testimonium. ~~C~~a[154] Catillo Archade praefectus[155] classis Euandri. Catillus enim Amphiarai filius post prodigialem patris apud Thebas interitum *** iussu cum omni fetu uer sacrum misit tres liberos in Italiam procreauit Tiburtum, Coracem et Catillvm. Qui depulsis ex oppido Sicania ueteribus Sicanis a nomine fratris Tiburti natu maximi vrbem uocauerunt.[156]

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[149] This shaft of an unknown letter (it may have been an *l* or a long *s*) was deleted by the copyist.

[150] Of *dolabra*, 'pick-axe'. The *argentum* here may refer to Antonius' cut-up silver plate (as it is interpreted in the Loeb-translation of Annius Florius, *Epitome of Roman History* 2.20.10).

[151] Strictly speaking, the abbreviation (*qs* with a curved stroke above) should read *quas*, according to Capelli's dictionary; but *quasi* fits better in this context.

[152] This gloss shares some similarities (on both general and word-level) with Annius Florus, *Epitome of Roman History.* 2.20-21, but it is no direct copy.

[153] Although the first three letters of this final word are difficult to read, the verb *vorare* ("devour, swallow") would fit this context well.

[154] The *C* appears to be deleted by the copyist.

[155] Cf. Suringar, who provides *praefecto.*

[156] Cf. Suringar 1835, 166.

- (v. 14) ¶ **Quae subsequitur caecus amor.** Precatur Baccum ut reprimat incitamenta furoris et ebrietatis. Sicut in Bericinthio monte per misteria matris deorum ebrietas reprimitur.

Odes 1.21

- [38r] (gloss on *Algido*, v. 6) Mons est Lucaniae ubi L. Q. Cincinatus consulem Mutium ł obsidione liberau<it>.
- (gloss on *Erymanthi*, v. 7) Ubi fuit aper ferocissimus iussu Dianae inmissus.
- (gloss on *Gragi*, v. 8) Fluuius est Apuliae non longe a Venusio.

Odes 1.22

- [38v] (v. 8) *¶* Lucanus in tertio: “quaque ferens rapidum diuiso gurgite fontem, vastus Indus aquas mixtum non sentit Hydaspem” [*Lucan, *Bellum Civile* 3.235-236].
- [39r] (v. 21) scilicet zonae torridae quia est nim<i>o feruore inhabitabilis.

Odes 1.23

- (v. 4) ¶ “Nunc mare nunc siluae” [Horace, *Epodes* 13.2].
- (v. 6) ¶ “Hanc uirides etiam occultant spineta lacertis” [*Vergil, *Eclogue* 2.9].[157]

Odes 1.24

- [39v] (v. 11) ¶ Boni et pii idem sunt. Pro quibus doctores uires et oratores intelligimus. Ex diffinitione oratoris apud Ciceronem et Virgilii “Tum pietate grauem” [Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.151].

Odes 1.25

- (v. 7) ¶ Erant qui tres dictiones faciunt dicentes ‘me – tu – o’, nam lex trochei prohibet quoius seruandum breuis est.
- [inner margin] (v. 6) Nunc minime audis et pateris dormiens totas noctas me perire quom parcius cuncta quatiunt fenestra etc.
- (v. 10) ¶ **Agniportu**[158] per quod scilicet nulli amplius iter faciant. Est autem agniportus uia stricta quasi angustus portus. Qui differt a fundali,[159] eo quod hoc peruium non est. Scilicet non habet exitum ille angustus est sed peruius.
- [inner margin] (v. 12) **Interlunium.** Lunae spatium inter crementum et decrementum quo magis spirant venti.

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[157] *Nunc virides etiam occultant spineta lacertos.*

[158] Here and elsewhere in this scholion, the commentator meant *angiportus*.

[159] The commentator probably meant *fundula* (‘cul-de-sac’). This reading is strengthened by the resemblance to Varro’s entry in *De Lingua Latina* 5.32: *In oppido vici a via, quod ex utraque parte viae sunt aedificia. Fundulae a fundo, quod exitum non habent ac pervium non est. Angiportum, sive quod id, angustum, sive ab agendo et portu.*

- (v. 13-16) ¶ Honeste tangit hic rem turpem id est menstrua muliebria, quae sub interlunia profluunt. Et item uenti consurgunt et acris fit mutatio. Sed quod manifeste apparet. Dixit aliud intellectui reliquit propter quod subiungit "Quom tibi flagrans" [Horace, *Odes* 1.25.13].
- [40r] (v. 15-20) ¶ "Continuoque auidis ubi subdita flamma medullis vere magis qui[160] uere calor redit ossibus illae ore omnes uersae in Zephiri stant rupibus altis etc" [*Vergil, *Georgics* 3.271-273].
- (v. 15-20) ¶ "Saxa par et scopulos et depressas conualles / diffugiunt non, Eure, tuos neque solis ad ortus In Boream caurumque" etc. [*Vergil, *Georgics* 3.276-278]
- (v. 15-20) ¶ "Hic uero hyppomenes uero quod nomine dicunt pastores, lentum distillat ab inguine uirum" [*Vergil, *Georgics* 3.280-81].[161]
- (gloss on *verenti*, v. 17) Arb<o>res uirentibus foliis sed tortuosis spiritibus atque paruis, in quibus nihil laudatur nisi sola uiriditas, pro quibus intelligit puellas similes.

Odes 1.26

- (gloss on *orae*, v. 6) Quia ibi barbarae gentes h<ab>itabant rationis infestae.
- (v. 5) ¶ Tiridates quid terreat unice securum. "Ipsae te, titire, pinus. Ipsi te fontes. Ipsa haec arbusta minantur." [Vergil, *Eclogues* 1.38-39]
- (v. 5) ¶ Quid potest terrere unice securum hominem Tyrridates.[162] Fuit hic Scitharum rex infestus populo Romano.
- (gloss on *plectro*, v. 11) Ad quam lira Orphei cum capite eius caeso a Ciconum matribus per Ebrum. Inde per fluctus maris euecta est.

Odes 1.27

- [40v] (v. 8) ¶ **Et cubito remanete presso** quia cum commedebant soliti erant tenere manum sub mala et ideo 'remanete cum cubito presso,' id est, commedite.

Odes 1.28[163]

- (v. 10) ¶ **Panthoidem.** Euforbius Panthoi filius fuit, qui ad bellum Troianum accessit, post eius mortem Pittagoras animam eius habuit. Unde per eum Pittagoram intelligit hic Euphorbius a Moenelao interfectus est et rediuiuus in Homero regnauit et de Homero in Pauonem,[164] postremo in Pittagoram qui animam illius habuit. Unde Pittagoras praedicauit se fuisse apud Troiam agnito scato[165] in templo Palladis.

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[160] *Quia* in modern editions.
[161] *Hic demum, hippomanes vero quod nomine dicunt pastores, lentum destillat ab inguine virus.*
[162] Variant spelling of the name Tiridates.
[163] An extra title can be found in the margin: **RESPONSIO ARCHITAE ¶**, pertaining to 1.28.7.
[164] May be a name of an earlier reincarnation of Euphorbus (?). The name (or any like it) is not mentioned by Diogenes Laertius in his representation of the account of Heraclides of Pontus, who lists the previous incarnations of Pythagoras (*Lives of Eminent Philosophers,* 7.5-6).

Odes 1.30

- [41v] (v. 6) ¶ Gratiae dictae sunt filiae Liberi patris et Veneris a quibus ipsa dicta est Acidalia ab fonte ciuitatis Nocomeni vbi opinio erat eas lauari. Quas aliqui nudas aliqui solutis pingunt *comis*.[166] Nomina earum: Egiale, Pasithea, Eupline.[167] Se inuicem tenent duae quidem conuersae, tertia aduersa.

Odes 1.31

- [42r] (v. 7) ¶ **Liris** fluuius non longe a Maresis Venusinisque cuius ripa nimphae marinae Minturnensis templum est, vt Vibius narrat.[168]
- (v. 9) ¶ Calenum vinum ab oppido dictum 'calles, callium', locus est Campaniae ubi cuculli et falces optime fiebant.

Odes 1.32

- (v. 5) ¶ **Lesbio primum** cum Alceus Lesbius primus omnium Lyricum carmen adinuenit.
- (v. 5) Quia pro libertate patriae assumpsit arma contra tyrannos.

Odes 1.34

- [43r] (v. 10) ¶ **Trenarus**[169] promontorium est pro quid descenditur ad inferos, quod Virgilius "hostia nigra Ditis" appellat [*Vergil, *Georgics* 4.467-68].[170]

Odes 1.35

- (v. 1) ¶ **Antium** opidum est Greciae Maioris in tutela habuit fortuna et Nursiam urbem italam. Unde a poetis Antia et Nursia fortuna nuncupatur.
- (gloss on *Scythae*, v. 9) Quia non domos aut opida construunt: sed singulis annis solum mutant currusque cum omni familia incolunt.
- [43v] [inner margin] (v. 39) **Retusum diffingas.** Diffingere rem fictam reformare. Unde dicit: ferrum retusum in nostros diffingas, reformes iterum in Massagetas et Arabas.

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[165] This should probaby read *scuto* ('shield') instead: Pythagoras would have discovered his connection to Euforbius through the recognition of the latter's shield, as is narrated in e.g. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.163.

[166] The abbreviation reads *3onis* or *3omis*; the correct expansion is unclear to me, but *comis* would make sense in this context (especially accompaning *solutis*).

[167] The Charites are usually named as Aglaea (the commentator may have meant her when he wrote 'Egiale'), Euphosyne, and Thalia (also named Cleta). Pasithea is sometimes mentioned as one of the Charites as well. See e.g. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 9.35.1-7.

[168] Vibius Sequester, author of lists of geographical names (4th - 5th century CE).

[169] *Taenarus* in modern editions.

[170] This refers to Vergil's discription of Orpheus' journey through the "high portals of Dis and the grove that is dark with black terror" (*alta ostia Ditis / et caligantem nigra formidine lucum*) in *Georgics* 4.467-68.

Odes 1.36

- [44r] (v. 10) **Cressa.** Cretenses laetos dies candidis, contrarios nigris lapillis signabant.

Odes 1.37

- [44v] (v. 6) ¶ **Dum capitolio** Regina dementes ruinas.[171] Post primum ciuile bellum imperium Romanum ita diuisum est ut Antonius Orientem: Augustus Italiam: Lepidus Gallias teneret.[172] Sed Antonius Augusti furore repudiata Cleopatram duxit, qua indignatione Augustus bellum aduersiis eum mouit et victus est apud Actium promontorium et cum una nauigula Alexandriam fugit. Ibi denique rursus uictus et interemptus est. Cleopatraque capta quae ne in triumphum duceretur hyspides[173] sibi ad mammas admouit.
- (v. 21-28) ¶ Cleopatra uidens suos succubuisse prima in altum se recipiens aufugit. Quam statim subsequutus est Antonius. Caesar confestim illos sequutus est. Qui quom in manu Caesaris quodamodo[174] teneri se uiderent Antonius gladio se corfodit.[175] Illa, mortem minime timens, de parte regni ad pedem Cesaris prouoluta laborabat. Quod ubi non impetrauit sed se in triumphum seruari intelligeret, nacta segniorem custodiam in mansotium[176] profugit ubi iuxta Antonii sui cadauer recumbens finiuit uitam admotis serpentum morsibus ad uenas quo facilius combiberent uenenum.

Odes 2.1

- [45r] (v. 1) ¶ Q. Metello et L. Affranio consulibus inceptum est. Quom apud otiosos ut assolet ciues Pompeiana theatra uictorias Ponticas et Armenicas decanterent et inuidiam Pompeio excitassent Metellus ob imminutum sibi Creticum triumphum. Cato ad uersus potentes semper infestus detractare Pompeio cepere eius item actis semper obsistere. Hinc dolor egit in transuersum [i] et ad praesidia dignitati paranda impulit. Quo factum est ut inter Pompeium Crassum et Caesarem fieret amicitia. Ut Caesar honores compararet, Crassus augeret, Po<m>peius uero retineret.

Odes 2.2

- [46r] (v. 5) **Proculeius** eques Romanus omnia cum fratribus in ciuili bello spoliatis portionibus diuisit ac si pater esset.

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[171] Non-rubricated lemma.

[172] This sentence is almost identical to the opening note in Pseudo-Acro on this poem; afterwards, however, the commentary in VLO 6 deviates, not so much regarding the scholion's content, but regarding its language and structure (Keller 1967, 130; Hauthal 1966, 141).

[173] Probably of *hispidus*, "hairy, rough". May refer to the *atheris hispida*, a venomous viper species found in Africa.

[174] Instead of *quodam modo*.

[175] This seems a misspelling of *confodit* ('pierce').

[176] *mansorium* ('estate, manor') is probably meant here.

- (gloss on *Fama,* v. 8) Fabula est semper famam uolitare timens a populo decerpi si insideret Homerus.
- (v. 17) **Pharaten.**[177] Pharates ex genere cuiusdem Cyri oriundus ut Parthorum paterno regno potiretur heredem pridem et XXXta proprios fratres filiumque puberem trucidauit. Sed cum in regno multa crudeliter consuleret appopulo[178] pulsus est, deinde ope Scytharum regno restitutus. Cui Octauius bellum inferre constituit quoniam Bruto Parthi fauerant. Sed Pharates captiuos quos ex Cassiano et Anotonii exercitu Parthi mancipauerant collegit et cum signis etiam militaribus in bello captus gratis ad Augustum remisit. Unde hoc beneficio bellum Parthis inferre destitit Augustus regnumque Pharati stabiliuit. Trogus liber XLII.[179]

Odes 2.3

- [46v] (v. 21) ¶ Et Turno si prima domus repetatur origo: “Inacus Acrisiusque patres mediaeque Micenae” [*Vergil, *Aeneid* 7.372].

Odes 2.4

- [47r] (on *Achillem*, v. 4) Achilles ad bellum Troianum proficiscens Lamnium vrbem uertit in praedam Briseidamque rapuit.
- (on *Tegmesae*, v. 6) de qua Julius Caesar Vopiscus et Strabo qui et ‘Sesquerculus’ dictus est tragediam fecit et primus scripsit ac pronun[p]tiauit ‘Tecmesam’, quom antiqui iuxta CM non ponentes Tecmesam dixissent.
- [47v] (v. 23) Quia tibi minuuntur et illi crescunt propter in perfectam aetatem.

Odes 2.6

- [48r] (v. 12) P<h>alanthus Lacedaemonius expulsis Lacedaemoniis a seruis[180] praefuit et Tarentum condidit, qui Octauius fuit ab Hercule.

Odes 2.7

- Quia capite minutus fuerat cum interfectores Caesaris poscenti Octauio primo Romae[181] hostes declarati sunt. Sed uicto Bruto veniam data est omnibus qui euaserunt iusque postliminii habuerunt.
- [48v] [inner margin] (v. 13) **Mercurius**. Ornat eius fugam ostendens se a Mercurio subtractum.

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[177] In modern editions rather *Phraaten* (see e.g. Loeb-edition).

[178] This may be a combination of the two words *a populo*.

[179] Although I could find no direct citations, the content of this annotation (e.g. the murder of thirty brothers) can be found in the epitome by Junianus of Pompeius Trogus’ *Histories* 42.4-5. Via: http://www.forumRomanum.org/literature/justin/english/index.html (last seen 01-02-2019).

[180] The abbreviation reads *s* with a stroke through its shaft, followed by *uis.*

[181] The abbreviation reads *.ro.*

- [inner margin] (v. 22) **Ciboria** alexandrina poma ad quorum similitudinem uasa eorum nomine appellatur.
- [inner margin; in triangle] (v. 26) **Bibendi.** Archiposiam intelligit in qua Venus inuocabatur. Cuius iactus Lautissimus dicebatur. Nam tesseras iaciendo qui primus trigenarium numerum conficiebat primus potabat.

Odes 2.9

- [49r] (v. 7) **Garganus** mons est Brutiorum in sinu adtriatico haud longe a siponti ciuitate. Hodie sacer est apparitione beati Michaelis Archangeli. Et ei templi dedicatione.[182]
- [49v] (v. 10) **Vesper.** Stella quae occidente sole oritur et oriente occidit.
- Fluuius est et mons ut et Cimnin cum monte Lacum. Et intelligit populum iuxta habitantem.
- [inner margin] (v. 20) **Niphates** fluuius Armeniae ex monte Niphatis. Hunc fluuium Augustus et Eufraten imperio Romano subiecit.
- [in triangle] (v. 21) **Medumque flumen gentibus ad<ditum> v<ictis>.**[183] Dicit uictoriam horum fluuium additam gentibus uictis quorum superbi impetus fracti sint propter uictoriam quasi det[184] sensum gent[t]ibus.

Odes 2.11

- [50v] [inner margin] (v. 24) **In comptum nodum.** Mulieres ad aliquid festinantes ne tempus tererent capillum: in nodum tamen ligabant more Lacaenarum quae ab omni ornatu aberant.

Odes 2.12

- (v. 6) Hileus[185] princeps centaurorum in pugna cum Laphitis in nuptiis Perithoi.
- (v. 21) ¶ Propertius. "Non tot Achameniis armatur ethrusca sagittis. Spicula quot nostra fixit in ora deus [*Prop. 2.8.1]."[186] Oratius in tertio carmen "Achameniumque costum." [*Horace, *Odes* 3.1.44]
- [inner margin] (v. 22) **Migdonius** rex Frigiae fuit quae ab eius nomine Migdonia dicitur.

Odes 2.13

- [51r] (v. 6) **Fregisse cerui<cem>**. Hac est Pentimemeris quae pro terminali sillaba dictionis recte capitur. Eo quod uocalis attrahens per sinalimpham[187] formae dictionis. Quae est "cem". Principium est dactili sequentis sic [c]"et penetralia."

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[182] Cf. Suringar 1835, 171. See for this legend e.g. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea* 2.05.

[183] The abbreviation reads: *ad .V.* My expansion of the abbreviation is based on Horace's source text.

[184] Or perhaps *dicet*; the abbreviation reads: *d&.*

[185] Usually spelled *Hylaeus*.

[186] In modern editions: *non tot Achaemeniis armantur etrusca sagittis / spicula quot nostro pectore fixit Amor.* (see e.g. G.P. Goold 1990, Loeb Edition).

[187] Of συναλιφή, 'stopping of a hiatus, coalescing'.

- (v. 13) **Quod quisque nitet.**[188] De diversis hominum casibus disputat dicens neminem mori casum quo timet quia dum uitat gladium febris incubuit.
- (v. 14) Quoniam Io facta uacca id angustum mare praeteriit; nunc autem Elespontum nominant.
- [51v] [inner margin] (v. 24) Et nullus sonus est sine aeris percussione vnde sit uentis quorum rex est Eolus.
- [inner margin] (v. 25) Quae sibi Phaonem rapuerant eiusdem uiciniae.
- [inner margin] (v. 27) Nec plus Alceus consors patriaeque lyraeque, laudis habet quamuis grandius ille sonet.
- [inner margin] (v. 29) Sacro silentio infernali, id est, silentium iuxta Elisios campos.
- (v. 27) **Alcaee plectro.** Alceus poeta scripsit quomodo ab Itico tyranno ciuitate pulsus quia suaderet Mitilenensibus libertatem quem deinde Alceus superauit et non modo a Mithilenis sed ex omni Lesbo eum eiecit.
- [inner margin] (v. 30) **Umbrae.** Hoc dicit quia umbrae idem agunt apud inferos quod egerunt in uita. Under Virgilius in VI: "Cura <***> eadem sequitur tellure repostos" [*Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.654-655].
- (v. 34) Centipes.[189] Aut Briareum dicit centies geminum aut Cerberum appellat centipetem. Unde modum exprimit canis qui iratus aures erigit, placatus demittit.

<u>Odes 2.14</u>

- (v. 8) Geriones.[190] Tres Hispaniae reges simillimi quos Hercules interemit. Quorum etiam umbrae similes apud inferos sunt.
- [inner margin, triangle] (v. 8) **Tition.**[191] Titio terrae filius Latonam amauit. Unde Apollinis telis interemptus apud inferos hac poena religatus est ut vultus semper eius cor edit.
- [52r] (v. 16) **Corporis metuemus austrum.** Dicit non esse timendam mortem aliquam siquidem fata ipsa destinarunt[192] nobis certum exitum.
- (v. 18) ¶ Danaus quinquaginta fil<i>as habuit, eiusque frater totidem mares. Quas quom filiis suis in matrimonium collocare uellet Danaus oraculi responso praete[r]ritus assentire noluit. Nam Apollo responderat ipsum Danaum manibus unius ex filiis Egisthi quam generum haberet occidendum esse. Sed qum ad haec matrimonia coactus conficienda filias in hunc modum subornauit, ut quom ad uirorum thalamos accederent asconsos[193] secum gladios

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[188] In modern editions *quid quisque vitet.*
[189] Instead of *centiceps*. Non-rubricated lemma.
[190] Non-rubricated lemma. More often spelled *Geryones*.
[191] More often spelled *Tityon.*
[192] Instead of *destinaverunt* or *destinarent* ('establish, determine').
[193] Instead of *absconsos*, of *abscondere,* "to hide".

deportarent; et uiros suos ea prima nocte interficerent; quos utique omnes excepta minor natu Hipermestra[194] interfecerunt, quae Lino[195] viro suo miserans pepercit, pro quo facinore dixere poetae illas apud inferos hoc supplicio detorqueu vt nasis fundo carentibus haurire aquam coguntur. Dicente Seneca in Hercule furente: “Urnasque frustra Danaides plenas ferunt” [*Seneca, *Hercules Furens* 757].[196]

- (v. 20) **Sisyphus** Aeoli filius quom secretarium deorum esset consilia eorum publicauit. Unde hac poena assidue multatur ut saxum uoluat.

Odes 2.15

- [52v] (v. 14) Hoc decempedum, decempedi declinatur. Est enim mensura quae X pedibus distinguitur.

Odes 2.16

- [53r] Contenti paruo esse debemus: quia nemo perfecte felix est. Nam si Achilles fortissimus fuit cito occidit et Titonus Aurorae filius quamuis longam uitam impetrauerit tamen in cicadam conuersus fuit.

Odes 2.17

- [53v] (v. 13) **Chimera** Tiphonis et Thedriae filia fuit monstruosa. Nam[197] ore leo, in medio capra et in postremis partibus draco. Victa etiam est a Bellorofonte equo Pegaseo accepto et ad inferos religata. Sed uere mons Litiae est cuius cacumen ardet iuxtaque in pascuis furit leones: et circa mebium caprarum saltus et inimo serpentes. Huic Bellorofon habitabilem unde Chimeram fingitur occidisse.
- [inner margin] (v. 14) Briareus centimanus gigas Titani et Terrae filius deorum contemptor apud inferos religatus ex cubus in uestibulo Ferni agit uiolentior quia in natiuitate omnium signorum periculosissimus est.
- [inner margin] (v. 17) Natus in libra utilis metris et scriba[198] erit.
- [inner margin] (v. 17) Natus in scorpio suos exaltabit amicos bonis pluribus aegrotabitur.
- [inner margin] (v. 19) Saturno enim existente in Capricorno in Italia maximi fiunt imbres, in scorpio grandines, in alio fulgura.
- [inner margin] (v. 20) Natus in capricorno modestus erit.
- (v. 20) **Carpricornus** in ortu et occasu suo magnas tempestates italo mari ciet.

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[194] Usually spelled *Hypermnestra.*

[195] Usually this figure is names *Lynceus.*

[196] The same story is narrated, in different words, in a comment on *Odes* 3.11.23.

[197] This seems a better fit than *neque.* The abbreviation reads *N3.*

[198] Difficult to read.

- (v. 23) **Impio Saturno.** Benefica Iouis stella eripuit te a malefica Saturni et me faunus a*** lapsu subtraxit et sumus seruati vt qui sub uno signo nati sumus sub uno etiam moriemur.[199]
- [in triangle] (v. 26) **Ter crepuit sonum.** Quia periculi tui euasione triduo cum fidibus et imis[200] diis supplicationes habitae sunt quae quom acceptae essent in theatris tripudium est.

Odes 2.20

- [55v] (v. 37) Neniae carmina cum lamentatione mortuo uel morituro accinuntur. Παια ΠονΗατον id est εσχαΤον.[201] Unde et in cordis[202] extremus neruus νΗΤΗ est appellatus.

Odes 3.1

- [56r] (v. 27) Ar<c>turus occidens Haedi orientes gi[n]gnunt horridam tempestatem.
- [56v] (v. 34) Caementa.[203] Caementi appellatione omnia intelliguntur quibus muri conficiuntur.
- [inner margin] (v. 33) Huc frequens. Inuehitur in luxuriam aedificiorum et praecipue eorum quae in mare ad extinguendos pisces fiebant ostendens eadem non uendicare[204] nos ab animi perturbationibus.
- (v. 44) ¶ "Num tu quae tenuit diues Achamenes aut pinguis Frigiae Migdonias opes" [Horace, *Odes* 2.9.21-22].

Odes 3.2

- [56r] (v. 27) **Vulgarit arcanae.** Laudat seruantes archana rei publicae.
- Quia et si sero puniat Juppiter tamen tarditatem supplicii grauitatem compensat.

Odes 3.3

- [57v] (v. 16) **Consiliantibus Iunone diuis.** Consilium Junonis eo spectat ut ostendat Romulum et reliquos praestantes uiros pietate ac Justitia ad superos deuenisse et impios atque injustos funditus a diis esse deletos comodo[205] per Troianos probat.

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[199] Suringar 1835, 166: according to Suringar, the copyist did not finish the word *arboris*.

[200] The text reads *innis.*

[201] Cf. Diomedis 50.3; Suringar 1835, 179. This Greek text should be read as follows: παρὰ τὸ νείατον, which is ἔσχατον ("to the utmost end"); and νεάτη ("the lowest of three strings").

[202] Usually spelled *chorda* ("string of a musical instrument").

[203] Non-rubricated lemma.

[204] Of *uindicare* ("deliver").

[205] Instead of *commodo*.

- [58r] (v. 36) ¶ **Dum longus** id est eo cum permittam Romulum ascribi diis et Romanos regnare ut nunquam Troia r<e>aedificetur. Et hoc dicit poeta quia saepe Octauius potitus rerum in laudem sui generis cogitauit de rehedificendatia[206] et ab dicantibus amicis.

Odes 3.4

- [58v] (v. 9) Apulus ut Italus contrarium est primitiuo suo nam longatur primitiuum uero breuiatur sicut Italus breuiatur; Italia uero elongatur.
- [59r] (v. 34) **Concani** populi Hispaniae qui equino sanguine uescuntur.
- (gloss on *amnem*, v. 36) id est Hipanim.[207] Hypanis Scythiae fluuius qui Asiam ab Europa diuidit. Dequo Gallus poeta "Uno tellures diuidit amne duas" [*Gallus *fragment* 1; Vibius Sequester, *On rivers etc.* 77].
- (v. 41) Vos lene consilium et datis et dato. Hic secundus est alchaicus qui plenum iambicum facit sic:

  Vos le ne con sili et da tis et da to
  _ _ ^ _ ^ ^ _ _ ^ _ _ _

- [59v] [Inner margin] (v. 57) Aegis munimentum pectoris aureum quo utebatur Pallas habens in medio Gorgonis capit quae in omnibus Lorica dicitur.
- [60r] (gloss on *Tityi*, v. 77) Qui coniubitum[208] Latonae optauit vnde Apollinis telis interemptus est. Et apud inferos hac pena religatus est ut vultum semper eius cor edat.[209]
- (v. 80) **Perithous.** Isionis filius Ipodamia mortua cum Theseo conuenit ut nemo ipsorum coniugem nisi Iouis filium duceret. Unde Theseus Helenam rapuit Iouis et Ledae filiam. Perithous autem cum Proserpinam cuperet ut eam raperet ad inferos una cum Theseo descendit et [vertically] a Cerbero uictus ligatusque est.

Odes 3.5

- [60v] (v. 18) Duce Xantippo [I] Cartaginensibus a Lacedaemoniis misso.
- (v. 32) ¶ **Cerua** Postquam excussit plagas nunquam amplius redit in eas a qua argumentum trahitur eorum qui permiserunt se hostibus. Dicens quod nunquam pugnabunt quoniam semel mortem sola captiuitate euaserunt.
- (v. 42) ¶ **Capitis minor.** Capitis minutio est prioris status mutatio vt est eorum qui capti sunt apud hostes qui iura ciuitatis ac libertatis amittunt quae accipiebant iure post liminii, id est

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[206] Probably a misspelling of *reaedificatio* ('rebuilding').
[207] Variant spelling of the river *Hypanis* (acc. *Hypanim*).
[208] The commentator probably meant *conubium,* 'marriage'.
[209] This appears to be the same scholion as the one found on *Odes* 2.4.

jure sibi permisso ut in limen, id est in primam redirent quod accidebat cum iusto bello uendicarentur, uel cum iussu senatus redimerentur.

Odes 3.6

- [61r] (v. 5) Ideo imperium obtinuit quia cultrix deorum fuit neque se illis unquam parens edidit.
- (v. 9) ¶ **Et pacori manus.** Rex Parthorum uicta cum Labieno societat<e>[210] Siriam et Asiam uastauit et castra L^{ta} Ventidii Romani consulis qui post Cassium absente Pacoro exercitium Parthicum fuderat. Aggressus a Ventidio tandem cum omni eius exercitu et monesse[211] alio Parthico rege interfectus fuit. Trogus liber XXXXII.[212]
- (v. 10) **Impetus.** Hoc dicit propter Crassum qui contra omnia bellum sumpsit et deinde ad diripiendum famosissimum Apollinis templum misit. Qua impietate incitati Parthi eum cum omni exercitu occiderunt.
- [61v] [inner margin] (v. 24) **De tenero** meditatur vngui.[213] Prouerbium Graecum est cum significare uolunt aliquod a pueritia actum a teneris unguibus dicunt.
- [inner margin] (v. 30) **Institor** est qui tabernae loco ad emendum uendendumue praeponitur. Paulus iureconsultus. ff de instit. act.[214]
- (v. 30) ¶ Propertius ¶ "Mundus demissus institor in tunicis" [*Prop. *Elegies* 4.2].
- [62r] (v. 44) ¶ Vir. Buc. ¶ "Aspice aratra domum referunt suspens<a> iuuenci. Et sol decendens crescentes dopplicat umbras" [*Vergil, *Eclogues* 2.66-67].

Odes 3.7

- (v. 4) ¶ Ovidius Meth. liber II. ¶ "Prima fide necisque ratae temptamina sumpsit" [*Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3.339]. VI^{to}: "Utque fide pignus dextras utriusque poposcit." [Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.506]
- (v. 15) ¶ **Bellorofon.[215]** Glauci filius Ephirae rex a Prito rege Argiuorum regno priuatus eo uolente apud eum remansit et cum eius uxor eum amaret eius concubitum abdicauit Bellorofon. Unde indignata mulier eum Prito marito quod eius coitum postulasset insimulauit. Unde Pritus Bellorofontem cum litteris ut neci darentur Ariobati socero misit. Sed cum is eum

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[210] The final letter of this word is not legible.

[211] Instead of *monuisse* ("to warn, inform")?

[212] Paraphrase (though no copy) of Justinian's Epitome of Trogus' *Histories*, 42.4.1.7-10.

[213] Non-rubricated lemma.

[214] Cf. Suringar 1835, 172. Paulus is cited in Justinian, Dig. 14.3 on the same topic; this is probably the passage the commentator is referring to.

[215] Misspelling of the name Bellerophon.

contra Chimeram misisset, et eam ipse ope equi Pegasi interemisset: expertusque uirtutem suam contra Amazonas, Achiomenem filiam Stenobeae sororem sibi nuptui collocauit. Qua re audita Stenobea dolore percita se ipsam interemit.

- (v. 17) ¶ **Pelea.** Peleus Aeaci filius Phocum fratrem interemit, et a patre ob id regno pulsus ad Magnassas[216] peruenit. Et ibi cum ab Acasto eorum rege honorifice hospitio exceptus esset Hippolitae eius filiae unicae eum amanti consentire noluit quae eum patri insimulauit qui in eum arma accepit et ni fugam arripuisset ab eo fuisset interemptus.

Odes 3.8

- [62v] (v. 2) **Acerra** proprie tornatum aceris. Vas est quo in sacris utebantur. Sed hic pro terribulo[217] ponitur.
- [63r] (v. 18) ¶ **Daci Cotisonis.** Cotison Daciae rex uictus fuit a populo Romano tempore Octauii.

Odes 3.9

- ¶ "Si parcent puero fata superstiti" [addition of missing verse, Horace *Odes* 3.9.16].

Odes 3.10

- [63v] (v. 11) ¶ **Penelope** Ulixis uxor cum ei praestolaretur suadentibus compluribus et amicis et affinibus suis numquam uoluit Ulixe spreto alicui nubere, quamuis a pluribus procis peteretur.
- (v. 13) ¶ **O quamuis neque te munera** quattuor sunt quae mulierum amores nobis conciliant: munera, eloquentia, forma et doctrina.

Odes 3.11

- [64r] (v. 2) ¶ **Amphion** Jouis et Anthiopes filius, alii dicunt Mercurii, a quo suscepta lira adeo dulciter canebat quod saxa ad struendos muros Thebanos traxisse dicatur. Dicente Horatio in Poetria "Dictus et Amphion Thebanae conditor arcis saxa mouere sono testudinis et prece[218] blanda" [Horace, *Ars Poetica* 394-395].
- (v. 5-6) ¶ Cicero Tusculanarum libro primo: "Sero igitur an nostris poetis cog<n>iti vel recepti" [*Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1.3].

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[216] The commentator here means *Magnesia* (Μαγνησία), a country in Thessaly on the Aegean Sea.

[217] Of *turibulum*, 'vessel to burn incense in'.

[218] The copyist wrongly uses an *e*-caudata (*ae*) here.

- (v. 23) **Danaus** Beli filius, quinquaginta filias et Aegistus eius frater totidem mares qui eas in connubio filiis dare postulabat Danao abdicante qui oraculo monitus fuerat: fore ut a genere interimeretur. Quare indignatus Aegistus contra eum bellum mouit. Unde coactus Danaus eius filiis filias suas despondit eisque iussit ut singule prima nocte uirum interimerent: quae omnes facinus peregerunt praeter Ipermestiam[219] quae Lino[220] viro pepercit, qui deinde Danaum quinquagesimo sui regni occidit.[221]

Odes 3.12

- [65r] (v. 1-2) ¶ Primi duo uersus trimetri sunt ionicis minoribus constantes. Tertius tetrameter, IIIIor constans ionicis.
- (v. 4) ¶ **Qualum** Graeci garofilatium[222] appelant cophini, scilicet genus quo mulieres muliebera omnia instrumenta recondunt.

Odes 3.16

- [66r] (v. 1) ¶ **Inacus** genuit Yo. Yo genuit Epaphum. Epaphus Agenorem et Abbatem: Abas Acrisium. Acrisius genut Danaen.
- [66v] (v. 5) ¶ **Acrisius** Abantis regis Argiuorum filius, Danaen unicam huic filiam et in responsis a Phoebo accoepit fore ut a filio qui ex ea nasceretur interimeretur. Quod ut caueret in turri quidam abdidit aditumque omnibus inhibuit. Hanc Juppiter quom[223] amaret uersus in guttam auri per impluuium adiit, secumque concubuit. Hoc sciens pater indice uentre in archam eam inclusam in mare praecipitari iussit quae forte in Apulum littus peruenit et ad Pilunnum regem cum infante quem ibidem pepererat adducta est, qui eam coniugio sibi coniunxem: filiumque Perseum educauit, qui quom adoleuisset caputque Medusae amputasset in Argos ueniens Acrisium eum hospitio inhibente ostenso capite gorgonis in <lapide>[224] conuertit. Damne[225] autem Pilunno Danaum peperit patrem Turni.
- [in triangle] (v. 15) ¶ **Reges muneribus.** Amphiaraus oraculo monitus qum[226] ad bellum Troianum cum Adrasto Argiuorum rege ire nollet se abdidit, re Eriphila uxori tamen indicata, quae corrupta ab Argia (Adrasti filia, Pollinicis coniuge, quae sibi monile a Vulcano factum

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[219] Usually spelled *Hypermnestra.*
[220] Usually named *Lynceus.*
[221] The same story is told, in different words, in a comment on *Odes* 2.14.18.
[222] It is not quite clear which word is referred to here; it is likely connected to *filatio* ("spinning, string").
[223] Of *cum.*
[224] In the text we find at this point the abbreviation *cap* with a horizontal stroke, which makes no sense and may be a scribal error prompted by the usage of *capite (gorgonis)* earlier in the scholion (dittography).
[225] In light of the context, this is likely a misspelled version of the name *Danae*.
[226] Of *cum.*

promiserat) virum prodidit vnde cum aliis principibus in bellum ire coactus est et quom primum praelium[227] sortitur inhaereret hiatu terrae facto[228] absortus est.
- [67r] (v. 34) ¶ Listrigoni populi sunt qui inuenirent amphoram.
- (v. 42) ¶ Signum est quod multa petentibus multis indigeat. Natura enim quod usus postulat in omni animante requirit nec plura.

Odes 3.17

- (v. 2) **Lamias.** Lamus Formiarum opidum tenuit et regionem illam Italiae quae a Liri fluuio abluitur.
- (v. 7) ¶ Lucanus
  ¶ “Sarnus et umbrosae lyris per regna Maricae” [Lucan, *Bellum Civile* 2.424].[229]
- [in triangle] (v. 7) Phaunus qui ‘fatuus’ dictus est a fando, id est uaticinando, uxorem Fatuam habuit, quam Virgilius Maricam apellat.[230] Quae est lictoris Minturnensium dea iuxta Lirim fluuium per quam aliqui poetarum Venerem intelligunt, cuius ibidem constat fuisse sacellum.[231]
- (v. 15) ¶ Varro, Rerum Rusticarum IIdo. “Significantes esse dignum insigni nuptiarum. Suillum pecus donatum a natura” [Varro, *Agricultural Topics in Three Books,* 2.4]. Juuenalis: “animal propter conuiuia natum” [Juvenal, *Satires* 1.141].

Odes 3.18

- [67v] (v. 14) ¶ **Spargit.** Ut Lucius Columbella refert nonis decembribus finitum est opus rusticum in quibus Fauno sacrificabant rustici et iuga suspendebant cum magnis tripudiis.

Odes 3.19

- (v. 2) ¶ **CODRVS.** Rex Athenarum <f>uit uictoriam suis praestaret ueste militis gregarii ad castra hostium profectus lacessere alium cepit itaque[i] necatus, quom illi ab oraculo moniti iussissent a rege abstineri reliquos hostes pro uictoria ferire.
- (v. 1) ¶ **Inacus** regnauit apud Argiuos annis Lta, eius fuit filia Jo, quam Egiptii mutato nomine Isidem uocant. Inacus fluuius ab eo dictus apud Argiuos a filia Ione ‘bossor’ dicitur Eusebius.[232]

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[227] Of *proelium.*

[228] Abbreviation marks are at some places missing in this section (the text reads: *i’hiret hiatu tre fct*).

[229] This citation mirrors the one in Pseudo-Acro, *ad loc* (e.g. Keller 1967, 282).

[230] Misspelling of *appellat.*

[231] Fatua and Marica are mentioned by Servius in a note on Vergil, 7.47.

[232] Eusebius writes about Io and Inachus in *Preparation of the Gospels* 10.9.19, identifying Io with the Egyptian goddess Isis. The alternative name ‘bossor’ is not mentioned here and is unknown to me.

- [inner margin] (v. 2) *¶* Cicero, Tusculanarum Liber.

  “Codrum qui se in medios misit hostes famulari ueste ne potuisset agnosci si esset ornatu regio quas oraculo erat datum si rex interfectus esset uictrices Athenas fore” [Cicero, *Tusculanarum Disputationum* 1.116].
- (v. 7) ¶ Eginam Asopi fluminis Boetiae filiam Juppiter amauit et conuersus in flamam ignis eius concubitu usus est Aeacumque Pelei patrem Achillis auum ex ea suscepit. Qui Cacus[233] insulam Oenopiam in qua regnabat Eginam ab eius matre appellauit. Sed Asopus quom sciret filiam a Joue uitiatam astris bellum mouit manusque conferre cum Joue postulauit. Unde a Joue fulminatus fuit.
- ¶ “Da noctis mediae, da puer auguris / murene: tribus aut nouem“ [addition of missing verses, Horace, *Odes* 3.19.10-11].
- (v. 10) ¶ Da pocula quae bibamus gratia nouae lunae: et usque ad temporis mediae noctis: et gratia murenae auguris. Et quia dixit ter ‘da, da, da’ dicit quod <t>ribus aut nouem uicibus in comode bibitur.

Odes 3.20

- [68v] (v. 11) *¶* Virg. Geor. Liber II.

  ¶ “Atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum / Subiecit pedibus” [Vergil, *Georgics* 2.459-460].
- (v. 15) ¶ **Nereus** marinus deus, Oceani et Thetidis filius, Dorim sororem uxorem habuit, ex qua nymphas omnes suscepit.

Odes 3.21

- (v. 11) *¶* Cato in Catone Maiore

  ¶ “Aepulabar igitur cum sodalibus omnino modice sed erat quidam feruor aetatis qua progrediente omnia fiunt in dies mitiora.” Item: “habeoque senectae magnam gratiam quae mihi sermonis auiditatem auxit potionis cum substulit” [Cicero, *Cato Maior De Senectute* 45; 46].
- (inner margin, gloss on *gratiae*, v. 22) Aegiale, Pasithea, Eupline. Aegiale primum munus: Pasithea amicitia, Eupline bone retributio etc.

Odes 3.22

- [96r] (v. 3) **Ter uocata** Luna a lucendo nominata est. Eadem est et Lucina et Lucifera et Diana. Et in caelo luna: in teras Diana quia noctu quasi diem efficit: in inferno Proserpina et parturientibus ideo adhibetur quod partus maturescunt aut VII^{m} aut VIIII^{m} lunae cursibus, de qua Tullius de natura deorum Liber III.

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[233] Possibly a misspelled or different version of the name Aeacus.

Odes 3.23

- [69v] (v. 17) ¶ "Diua solo fixos oculos auersa tenebat" [Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.482].

Odes 3.24

- (v. 12) ¶ **Liberas** id est in libera terra natas quae priuato nemini in partem cessere. Caesar de Sueuis commentariorum Belli Gallici libro quarto: "Sed priuati ac seperati agri apud eos nihil est neque longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa licet." [Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 4.1.2]
- (v. 20) *¶* Cicero de suppliciis.
  ¶ "Nam et praefectos sine ulla causa de complexu parentium suorum hospitum tuorum ad mortem suppliciumque rapuisti." [*Cicero, *Oratio in Verrem* 2.5.138]
- (inner margin, gloss on *scythae*, v. 9) populi septemtrionales et ut Plinius historia naturali refert a Scytha Iouis filio qui arcus sagittasque primus omnium inuenit.

Odes 3.25

- [70v] (v. 8-13) **Comparatio**

Odes 3.27

- [71v] (v. 11) ¶ **Oscinem.** Praepetes aues in auspiciis dicuntur et quarum uolatu capitur augurium oscines autem ex quarum cantu dicuntur *enim*[234] quasi canentes. Praepetes autem a praepetendo, id est celeriter uolando.
- (v. 25) ¶ **Europam.** Agenoris filiam, quom amaret Juppiter conuersus in candidum thaurum in eius delectationem illexit. Usque adeo ut eam tangeret eiusque dorsum conscenderet quod qum uideret Juppiter littori Foenicum adhaerens confestim se deiecit in mare eamque dorso sedentem in Cretam usque deuexit. Ibique redactus in ueram formam secum concubuit. Ex eaque Minoem, Rhodomantum ac Sarpedonem filios habuit et ob eius memoriam a suo nomine terrae uniuersae orbis parti Europae nomen dedit.
- [72r] (v. 42) ¶ **Somn<i>um ducit.** "Geminae sunt somni portae, quarum altera fertur cornea qua ueris facilis datur exitus umbris" (id est somnis). "Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto. Sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia manes." Virgilius liber VI [*Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.893-896].

Odes 3.29

- [73r] (v. 8) ¶ **Telegoni fuga.** Telegonus Ulixis et Circes filius quom patrem quaereret deorum responsis monitus est, vt eo in loco urbem conderet vbi saltantes cum coronis colonos cerneret. Unde profectus in italiam quodam in loco rusticos saltantes prini,[235] id est ilicis ramulis coronatos uidit ubi opidum aedificauit et a coronis saltantium Priniseum uocauit a quo declinatum Praeneste Romani dixerunt. Ut Aristides[236] tertio Rerum Italicarum scripsit Plutarcus.

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[234] The abbreviation reads *emi* or *enn* with a horizontal stroke; the correct expansion is not quite clear to me.

- (v. 17) Cepheus, Cephei, stella occulta est usque ad Kalendas Julias et uidetur solum usque ad quartumdecimum Kalendas Augusti. Colummella.[237]
- [73v] [inner margin] (v. 43) Vixi.[238] Viuere etiam lautari et gaudere uiuendo significat.

Odes 3.30

- [74r] (v. 2) Piramides.[239] Regum Egiptiorum sepulcra instar turrium, cui Romae extat Julii Caesaris et Πυρ quod ignem quoniam incipientes a Crasso deficiunt in acutum.
- (v. 9) Cum tacita uirgine.[240] In sacrificio Jouis virgo uestalis tacita cum canente pontifice maximo capitolium lustrabat.
- (v. 11) Daunus.[241] Pilunni et Dannes filius regnum in Apulia habuit vnde eadem Daunia ab eius nomine dicta est et fluuius in quem conuersus fabulose dicitur Daunus appellitur.

Odes 4.1

- [74v] (inner margin, on *odoribus*, v. 10)[242] rosarum scilicet quibus in cenis uti consueuerunt non oloribus qui ipsi sunt albi neque illis ducitur Cupido sed Venus.
- (v. 22) Nam cum tibiis canebantur laudes matris deorum quae Berecinthia dicitur.

Odes 4.2

- [75v] (v. 10) Ditirambus carmen est ex quo libri in Liberum patrem compositi sunt. Hos autem ditirambus ideo dixit audaces quia rhitmis sunt uehementiores. Vel quia noua uerba in his Pindarus scripsit.[243]
- [inner margin, in triangle] (v. 11) Aequilibus, scilicet sono ditirambi et rithmi in cantu. Vel quia non est necesse in eodem metro permanere vnde dictos putant ditirambos, id est quod liceat alio uti.

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[235] Of *prinus* (πρῖνος), 'great scarlet oak'.
[236] This should be Aristocles, whose *Italian Histories* (Ἰταλικῶν) book 3 is mentioned as the source of the myth in Plutarchus, *Parallella minora* 41.
[237] The only mentioning of Cepheus in Columella's *On Agriculture* is found in 11.51, but it is very brief and does not contain all the information referred to here.
[238] Non-rubricated lemma.
[239] Non-rubricated lemma. The usual spelling is *pyramis.*
[240] Non-rubricated lemma.
[241] Non-rubricated lemma.
[242] In modern editions usually *oloribus*.
[243] Almost a word-to-word quotation of Pseudo-Acro (see e.g. Keller 1967, 329).

- [inner margin] (on *fertur*, v. 11) id est, dicitur. Ideo dixit quia ad sonum rhitmus fertur non ad pedum legem. Sed ad numerum sillabarum.
- [inner margin] (on *Elea*, v. 17) habita in Alpheo iuxta Helidem ciuitatem Graeciae ubi ludi agonales magna cum celebritate totius regionis celebrabantur.
- (v. 21) Flebili sponsae.[244] Potest intelligi de Abidto[245] Leandro qui quom Eron Sextiam puellam amaret mareque inter medium nando tranaret subita tempestate oppressus obiit. Ero autem cum eum exedita turri inspiceret statim sese inde praecipitauit.
- (v. 25) Dircaeum.[246] Dirce fonte Boetiae musis ac Phoebo sacrato.
- [76r] [inner margin] (v. 34) Propter Caesaris reditum Justitium publicum et feriae uniuersales cum celebritate ludorum per aliquot dies ratione indictae sunt.

Odes 4.4[247]

- [76v] [rubricated addition in the margin] **Quaere sub tali signo ***
- (v. 49) Hannibal agnito fratris Asdrubalis tanto capite simul publico familiarique luctu agnoscere factus[248] fortunam Carthaginis desisse fert Liuius Septimo libro Belli Punici secundi.[249]
- (v. 52) Et effugere.[250] Annibal ut Liuius scribit post interitum fratris saepe classe accita de fuga cogitauit quod non peregit ne relicta maxima sui exercitus parte ignauiae accusaretur.
- (v. 57) Ut ilex tonsa.[251] Ilex excisa eradicibus suis complurimas nouas ilices emittit sic et abies.
- (v. 61) Non hidra.[252] Hidra in Lerna palude septem habebat capita. Quorum singulo exciso totidem renascebantur. Hanc Hercules interemit igne ut Seneca in tragedia. Quid saeua Lernae monstra numerosum malum non igne demum uicit et docuit mori.
- (v. 64) Thebae.[253] Quom Cadmus Thebas in Boetia aedificasset uelletque sacrificium facere ex sociis suis quosdam equitum misit quos serpens ingentissimus deuorabat. Hic uidens Cadmus illuc concessit: serpentemque interemit. Et qum[254] hic serpens Marti dicatus esset omnia quae Cadmo male succederent monitus est a diis ut reuulsos eius dentes sereret. Quo facto homines subito orti sunt, qui inuicem Cadmo spectante digladiabantur. Ex quibus tamen quinque

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[244] Non-rubricated lemma.
[245] This may refer to Leander's birthplace, the city of Abydos.
[246] Non-rubricated lemma.
[247] The verses of this ode are jumbled, and, as a consequence, so are the comments on those verses. See chapter 1, 'Quires',
[248] The abbreviation is unclear: it may either read *fc*, *fr* or *sc.*
[249] Paraphrase (but no citation) of Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 27.51.
[250] Non-rubricated lemma.
[251] Non-rubricated lemma.
[252] Non-rubricated lemma.
[253] Non-rubricated lemma.
[254] Of *cum.*

euaserunt qui inita pace Cadmo adhaeserunt. Omniaque deinde Cadmo prospere successerunt.

- [inner margin] (v. 63) Hoc dicit propter draconem aurei uelleris custodem apud Oetam[255] Colcorum regem quem ope Medeae Jason interemit.
- [Here we find the title and the first half of *Odes* 4.4]
- [77r] (v. 18) ¶ **Vindelici.** Dicit se non quaesiuisse vnde uidelici morem acceperint semper securibus amazonis uti. Sed credendum est Vindelicos rhetos antiquo tempore Amazonas superasse a quibus secures transtulerunt.
- [77v] (v. 37) Neronibus.[256] Claudius Nero clam a Lucanis Hannibale nihil eiusmodi timente discessit et collegae Liuio salinatori exercitum in Umbria iuxta Metarum[257] fluuium habenti magnis repente confectis itineribus se coniunxit Asdrubalemque fratri nouum ex Hispania exercitum adducentem collatis signis ambo consules eum cum LVII ex eius exercitu interemerunt. Claudius die sexto quo discesserat in castra rediens caput Asdrubalis ante Hannibalis stationem proiici subsit. Ut refert Liuius <XX>VII liber Secundi belli punici.[258]
- [inner margin] (v. 39) Deuictus quoniam post uictoriam Asdrubalis Hannibalem etiam Claudius Nero bello superauit.
- [inner margin] (v. 43) Taeda. Arbor quae sudat picem vnde et picen[259] dicitur.
- [The asterisk referred to above is found here *]

Odes 4.5

- [78r] (v. 1) ¶ Romula ne faciem laederet hasta rati.

Odes 4.6

- [78v] (v. 1) Niobea. Niobe ex Amphione uiro septem filios et totidem filias habuit. Quae quom progeniem suam Latonae generi anteponeret, ab Apolline mares eius filii: et a Diana foeminae interempti sunt. Niobeque conuersa in lapidem.
- (v. 4) Achilles quom Pollixenam filiam Priami amaret, cum Hecuba eius matre per inter nuntium egit ut eadem noctu in Tymbrem[260] Apollinis templum deduceretur. Asserens se eam ducturum uxorem bellumque deserturum. Quod quom factum esset ut in eo templo Achilles

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[255] Misspelling of the name Aeëtes.

[256] Non-rubricated lemma.

[257] The river *Metaurus*, as mentioned in Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 27.43.

[258] Referring to Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 27.

[259] It is unclear to what kind of synonym of a pine tree (*taeda*) the commentator is referring to here; it is probably related to the resin dripping of trees (*pix, picis*).

[260] *Tymbreum* would make more sense in this context: the subsequent annotation, on v. 26, explains why the temple of Apollo on the banks of the Xanthus was called *Tymbreus* (linked by the commentator to the herb *thymbra*). The *Tymbris* was also a tribatury river of the Sangarius (mentioned in e.g. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 38.18.8).

in Ermis, Paris post Apollinis statuam quae terebrata erat delitescens, Achillis plantam quae fatali aqua non fuerat conspersa per pedem transuberauit sagitta. Et hinc orta fabula est Achillem ab Apolline interemptum quoniam eius statua arcu intento figebatur.

- [79r] (v. 26) Xantho iuxta Xanthum fluuium pone Troiana moenia templum Apollinis fuit, qui Tymbreus appellatus est a tymbre herbae genere qua ager abundat.
- (on *Agileus*, v. 28) Apollo atthica lingua qui ~~a~~ uicis ubi eius oraculo moniti sacrificabant ei in urbe Atthica sic dixerunt ΑΓιλειΗ uici dicuntur.[261]
- (v. 28) Agileus.[262] Apollo a Medis uocatur ut nonnullis placet, quod eorum lingua ‘exorabilem’ significat. Vel, quod verius puto, Agileus subtracta uocali *i* ex Graeca diphtongo dicitur. Nam splendorem orientis solis significat. Unde *** quasi *** splendidus.[263]

Odes 4.8

- [80r] (v. 3) Tripodas. Olimpici certaminis uictores palmam, tripodes et auri argentique talenta dono accipiebant. Mimi autem tragediam representantes caprum: fidicines autem querneam coronam.
- [80v] (v. 25) ¶ **Aeacum.** Aeacus Iouis et Eginae filius Oenopiam vrbem habuit quam Eginam a matris nomine appellauit. Quae cum pestilentia hominibus exhausta esset uidit per quietem maximum formicarum examen quadam sibi quercu unde a Joue uotis impetrauit ut totidem sibi homines darentur. Qui deinde a nomine formicarum mirmidones dicti sunt. Hic leges tulit et ob eius iustitiam apud inferos ius dicit.
- (v. 31) ¶ **Tindaridae.** Castor et Pollux aequori praesunt, quos nautae in periculis naufragii inuocant. Quod ideo fingitur quoniam sub eorum sidere optima est nauigatio.
- (v. 33) ¶ **Pampino.** Ostendit hos potius deificatos fictione poetica quam veritate.

Odes 4.9

- [81r] (on *amor,* v. 10) Saphos. Quoniam ipsa amauit Phauonem[264] Siculum, cuius amorem quom desperaret, Eleuchate[265] se in mare precipitauit.
- (v. 13) ¶ **Non sola.** Dicit amores et res praeclare gestas propagatas in posterum, quae poetarum carminibus celebrata sunt, reliquas tametsi perstantes faceret quam primum memoria excidisse.
- (v. 17) ¶ **Cidon** Cidonis penultima pruducta significat ‘impudicum.’ Penultima uero correpta significat ‘uirum Cretensem.’

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[261] Cf. Pseudo-Acro (Keller 1967, 349 and Hauthal 1966, 404) for the same explanation with two slightly different phrasings.

[262] Modern editions read *Agyieu* (vocative case) here instead.

[263] Suringar 1835, 167.

[264] Instead of *Phaonem.*

[265] According to the usual version of the legend, Sappho jumped of the Leucadian rock.

- [in triangle] (v. 20) **Stelenus**[266] Persei et Andromadae filius transacto regno Argiuorum Micenas post patrem regnauit cuius filius fuit Euristeus.
- (v. 20) ¶ **Idomeneus.** Deucalionis filius a Troiano bello rediens quom tempestate premeretur, uouit diis si sospes in patriam redireet quicquid sibi primum occurrisset, quod quom forte filius ei primus euenisset eum imolare uoluit, ut quidam dicunt, ut alii immolauit. Qua immanitate Cretenses commoti cines sui eum exegerunt, qui deinde in Calabriam iuxta Salentinum promontorium appulit, ibique Pithiliam opidum[267] condidit.
- (v. 22) ¶ **Deiphoebus**. Priami et Hecubae filius, quom post mortem Paridis Helenam duxisset eius insidiis ab irrumpentibus Graecis interemptus fuit.

Odes 4.11

- [82r] (v. 12) ¶ **Vertex** proprie significat uertiginem undarum, et hoc transfertur ad fumum propter similitudines vt etiam pro summitate humani capitis ponit quoniam ibi uertuntur crines e<t> pro omni summitate *usus[p]*.[268]
- (v. 15) **Venus** nata dicitur ex spuma Cileorum, Caelii, quos Saturnus eius filius amputauit in mareque deiecit. Unde ipsa *** Graecis a spuma dicitur.[269]
- (v. 16) Dies aprilis erat dicatus Veneri marinae nam ex prima humana iacta in mari orta est quam spumam Graeci *** dicunt.[270]
- (v. 25) ¶ **Pheton[271] ambustus.** Phoeton Solis et Chimenae filius qum[272] sibi ab Epapho fictum genus exprobaretur a patre quadrigas Solis impetrauit quas quom non posset regere et terram exureret a Joue fulminatus in Padum cecidit. Nomenque Eridano a proprio nomine eius Pado dedit. Nam Phoeton non proprium nomen sibi est. Sed Eridanus et ab euentu dicatus Phoeton quasi exustus.
- (v. 26-27) ¶ **Ales Pegasus.** Pegasus alatus equus Neptumni filius et Medusae ut Servius scribit. Ouidius autem dicit libro de fastis hunc natum ex sanguine Medusae capitis excisi: “Creditur hic caesae grauida ceruice Medusae sanguine res Persis prosiliusse comis” [Ovidius, *Fasti* 3.451]. Hic more auium uolabat et percussa pede terra fontem Musarum Castalium effecit. Huius equi ope Bellorophon Chimeram uicit qui postremo *** instar equi conpactum conuersus est.[273]

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[266] Usually spelled *Sthelenus*.
[267] Instead of *oppidum.*
[268] Unclear. The abbreviation reads *usp**, cut off and with a stroke through the shaft of the long *s.*
[269] Cf. Suringar 1835, 167: “Excidit nomen *Aphrodite*”.
[270] Cf. Suringar 1835, 170: Suringar argues that the Greek word for foam, ἀφρός, should be interjected in the lacuna.
[271] Instead of *Phoeton.*
[272] Of *cum.*
[273] Cf. Suringar 1835, 172: he puts forward that *in sicus* may be missing where the lacuna is now.

Odes 4.12

- [82v] (v. 5) ¶ **Tereus.** Tracum Rex Prognem[274] Pandionis Athenarum regis filiam uxorem habuit et cum ab ea rogaretur Philomenam eius sororem quae uirgo domi remanserat ad se duceret Athenas profectus in itinere eam uitiauit linguamque abscidit ne rem manifestare posset eamque in carcerem compegit et uxori renuntiauit eam naufragio peruisse. Sed Philomena rem in eius candida ueste proprio cruore depictam sorori transmisit. Qua re cognita Progne sororem ad se clam secludi iussit: Itimque filium capite pedibus ac manibus amputatis excossit,[275] primumque epulandum tradidit et inter cenandum Philomenam sororem iussit aduocari quae pueri reliqua membrea in gremium deferens in mensam Terrei[276] deiecit. Qui ubi ea filii esse cognouit furore percitus utraque interimere uoluit. Sed Progne ex fenestra se percipitauit et in irundinem conuersa est. Philomena autem quae a sua nomine Philomena et a suo luctu Luscinia dicitur. Tereus qum[277] eas sequiretur in vppupam:[278] Ithis autem in fasianum[279] conuersus est.
- [inner margin] (v. 8) **Regum.** Id est Terei et *amister*[280] prolem ad maiorem inuidiam ut Virgilius: “Pallas ne exuere classem” [Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.39].
- (v. 13) ¶ Catullus ad Fabullum. “Cenabis bene mi Fabulle apud me / Paucis si tibi dii fauent diebus / si tecum attuleris bonam atque magnam / Coenam non sine candida puella / et uino et sale et omnibus canchinnis” [*Catullus, *Carmen* XIII].

Odes 4.13

- [83r] (v. 15) Fasti pontificales libri erant, in quibus temporum ordo et deorum sacrificia scribebantur quod cerni licet in Nasonis libris qui de fastis scribunt.

Odes 4.14

- [83v] ¶ Hic innuit arquus triumphales quos constat plures factos in honorum uirorum fortium impensa S.P.Q.R. ut ille est qui in honorem L. Septimii et M. Aurelii Pii adhuc apparet post Neruae sacellum in oliuo Capitolino multis titulis praeuocatus. Sic et plures alibi per urbem. Et collennae duae praeclarissimae.[281]

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[274] Usually spelled *Procne.* The abbreviation sign used here – a curved line which would point to the omission of e.g. -*re* or -*er* – seems to be incorrect. A straight line – indicating the omission of *m* or *n* – was probably intended instead.

[275] Instead of *excussit.*

[276] Usually spelled *Tereus.*

[277] Of *cum.*

[278] Of *upupa*, ‘hoopoe bird’.

[279] Of *phasianum*, ‘pheasant’.

[280] The correct reading and meaning of this word are unclear.

[281] Cf. Suringar 1835, 171.

- [84r] (v. 25) ¶ **Sic tauriformis.** Epitheton perpetuum cuiuscumque fluuii est. Nam antiqui numina fluminum pingentes cornuta faciebant, ostendentes subitam eius cursionem atque iracundiam. Quod Virgilius de Tyberi dicit et Homerus de Xantho.
- (gloss on *arrogauit*, v. 40) id est, prorogauit quia propter eam uictoriam prorogatum est Augusto tempus imperii appopulo[282] Romano.
- (v. 42) ¶ **Scithe** profugi dicuntur, quia urbes proprias non habent: sed curribus cum omni familia deuehuntur annuas *culenras*[283] exercentes.

Odes 4.15

- (v. 7) ¶ **Parthorum.** Augustus uictis Parthis signa et arma quae militibus Romanis in clades Crassi substulerant Romam rettulit et Jouis templo refixit. Nam uexilla omnia Joui consecrata erant.
- [85r] (v. 30) in honorem ludorum dictum est apud quos tibia inuenta est. Signific<u>nt autem i***am tres modos tybiarum habuerunt antiqui, lydum, doricum, frigium. Qui et barbarus deus est. Lydis laeta, frigiis tristia cantabantur, doris triumphos.

Epodes 1

- (v. 1) ¶ Lucanus in IIItio. "Ordine contentae geminae creuisse liburnae" [Lucanus, *De Bello Civili* 3.534]
- (v. 1) ¶ Aepodos dicuntur uersus quolibet metro scripti et sequentes clausulas habentes particularum, quales sunt hae in quibus singulis uersibus singule clausule adiciuntur. Dictae epodos συνεκδοχικωσ a partibus uersuum, quae legitimis et integris uersibus επασονθαι, id est, accinuntur.
- [85v] (v. 19-22) **Comparatio**

Epodes 2

- (v. 1) ¶ Quod amor auri auocat hominem a cognita foelicitate.
- [86v] (v. 50) ¶ **Scauri.**[284] Scauri pisces optimi in nostro mari non erant. Sed Marcus quidam Romanus classis praetor edixit ut quicumque ex eo mari ad Italiam adnauigabat, id genus piscium nauibus ueheret. Quod factum est ut saxa et crustas malleis intonarent quo facilius pisces comprehenderentur et sic in nostrum mare deferebant. Unde Marcus praetor Scaurus cognominatus est. Macrobius in Saturnalia.[285]

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[282] Instead of *a populo*, as in the annotation on *Odes* 2.2.17. The abbreviation reads *applo* with a horizontal abbreviation stroke through the shaft of the *l*.

[283] The correct reading and meaning of this word are unclear.

[284] Also spelled *scari* in modern editions.

[285] *Scari* are present in Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.10, but no mention is made of the 'certain Marcus' from the story.

Epodes 3

- [87r] (v. 12) ¶ **Jason** Colchon[286] urbem Scythiae profectus aureum uellus Medeae auxilio substulit dracone per uigilu occiso satisque eius de ritibus iunctis tauris ignem <e>t naribus afflantibus. Unde nati sunt armati qui primus impetum in Jasonem frustra fecerunt. Postea mutuis uulneribus se occiderunt. Hoc facto Medea cum Jasone fugam arripuit et Absyrthum fratrem in thomitana insula ut Oetum[287] patrem eam insequentem remoraretur membratim discerpsit. Tandem a Jasone Medea repudiata est, dicta Creusa Creontis regis corinthiorum filia. Sed uindictam Medea cogitans filios suos qui ad placandum nouercam cum magico igne simulatis muneribus misit. Unde Creusa cum omni regia exusta est. Filii tanquam moniti erant euaserunt. Hac injuria percitus Jason Medeam interimere noluit quae rabido furore excita proprios filios Jasone astante discerpsit fugamque arripuit magico quodam dracone conscenso quem carnibus suis illuc acredere cogerat.

Epodes 4

- [87v] (v. 8) ¶ **Ulnarum.** Ulna est a cubito usque ad digitos, et est mensura semicubitalis.
- (v. 11) ¶ Plautus in Amphitrione.
  “Quod agam nunc si tres uiri me in carcerem compegerint. Inde cras est promptuaria cella depromat ad Flagrum. Neque causam liceat mihi dicere”[288] [*Plautus, *Amphitryon* 155-157]. Erat hoc tum uirorum opus seruos punire quod magistratus ad id erat tribus constitutis.
- (v. 16) ¶ **Otho** qui ordines locis distinxit in subseliis[289] theatri XIIII prima equitibus alliguit, ita ut duobus primis sederet tribuni militvm tamen.

Epodes 5

- [88r] (v. 1) ¶ **At** non nu<m>quam completiua particula est ad ornatum solum pertenta et nihil significans ut hic et Seruius, VII Aeneid.[290]
- (v. 1) [88r] ¶ Puer captus a veneficis expauet. At copulatiui est ordinis tamen ad ornatum pertinens. Siui expauescetis interiectio.
- [89v] (v. 82) Bittumen est argilla sulphurata.
- (v. 92) ¶ Propertius IIII epigrammatum.

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[286] Instead of *Colchida* (acc. Gr.).

[287] Different version of the name Aeëtes.

[288] See for a modern edition e.g. W. De Melo 2011 (Loeb Edition): *quid faciam nunc si tresuiri me in carcerem compegerint? / ind’ cras quasi e promptaria cella depromar ad flagrum, / nec causam liceat dicere mi* (155-157)

[289] Referring to the *subseliaria*, ‘place of magistrates at the theatre’, or alternatively being connected to *subcellaria*, ‘store rooms, departments’.

[290] Cf. Servius on *Aeneid* 7.363: *at non sic phrygius legitur et 'an non sic'; sed hoc absolutum est. si autem 'at' legeris, inceptiva particula est, ad ornatum solum pertinens: Horatius “at o deorum quicquid in caelo regit terras et humanum genus”.*

¶ “Nocte uage ferimur nox clausas liberat undas
Errat et abiecta cerberus ipse sera
Luce rubent leges laetea ad stagnam reuerti
Nobis uehimur uectum nauta recenset opus.” [*Propertius, 6.7.89-93].[291]

Epodes 6

- [90r] (v. 13) Quia promisit filiam suam Eubolem Archilocho deinde negauit. Ille iambis suis eum et filiam ad laqueos compulit.
- (v. 13) Qui filiam suam spreto Hypponacti ob turpitudinem deformitatis dare noluit. Quoius iambis ille demorsus laqueo interiit.
- (v. 14) Alias Bubalo.

  ¶ **Bupalo.** Bupa pictor Hyponactam uatem egregiam ob euis contumeliam turpi atque effeminato habitu pinxit vnde Hyponacta iambico carmine eum uictu parauit. Qui hanc rem adeo moleste tulit ut repente in morbum ac mortem inciderit.[292]

Epodes 7

- (v. 12) **Indi** turres ligneas fabricant quas inponentes elephantis ex eis pugnant tamquam emenibus eosque ducunt alterum contra alterum: pugnantes ideo dicit ‘nisi feris Indis’.
- (v. 12) ¶ **Indispar.** Hoc est in diuersa natura. Ordo: neque hic mos unquam fuit lupis nec feris lenibus nisi in id est contra dispar scilicet genus. Siue ‘indis par feris.’[293]

Epodes 8

- [90v] (v. 1) **Rogare longo.** Eclipsis est uerbi, id est decet ne enerues in cohitu.[294]
- [triangle] (v. 2) Hyronicos est ‘quid eneruet uires meas’ *pogare*[295] te putidam longo saeculo, quasi dicat[296] eatate[297] et uitiis et macredine[298] ac etiam deformitate tua nullum tecum cu[i]bit

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[291] See for a modern edition e.g. G.P. Goold 1990 (Loeb Edition): *nocte vagae ferimur, nox clausas liberat umbras, / errat et abiecta Cerberus ipse sera. / luce iubent leges Lethaea ad stagna reverti: / nos vehimur, vectum nauta recenset onus.*

[292] Both versions of the story of Bupa and Hyponactes are mentioned, more elaborately than here, in Pseudo-Acro (Keller 1967, 402; Hauthal 1966, 477). The different spellings of the name are based on the manuscript: additionaly, it should be noted that the text of *Epodes* 7 in VLO 6 itself reads ‘Babulo’ as the poet’s name.

[293] In total three different possibilities of Horace’s text (lines 11-12) are presented here, none of which correspond to the preferred text in modern editions: *neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus / numquam nisi in dispar feris*.

[294] Of *coitus,* ‘coming together, sexual union’.

[295] Although the reading of this word is clear, its meaning is not.

[296] The abbreviation reads *q.d.*

[297] Instead of *aetate.*

[298] Of *macredo*, ‘leanness’.

nec in loco corporis tui inhonestissimo, sicut tua aetas et forma requirit, quod quidem etiam est difficile.

Epodes 9

- [91r] (v. 10) ¶ **Amicus** id est Sextus Pompeius Magni Pompei filius qui occiso patre Siciliam tenuit et collectis inde seruitiis sex armis mare habuit infestum. Postea autem uictus est ab Augusto et Agrippa. Ut est apud Horatium "Minatus urbi uincula quae detraxerat seruis amicus" [*Horace, *Epod.* 9.9-10].
- (v. 18) **Canentes Caesarem.** Ad Octauium transiuerunt duo milia equituro ab Antonio per quos uictoriam consecutus est. Seruius VI.[299]
- (v. 21) **Io triumphe.** Lex erat Romae quod nemo ob uictoriam ciuilis belli posset triumphare. Et ideo multum distulerunt Octauio triumphus decernere ob uictoriam Antonii.
- (v. 25) **Neque africanum.** Primus omnium imperatorum Scipio nomine uictae a se gentis nobilitatus est. Liuius libro decimo belli punici secundi.
- [91v] (v. 27) ¶ **Victus hostis.** Qui Hannibalem ex acie ad mare peruenisse inde preparata naui regem Anthiocum ex templo profectum tradunt postulantique omnia Scipioni ut Hanibal sibi traderetur responsum est a Karthaginensibus Hannibalem non esse in Affrica.
- [right] (v. 33) **Sciphus** Herculis poculum fuit vnde pro omni uasae ponitur.

Epodes 10

- [92r] (v. 14) ¶ **Aiacis.** Aiax Oilei filius quom una cum aliis Grecis Ilion diriperet, traxit Cassandram ex templo Palladis eamque primus in eo uitiauit. Unde irata dea eius recedentis nauigium fulminauit: Aiacemque ad scopulum illisit. Ut Virgilius primo Aen. narrat.
- (v. 22) **Mergos.** Mergi aues pisces captantes conscendunt iuxta littus recendens fractarum nauium partes ut facilius mergantur ad capiendos pisces.

Epodes 12

- [92v] (v. 3) **Obesae** id est ita clausae ut nequeant sentire putorem tuum quia pingues et crasse nares obturant pertusa ne odorari queat.
- (v. 5) Polipus[300] genus est piscis fecidi qui semper caeno cohaere~~s~~t[301] et eiusdem coloris est cuius et limus in quo cubat.
- (v. 11) **Cocodrilli.[302]** Cocodrillus serpentis Egiptii genus qui eggerit genera quaedam sunt coloribus ruber cum quo fit fucus muliebris.

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[299] Cf. Suringar 1835, 173.

[300] Lemma without ribrication. Usually spelled *polypus.*

[301] The *s* is deleted by what appears to be the same hand.

[302] Instead of *cocodili.*

- [93r] (v. 21) **Muricibus.** Murices pisciculi sunt coclearum instar quibus tingitur purpura quorum magna copia in Tyria erat.

Epodes 13

- (v. 11) **Alum[p]no.** Saturnus dum cum amata Phillira coiret: Ops eius uxor aduenit cuius praesentiam ueritus se in equum conuertit. Ex quo natus est Chiron dimidia parte homo dimidia equus. Hic citharam docuit Achillem et Aesculapui medicinam et pleraque. Quoniam summus uates erat. Achilli in Troianum bellum proficiscenti et aliis compluribus praedixit sed quom ad eum uisendum ac consulendum Hercules accessisset forte una ex sagittis suis uenenatis in pedem eius decidit. Unde a diis mortem impetrauit, eaque impetrata in caelum translatus est et collocatus pro signo sagittarii.
- [93v] (v. 15) ¶ **Subtegmine.[303]** Subtegmen filum est quod intra stramen currit. Quod Persius tramam dixit. Seruius.[304]

Epodes 15

- (v. 3) ¶ “Nate patris summi qui tela Tiphoea temnis.” [*Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.665]

Epodes 16

- [94r] (v. 1) ¶ Prima Caesar contra Pompeium.
- [94v] [inner margin] (v. 6) Perlegatos Allobrogum Cicero consul deprehendit in nouationem quam Catilina in rem publicam meditatus est. Qui quidem Romae existentes eius participes[305] facti fuerant tamquam odiosi Romano populo.
- (v. 14) Non licebat Quirini templum patefieri, ideo semper erat clausum.
- [95r] (v. 42) Ad quas Salustius[306] in historia uictum dicit Sertorium uoluisse ab Hyspania nauigare. [*Sallust, *Histories*].[307]
- (v. 42) **Diuites <et> insulas.** “Insulae fortunatae in Occeano Atlantico contra laeuam Mauritnniae[308] quas sub mecidie[309] quidem sitas sed proximas occasui dicit” [*Solinus, *Polyhistor* 6.14]. De quibus Solinus scribit in ultimo capito[310] Polimnestoris[311] historiis sui.
- (v. 45) Termes dicitur extremus ramus oliuae

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[303] *Subtemine* in modern editions.

[304] This is in part a citation of Servius’ comment on *Aeneid* 3.483 (although Servius’ commentary also contains a citation of Persius). Cf. Suringar 1835, 173.

[305] Probably derived from *particeps*, ‘partaking, participant’.

[306] Instead of *Sallustius.*

[307] Borrowed from Pseudo-Acro (Keller 1967, 441).

[308] Misspelling of *Mauritaniae.*

[309] Instead of *meridiae*.

[310] Instead of *capite.*

[311] Instead of *Polyhistoris*.

- (v. 45) Ramus dereptus ex arbore neo[312] soliis repletus nec minus glaber.
- (v. 53) ¶ **“**Nec rapit immensos orbes per humum neque tanti squameus in spiram tactum se colligit anguis.” [*Vergil, *Geor.* 2.153]
- (v. 54) Radere est secare, id est ter facere et de[313] aere est vel mari. Virgilius: “Radit it<er> laeuum” de naui dixit. [*Vergil, *Aeneid* 5.170]
- (v. 57) ¶ Non illuc iuere Argonautae
- (v. 59) ¶ **“**Cornua uelatarum obvertimus antemnarum.” [Vergil, *Aeneid* 3.549]
- (v. 60) ¶ **“**Nec cursus duplices per mare Ulixei.” [Horace, *Odes* 1.5.7]
- (v. 59) ¶ **Sidonii. “**Tyriorum rex a Fenicibus sine qui terrae motu uexati relicto patrio solo Assinum[314] stagnum primo mox mari proximum litus incoluerunt condita ibi urbe quam a piscium ubertate Sidona appellauerunt. Nam pisces Foenices Sidon uocant. Post multos deinde annos a rege Astaloniorum[315] expugnati nauibus appulsi Tiron urbem annum Troianae cladis condiderunt.” Trogus Pompeius, liber XVIII.[316]

Epodes 17

- [95v] [inner margin] (v. 3) Non enim numina Dianae excluduntur ab arte magica ut in Ischiomantia[317] Virgilii.
- (v. 8) ¶ Telephus rex Misorum cui Graeci ad Troiam bellum proficiscentes bellum intulere. Et singuli[318] certamine vulneratus ab Achille est. Postea errore cognito in amicitiam rediit cum Achille et ab eo curatus est. Qui artem a Chirone didicerat.[319]
- (v. 17) ¶ **Circe.** Solis filia Ulixis socios in uarias uerteret belluas. Sed mota deinde prece Ulixis eis propriam restituit formam.
- [96r] (v. 36) Certis stipendiis milites merebant.
- (v. 40) Yronice

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[312] Instead of *nea.*
[313] Or: *dicit.*
[314] Instead of *Assyrium*.
[315] Instead of *Ascaloniorum.*
[316] This annotation does correspond on a textual level to a passage in Justinus’ Epitome of Pompeius Trogus’ *Histories* 18.3.2-5, but there are several important deviations: *Tyriorum gens condita a Phoenicibus fuit, qui terrae motu vexti relicto patria solo, Assyrium stagnum primo, mox mari proximum littus inculuerunt, condita ibi urbe, quam a piscium ubertate, Sidona appellauerunt. Nam piscem Phoenices Sidon vocant. Post multos deinde annos a rege Ascaloniorum expugnati, nauibus appulsi, Tyron urbem ante annum Troianae cladis condiderunt*. Arnaud-Lindet 2003. Via: http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/index.html (last seen 01-02-2019).
[317] Unknown word, which may have been coined by the commentator, as was usual for magic-related words in medieval Latin. The suffix –*mantia* refers to the mystical nature of the magical art described, whereas *ischia* may refer to the Greek ἰσχία (‘hips, hipjoins’). *Ichthyomantia*, in contrast, is a known word describing the art of devination through animal behaviour.
[318] Instead of *singulo*.
[319] This appears to be an abbreviated version of the scholion – part of Pseudo-Acro? – that was edited by Keller (see Keller 1967, 452-453).

- (v. 43) **Magni Castoris** Stersicorus[320] poeta in Helenam scripsit carmen. Unde Venus una cum Castore et Polluce eum excaecauit, qui palinodia scripta rursus lumina recepit.
- VII diebus seruabantur cadauera, VIII cremabantur, VIIII condebantur.
- (v. 48) ¶ **Nouendialis dies** dicebatur qui[321] in honorem mortuorum celebrabatur.
- [96v] (v. 50) ¶ **Pactumeius** id est rugosus et repandus propter partus. V<en>trem enim antiqui pactumen[322] dixerunt.
- (v. 52) ¶ **Exilis[323]** puerpera. Laudat eam fecisse filios, quae re uera eos necabat in uentre timens uentris rugas.
- [inner margin] (v. 52) credimus uerum esse quod peper[er]is licet partus te non laeserit sicut alias puerperas qui debiles exurgere solent.
- (v. 53) ¶ Inducit Canidiam [prae][324] Canidia *precibus*[325] suis implacabiliter respondentem.[326]

Carmen Saeculare

- [97r] ¶ Saecularis Carminis duplex fuit deuotio aut enim pro sedanda uel auertenda pestilentia aut pro certo et constituto annorum numero. Centesimo enim et decimo anno a puellis et pueris impuberibus in capitolio cantabatur. Ideo tempora numeraturus ab Apolline et Diana sumpsit initium quia ipsi in honorem Solis et Lunae habebantur. Ut Virgilius, *Georgica* Liber primo dicturus de fructuum praeceptione eos inuocat sub aliorum nominibus: “Vos o clarissima mundi numina labentem caelo quae ducitis annum Liber et alma Ceres” [*Vergil, *Georgics* 1.5-7].[327]
- (v. 7) Romaeque in septem collibus posita est. Virgilius: “Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma. Septemque una sibi muro circundedit arces” [*Vergil, *Georgics* 2.534-535].[328]
- (v. 10) **Alius** dicitur ratione humana quia homines putant oriente sole alium fieri diem. Idem uere Romae diuina dicitur quia tempus diuturnus est et semper idem.

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[320] Instead of *Stesichorus.*

[321] Or *quod.*

[322] It is unclear to which synonym of *venter* the commentator wants to refer to here (the only one that comes somewhat close is *abdomen*, but this is a stretch). *Pactumeius* is interpreted by most commentators (including Porphyrio) as the name of Canidia’s child; there was also a people in Campania connected to the epithet, but its meaning remains obscure (Mankin 1995, 286).

[323] *Exsilis* in modern editions.

[324] This abbreviation appears to be a mistake.

[325] The abbreviation reads *R* with a stroke through the latter shaft; but based on the following –*cibus* and the correspondence of this scholion to Pseudo-Acro, I have inferred *precibus* here.

[326] Cf. The scholion edited in Keller 1967, 464 (part of Pseudo-Acro): ***quid obseratis auribus***. *Vt (Verg. Aen. IIII 428): Cur mea dicta negat duras dimittere in aures? Inducit Canidiam precibus suis inplacabiliter respondentem.*

[327] *Vos, o clarissima mundi / Lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum, / Liber et alma Ceres.* This note seems an abbreviation from Pseudo-Acro, *CS* 1 (Keller 1967, 469).

[328] This citation mirrors the one in Pseudo-Acro (Keller 1967, 470).

- (v. 10) Licet ueniens ab ortu alius sis quam quom occidis officio, quoniam ueniens reddit diem occidens noctem, tamen idem es. Siue quom quotidie occidens mori uidearis altero die renasci, tamen unus et idem es.
- (v. 14) ¶ **Hilithia.** Luna dicitur qui siluarum dea vnde custos siluarum a poetis appellatur et dicitur ab υλΗ, quod siluam significat, et θεος, dea.
- (v. 14) ¶ **Ilithia** Homerum describit sequitur qui eam sic apellauit quasi hominum principiis fauens.[329]
- (v. 16) Faciendo semen matrici infusum in uitam haerere. Putatur enim omnium corporum rationem et potestatem habere.
- (v. 18) Nuptialibus inquit legibus fauens.
- [97v] [accompanied by diagram] (v. 21) Post centum decem annos putabatur saecula in nouatio.
- (v. 34) ¶ **Apollo** qum[330] colitur[e][331] cum cithara in manu tunc propitius deus habetur. Qum[332] autem cum telo et sagitta pro pestilentia et *libistonus*[333] dicitur.
- (v. 42) Qui unam habet uirtutem omnes habet.
- [inner margin] (v. 43) Si exiit tutus a flammis exiturus fuerat tutior ab undis petiturus in Ethrusco littore.
- (v. 43) Daturus.[334] Da ubique breuiatur nisi in imperatiuo, vt: “accipe daque finem” [*Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.150, *accipe daque fidem*].[335]
- [98r] (v. 50) Octauianus scilicet.
- (v. 51) ”Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.” [Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.853]
- (v. 54) Consularem potentiam Romanam principia et augumentum ab Alba habentem.
- (v. 56) “Imbellem auertis Romanis arcibus Indum” [Vergil, *Georg.* 2.172]. Unde Romam uenere legati ad Caesarem ut se dederent sponte.
- (v. 57) **Iam fides.** Hoc dicit in laudem Octauii qui magna pace ac uirtute populum Romanum rexit.
- (v. 58) “Magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo” [Vergil, *Ecl.* 4.5].

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[329] Cf. Pseudo-Acro, *CS* 14-15: ***Ilithia.*** *Ipsam enim Lucinam, Lunam et Dianam ostendit, quam mistico nomine, sicut in sacris dicebatur, Ilithiam nominauit, sicut eam et Homerus uocauit; ipsa enim partubus mulierum fauere putabatur. [15] A nobis genitalis dea, a Gr<a>ecis Hithyia* (Keller 1967, 471).

[330] Of *cum.*

[331] Or *colitare*, although that is harder to fit in the sentence.

[332] Of *cum.*

[333] It is unclear what the commentator meant here. A known epitheton of Apollo that comes closest to what we find in the manuscript, is *Lycoctonus*, from λύκος, "wolf", and κτείνειν, "to kill", but this link is definitely not certain.

[334] Non-rubricated lemma.

[335] Cf. Pseudo-Acro (Keller 1967, 476).

- (v. 60) Id est, pe<r>fecta abundantia. Et est sermo tractus a lunae ratione siquidem cum omnia lunae mitu gubernetur pleniora perfectiora sunt quae pleniiunio,[336] id est plenis lunae cornibus sunt, quam quae uacuis ut in echinis id est cocleis et cancris cernitur.
- (v. 67) ¶ **In lustrum.** Lustrum non modo pro spatio quinque annorum. Sed etiam pro aeuo atque saeculo ponitur[e]. Et proprit Lustrum magnum dicitur.
- (v. 70) XV^{im} Sacerdotes ad Dianae sacra instituti erant.

Boetius de singulis et duplicis pedibus

- [119v] ¶ Catariton trocheon ubi in tertio inuenitur trocheus, id est vna sublata de datilo efficitur trocheus.

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[336] Misspelling of *plenilunio*, 'the full moon'.

Appendix II: Quire Table

1.		—		*Reinforcing strip of parchment*
	1	^	10	
	2	^	9	
	3	^	8	
	4	^	7	
	5	^	6	
2.	11	^	20	*No catchword*
	12	^	19	
	13	^	18	
	14	^	17	
	15	^	16	
3.	21	^	30	
	22	^	29	
	23	^	28	
	24	^	27	
	25	^	26	
4.	31	^	40	
	32	^	39	
	33	^	38	
	34	^	37	
	35	^	36	
5.	41	^	50	
	42	^	49	
	43	^	48	
	44	^	47	
	45	^	46	
6.	51	^	60	
	52	^	59	
	53	^	58	
	54	^	57	
	55	^	56	
7.	61	^	70	
	62	^	69	
	63	^	68	
	64	^	67	
	65	^	66	

8.	71	^	81	
	72	^	80	
	73	^	79	
	74	^	78	
		\	77	*Inserted, stubbed leaf,*
	75	^	76	*with (glued) stub between f. 74 and 75*
9.	82	^	91	
	83	^	90	
	84	^	89	
	85	^	88	
	86	^	87	
10.	92	^	101	
	93	^	100	
	94	^	99	
	95	^	98	
	96	^	97	
11.	102	^	109	*No catchword*
	103	^	108	
	104	^	107	
	105	^	106	
12.	110	^	113	*No catchword*
	111	^	112	

Appendix III: Overview of Texts, Scripts and Material Characteristics

Folia	Text	Script	Display Script	Initials	Annotation
1r-19v	Horace, *Epistles* 1	*humanistica semitextualis*	Titles of books in a display script resembling the *humanistica textualis*; titles of individual poems in Roman capital script.	Initial of *Epist.* 1.1 richly decorated. Initial of individual poems mostly red with blue pen flourishing. Several missing initials.	Heavily annotated up to f. 18v.
19v-28r	Horace, *Epistles* 2				Only interlinear glosses.
28v-45r	Horace, *Odes* 1	*humanistica textualis* (with the exception of *Odes* 1.1.1-17).	Titles of books (and *Odes* 1.37) in Roman capital script; titles of individual poems in a display script resembling the *humanistica textualis*.	Many initials with blue pen flourishing; some plain, red initials; a few missing initials.	Annotated in various measure (average of 6 scholia per page) and in various hands.
45r-55v	Horace, *Odes* 2			Almost all initials are missing.	
55v-74v	Horace, *Odes* 3			All initials are missing.	
74v-85r	Horace, *Odes* 4				
85r-97r	Horace, *Epodes*				
97r-98v	Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*				
98v-107r	Horace, *Ars Poetica*			The red outlines of a single initials are visible. Small ‘section’ majuscules at the beginning of verses return from 102 onwards.	No annotation.
107r	Anonymous, *De Vita Horatii*	*humanistica cursiva*	Usage of Roman capital script for titles of treatises (red ink) and for the incipit of the texts (black ink).	The initials with blue pen flourishing return.	No annotation.
107r-109v	Anonymous, metrical treatise				
109v-110r	Anonymous, metrical treatise				
110r-119v	Nicollò Perotti (c. 1450), *De metris Horatii et Boethii* (fragment).				One note on f. 119v.

Appendix IV: Extent of Annotation on Individual Poems

Poem	**Extent of annotation**	**General theme**
Epist. 1.11	Interlinear glosses only	To Bullatius, on travelling. A man's state of mind is more important than his place of abode.
Epist. 1.18	Interlinear glosses only	To Lollius, providing instructions for being a good *cliens.*
Epist. 1.19	Only one non-interlinear comment	To Maecenas, defence against negative criticism on the *Odes* and *Epodes*.
Odes 1.36	Only one non-interlinear comment	Festivities for the return of Numida.
Odes 2.10	Interlinear glosses only	The golden mean.
Odes 2.18	Interlinear glosses only	Anti-*luxuria* poem.
Odes 2.19	Interlinear glosses only	Bacchus ode.
Odes 3.13	Interlinear glosses only	Small poem, spring of Bandusia.
Odes 3.14	Interlinear glosses only	The return of Augustus.
Odes 3.15	Interlinear glosses only	Invective against a too old woman.
Odes 3.25	Almost only interlinear glosses	On Bacchus and the praising of Augustus.
Odes 3.26	Interlinear glosses only	Brief poem, end of love's battle, Chloe.
Odes 3.28	Interlinear glosses only	Brief poem, Neptune's feast day.
Odes 4.5	Almost only interlinear glosses	Song of the blessings of Augustus' age.
Odes 4.7	Interlinear glosses only	Cycle of nature.
Odes 4.10	Interlinear glosses only	Brief poem to Ligurinus to warn him that he will age.
Odes 4.15	Interlinear glosses only	Final ode to Augustus.
Epodes 11	Interlinear glosses only	Horace is in love with all boys and girls.
Epodes 14	Interlinear glosses only	Horace cannot write iambics because he is in love (as is Maecenas).
Epodes 15	Interlinear glosses only	The disappointed lover.

Appendix V: Marginal Signs

Folium	**Passage**	**Poem**	**Notes/content**	**Maxim found in Walther 1963-1969**
MANICULAE				
41r	*Sed omnis una manet mors*[337] */ et calcanda semel uia leti (...)*	*Odes* 1.28.15-16	With red paragraph sign in text. Maxim on inevitable death.	No
41r	*Nullum / Saeua caput Proserpina fugit.*	*Odes* 1.28.19-20	With read paragraph sign in text. Maxim on death.	No
57r	*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*	*Odes* 3.2.13	Famous maxim on war/fatherland.	Yes, I 782.
59v	*Vis consilii expers: mole ruit sui / vim temperatam dii quoque prouehunt.*	*Odes* 3.4.65-66	Maxim on power.	Yes, V 817. Many *loci.*
60v	*Nec uera uirtus cum semel excidit / curat reponi deterioribus.*	*Odes* 3.5.29-30.	Maxim on the loss of virtue.	No
61v	*Fecunda culpae secula: nuptias primum inquinavere et genus et domos (...)*	*Odes* 3.6.17	Maxim on ruin of people/morality (because the gods are neglected).	No
66v	*Aurum per medios ire satellites (...)*	*Odes* 3.16.9	Maxim on the power of money.	No
66v	*Crescentem sequitur cura poecuniam*	*Odes* 3.16.19	Maxim on the downsides of money/avarice.	Yes, I 439
66v	*Quanto quisque sibi* [hole in parchment] *plura negauerit / ab dis plura feret (...)*	*Odes* 3.16.23	Maxim on the gods and denying oneself	Yes, IV 104
67r	*Multa petentibus / desunt multa.*	*Odes* 3.16.42	Maxim on sober living/anti-avarice	Yes, II 969
69v	*Immunis aram si tetigit manus / non sumptuosa blandior hostia / molliuit auersos penates / farre pio et saliente inica.*	*Odes* 3.23.17-20	Maxim on making sacrifices to the gods (Roman religion).	No
76v			Fixed mistake of copyist, in (faded) red ink. Slightly different shaped *manicula*.	
81r	*Paulum sepultae sitat*[338] *inhertiae / celata uirtus (...)*	*Odes* 4.9.29	Maxim on virtue and the importance of having it recorded.	Yes, III 738

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[337] Modern editions read *nox* here; see e.g. Rudd 2004.

[338] Modern editions read *distat* instead.

81v	*Non possidentem multa uocaueris / recte beatum (...)*	*Odes* 4.9.45	Maxim on the unhappiness of the rich.	Yes, III 351.
82r	*Terret ambustus phoeton auaras / spes*	*Odes* 4.11.25	'Negative' exemplum on avarice.	No
83r	*Misce stultitiam consiliis breuem / dulce est desipere in loco.*	*Odes* 4.12.28	Maxim on a right time to be excessive.	Yes, I 782 and II 898
87v	*Licet superbus ambules poecunia / Fortuna non mutat genus.*	*Epodes* 4.6	Maxim on the priority of descent over wealth	Latter part yes, II 174 (many *loci*)
OTHER MARGINAL SIGNS				
6r	*Si quicquid uidit melius petus ue sua spe (...)*	*Epistles* 1.6.13 ff.	Nota-sign in red ink. Passage against excessiveness and 'marveling'	
6v	*Ergo / si*[339] *res sola potes facere et seruare beatum (...)*	*Epistles* 1.6.1-2	Paragraph sign with 'Ironice'	
11v	In the margin: *alibi*[340] *glomos.*	*Epistles* 1.13.14	Sign of three dots (trigon) used as a reference to the text. Textual criticism: both *glomos* and *globos* are found in MSS tradition.	
13r	Reference mark.	*Epistles* 1.15.30	Added line with reference to the text that the copyist had forgotten. The hand may be that of the copyist himself.	
14v	*Mors ultima linea rerum est*	*Epistles* 1.16.78	Nota-sign highlighting a maxim on death.	Yes, II 924. Many *loci*
20v	*Ut cretici*[341] *dicunt*	*Epistles* 2.1.51	Two excerption marks in red marking this passage; it is unclear why.	
21r	*Ut primum positis nugari Graecia bellis (...)*	*Epistles* 2.1.93	Paragraph sign in red. Passage about the 'downfall' of Greece after she stopped waging war.	
21v	*Si das hoc paruis quoque rebus magna iuuari*	*Epistles* 2.1.125	Excerption marks in red. Maxim on the power of small things.	No
24r	*Sed neque paruum / carmen maiestas recipit tua*	*Epistles* 2.1.257 ff.	Paragraph sign in red. Passage on modesty and fear of bad eulogy.	
25r	*Romae nutriri me*[342] *contingit atque doceri / iratus Grays quantum nocuisset Achilles*	*Epistles* 2.2.41-42	Large, decorated paragraph sign in red and blue, with *exsoluit parabolem* in red. Analogy of the *Iliad* (for Horace's education in general).	

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[339] Modern editions read the name *Numici* instead of *ergo si.*

[340] The abbreviation reads *al'.*

[341] Instead of *critici.*

[342] Instead of *mihi.*

70v	*Non secus in iugis .... rupis et vacuum nemus.*	*Odes* 3.25.8-13.	'Comparatio' with excerption marks. Comparison between the Maenad and Horace as wondering poet in a lonely landscape.	
85v	*Ut assidens in plumibus pullis auis ... latura plus praesentibus.*	*Epodes* 1.19-22	'Comparatio' with excerption marks. Comparison between a bird's fear for her young and Horace's fear.	
93r	*Pereat male...Inachiam ter nocte potes...*	*Epodes* 12.16-17	Excerption marks. Explicit passage (the disappointed speech of Horace's lover). Are the lines disorganised? *Pereat* should be after *Inachiam...*	
96r/96v	*O nec paternis obsoleta sordibus ... ut cumque fortis exilis puerpera.*	*Epodes* 17.46-52	Excerption marks with *Hyronicos* hidden in them. Horace tells Canidia all the things she is *not* (although we suspect she is).	
97v	*Certus undenos decies per annos*	*CS* 21	Calculation/small diagram illustrating the 'cycle of ten times eleven years' (10 * 11 = 110).	

Appendix VI: References to Authors

Author[343]	Work (if specified)	Referenced passages (if traceable)	Place of reference in commentary	Explicit reference[344] (X = yes)	Direct citation[345] (X = yes)
Alceus			*Od.* 1.1	X	
			Od. 1.32	X	
			Od. 2.13	X	
Aristocles[346]	*Italian Histories*	3	*Od.* 3.29	X	
Cato	*Fragments*	5.1	*Ep.* 1.8	X	X
Caesar	*De Bello Gallico*	4.1.2	*Od.* 3.24	X	X
Catullus	*Carmina*	13	*Od.* 4.11	X	X
Cicero	*De officiis*	34.7	*Epist.* 1.1	X	X
			Epist. 1.14	X	
			Od. 1.42	X	
	Tusculanae Disputationes	1.3	*Od.* 3.11	X	X
		1.116	*Od.* 3.19	X	X
	Cato Maior De Senectute	45; 46	*Od.* 3.21	X	X
	De Natura Deorum	3	*Od.* 3.22	X	
	Oratio in Verrem	2.5.38	*Od.* 3.24	X	X
Columella	*De Re Rustica*		*Od.* 3.18	X	
			Od. 3.29	X	
Ennius	*Fragments*	*inc. 118 (Hunink)	*Epist.* 1.13	X	X
Euripides	*Bacchae*		*Epist.* 1.16	X	
Eusebius	*Preparation of the Gospels*	10.9.19	*Od.* 3.19	X	
Gallus	*Fragment* 1[347]		*Od. 3.4*	X	X
Homer			*Od.* 2.2	X	
			Od. 4.13	X	
			CS	X	
Horace[348]		13.2	*Odes* 1.23		X
	Odes	1.1.1	*Epist.* 1.7	X	X
		1.5.7	*Epodes* 16		X
		2.6.1	*Epist.* 1.9		X
		1.22.1	*Epist.* 1.10	X	X
		1.25	*Od.* 1.25	X	X
		3.1.44	*Od.* 2.12	X	X
		2.9.21-22	*Od.* 3.1		X
	Epistles	1.11.30	*Epist.* 1.14	X	X

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[343] These exclude commentators, that are often copied but rarely cited. An exception is M. Servius Honoratus, who is mentioned as a source five times throughout the commentary.

[344] That is to say, the quotations or literary works that were referred to by the name of the author, the exact reference to a specific book or literary work, or both of the above. Whether the referential information is correct or not is not taken into account here.

[345] Paraphrases of passages, that we find in the case of e.g. Livius, are excluded here.

[346] Misspelled as 'Aristides' in the commentary. Aristocles' work is mentioned as the source of a myth in Plutarchus, *Paralella minora* 41.

[347] As cited (including Gallus' name) by Vibius Sequester, *On rivers etc.* 77.

[348] The listed quotations of Horace exclude lemmata, citation of single or very few words, and verses in the margin that were clearly meant to supplement the main text (e.g. because verses were missing).

		1.15.44	*Epist.* 1.14	X	X
		1.5.19-20	*Epist.* 1.15		X
	Ars Poetica	120	*Epist.* 1.3	X	X
		79-80	*Epist.* 1.19	X	X
		394-395	*Od.* 3.11	X	X
	Epodes	9.9-10	*Epodes* 9	X	X
Juvenal	*Satires*	3.154	*Epist.* 1.1	X	X
		14.207	*Epist.* 1.1	X	X
		3.729	*Epist.* 1.3	X	X
			Epist. 1.5	X	
		10.276	*Epist.* 1.5	X	X
		1.64	*Epist.* 1.6	X	X
		1.143	*Epist.* 1.6	X	X
		1.49-50	*Epist.* 1.7	X	X
		15.9	*Epist.* 1.12	X	X
		14.22	*Epist.* 1.15	X	X
		3.237	*Epist.* 1.16	X	X
		1.141	*Od.* 3.17	X	X
Livy	*Ab Urbe Condita*	27.51	*Od.* 4.4	X	
			Od. 4.4	X	
		27	*Od.* 4.4	X	
		10	*Epodes* 9	X	
Lucan	*Bellum Civile*	3.235-236	*Od.* 1.22	X	X
		2.424	*Od.* 3.17		X
Macrobius	*Saturnalia*	3.10	*Epodes* 2	X	
Marcus the Evangelist	*New Testament*	16:7	*Epist.* 1.12	X	X
Ovid			*Epist.* 1.12	X	
	Metamorphoses	3.339	*Od.* 3.7	X	X
		6.506	*Od.* 3.7	X	X
	Fasti	3.451	*Od.* 4.10	X	X
			Od. 4.12	X	
Julius Paulus Prudentissimus	*De Institoria Actione*[349]		*Od.* 3.6	X	
Persius	*Satires*	5.58-60	*Epist.* 1.2	X	X
		4-6 (prologue)	*Epist.* 1.3	X	X
		5-6 (prologue)	*Epist.* 1.3	X	X
		5.61	*Epist.* 1.3	X	X
		6.37	*Epist.* 1.5	X	X
		5.95	*Epist.* 1.14	X	X
		2.8	*Epist.* 1.14	X	X
		5.119-120	*Epist.* 1.16	X	X
		5.111	*Epist.* 1.16	X	X
Plautus	*Amphytrion*	461-462	*Epist.* 1.7	X	X
		155-157	*Epodes* 4	X	X
Pliny the Elder	*Historia Naturalis*		*Od.* 3.24	X	
Pliny the Younger	*Letters*	5.6	*Od.* 4.7	X	X

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[349] See Justinian, Dig. 14.3, where Paulus is cited writing on the topic of the institutor.

(Ps.)Plutarch	*Letter to Trajan*		*Epist.* 1.16	X	X
	Parallel Stories	41	*Od.* 3.29	X	
Propertius	*Elegies*	4.8.78	*Epist.* 1.6	X	X
		4.2	*Od.* 3.6	X	X
		6.7.89-93	*Epodes* 5	X	X
		4	*Epodes* 5	X	
Quintilian	*Major Declamations*	9.19.5	*Epist.* 1.4	X	X
Sallust	*Jugurtha*	6	*Epist.* 1.12	X	X
	Histories		*Epodes* 16	X	
Sappho			*Od.* 4.9	X	
Seneca	*Medea*	231	*Epist.* 1.1	X	X
	Epistulae	5.4	*Epist.* 1.12	X	X
	Hercules Furens	757	*Od.* 2.14	X	X
			Od. 4.3	X	
Solinus	*Polyhistor*	6.14	*Epodes* 16	X	X
Stersichorus	*Helena*		*Epodes* 17	X	
Strabo, Julius Caesar	*Tecmessa*		*Od.* 2.5	X	
Terence	*Andria*	15	*Epist.* 1.2	X	X
	Eunuchus	670	*Epist.* 1.2	X	X
Tibullus	*Elegies*		*Epist.* 1.4	X	
Trogus, Pompeius[350]	*Philippic Histories*	42	*Od.* 2.2	X	
		42	*Od.* 3.6	X	
		18	*Epodes* 16	X	
Varro	*Rerum Rusticarum*	2.4	*Od.* 3.17	X	X
Vergil	*Aeneid*	1.116	*Epist.* 1.2	X	X
		2.492	*Epist.* 1.2	X	X
		7.266	*Epist.* 1.2		X
		2.79	*Epist.* 1.2	X	X
		5.128	*Epist.* 1.6	X	X
		1.272	*Epist.* 1.7	X	X
		1.12	*Epist.* 1.12		X
		4.266	*Od.* 1.2	X	X
		1.151	*Od.* 1.24	X	X
		7.372	*Od.* 2.2		X
		6.654-655	*Od.* 2.13	X	X
		1.482	*Od.* 3.23		X
		6.893-896	*Od.* 3.28	X	X
		1.39	*Od.* 4.11	X	X
			Od. 4.13	X	
		1	*Epodes* 10	X	
		1.665	*Epodes* 15		X
		5.170	*Epodes* 16	X	X
		3.549	*Epodes* 16		X
		8.150	*CS*		X
		6.853	*CS*		X
	Georgics	1.317	*Epist.* 1.14	X	X
		3.276	*Od.* 1.25		X
		3.280-281	*Od.* 1.25		X

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[350] Although the text of Trogus is lost, an epitome of his work by Marcus Junianus Justinus was much read throughout the Middle Ages.

		4.467-68	*Od.* 1.34	X	X
		2.459-460	*Od.* 3.20	X	X
		2.153	*Epodes* 16		X
		1.5-7	*CS*	X	X
		2.534-535	*CS*	X	X
		2.172	*CS*		X
	Eclogues	7.10	*Epist.* 1.2	X	X
		9.61	*Epist.* 1.14	X	X
		2.9	*Od.* 1.23		X
		1.38-39	*Od.* 1.26		X
		2.66-67	*Od.* 3.6	X	X
		4.5	*CS*		X
	Ischiomantia (?)[351]		*Epodes* 17	X	
Vibius Sequester	*On Rivers etc.*		*Od.* 1.31	X	

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[351] This is an unknown work which has likely to do with magic and is possibly ascribed to Vergil. See Chapter 3, 'The Commentator on Authors'.

Appendix VII: Images

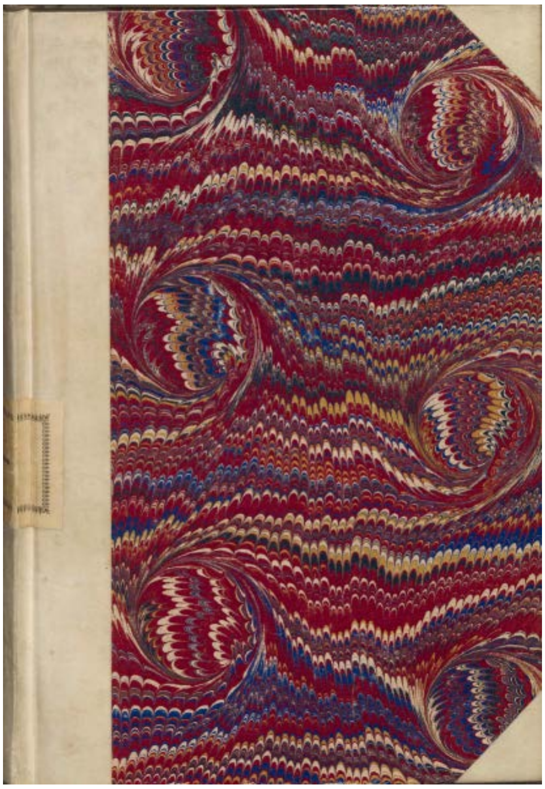
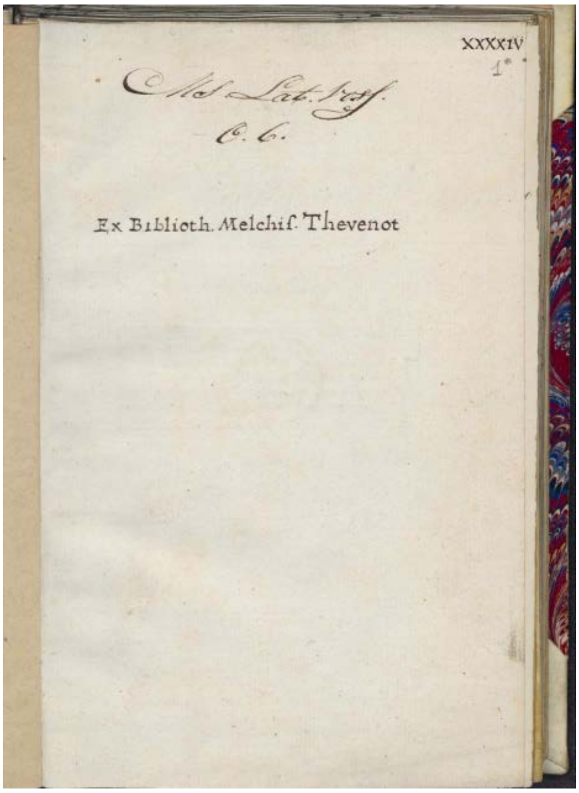


Image 1: Front cover (featuring 'spirals-comb-marble-paper') of VLO 6.



XXXXIV
1*

Ms Lat. Voss.
O. 6.

Ex Biblioth. Melchiſ. Thevenot

Image 2: f. 1 featuring an ex libris of Melchisédech Thevenot.*

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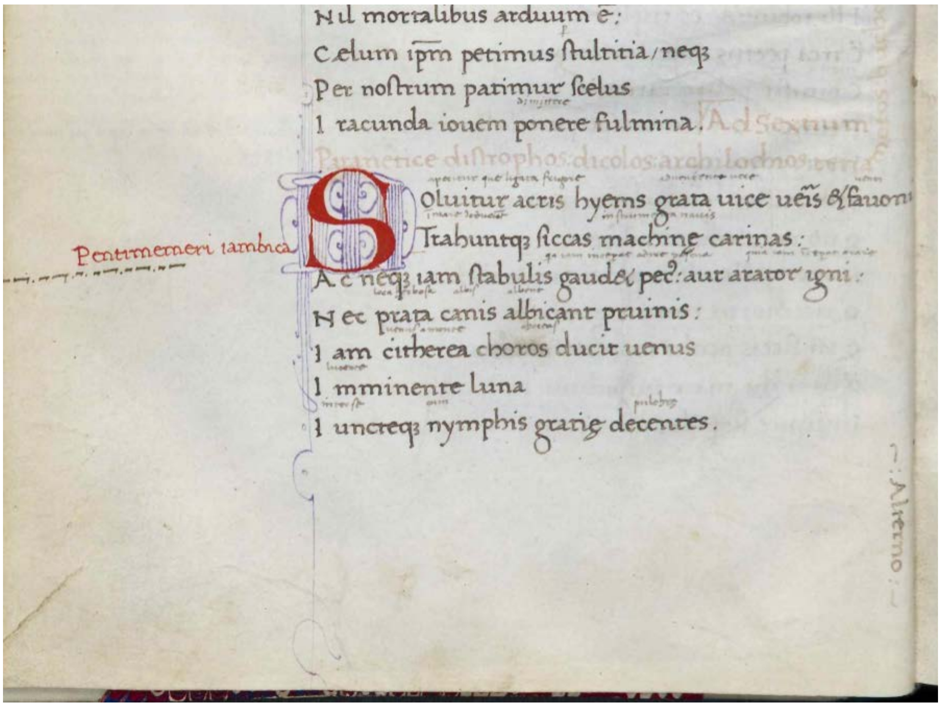
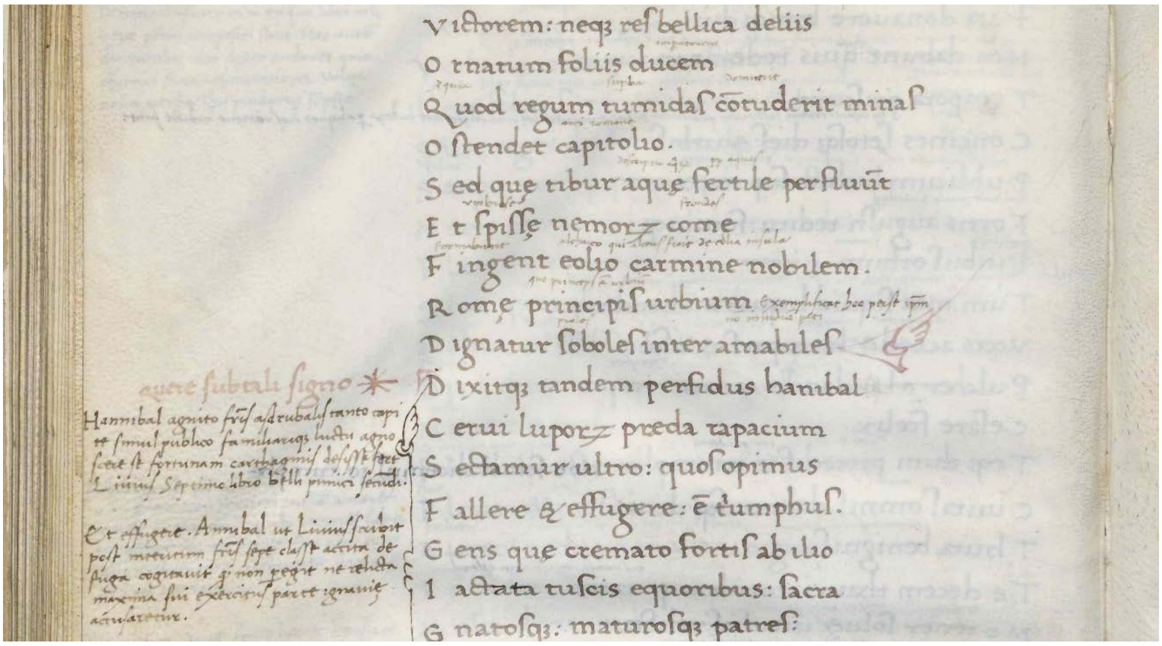


Nil mortalibus arduum ē:
Cælum ipm petimus ſtultitia / neq;
Per noſtrum patimur ſcelus
Iracunda iouem ponere fulmina. Ad Sextum
Paraenetice diſtrophos: dicolos: archilochios
Soluitur actis hyems grata uice uēis & fauoni
Trahuntq; ſiccas machine carinas:
Ac neq; iam ſtabulis gaudet pec: aut arator igni:
Nec prata canis albicant pruinis:
Iam citherea choros ducit uenus
Imminente luna
Iunctęq; nymphis gratię decentes.

Pentimemeri iambica

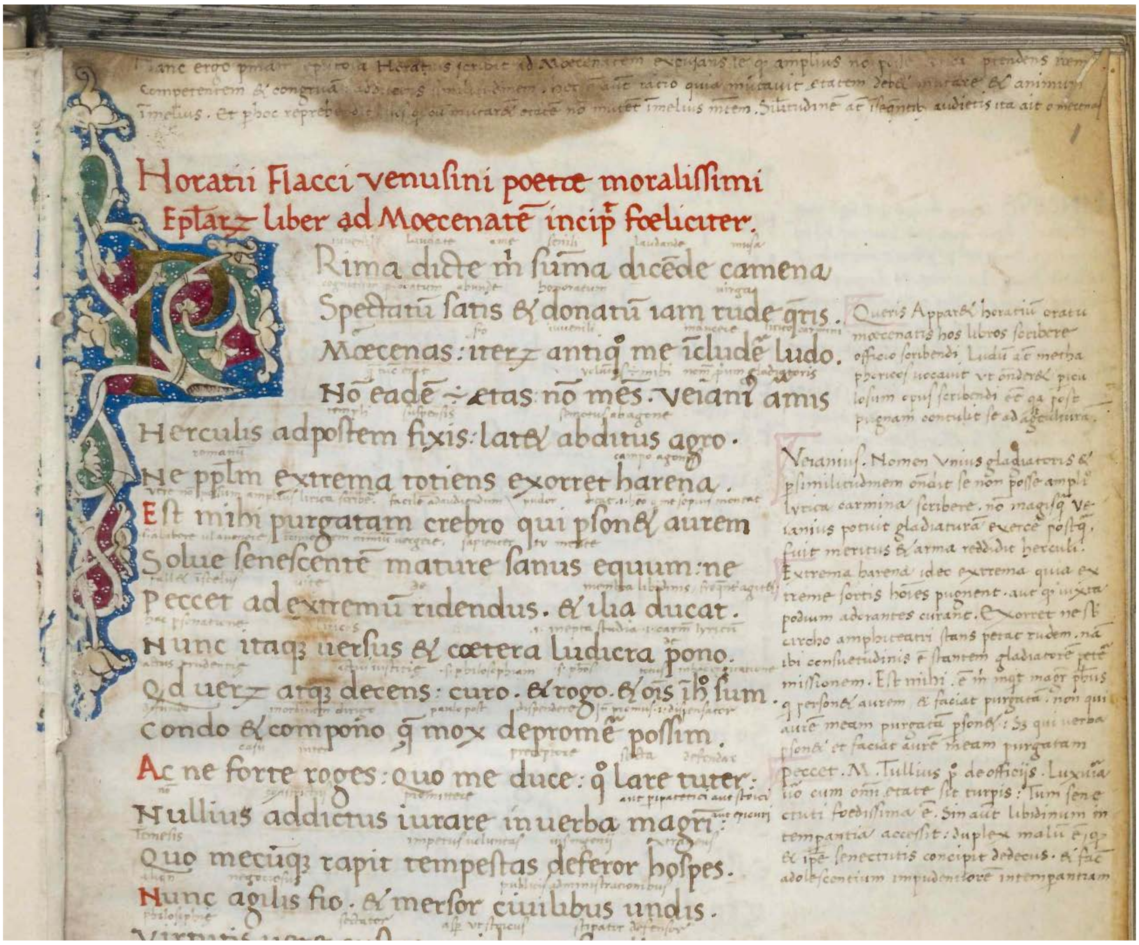
Alterno :

Image 3: f. 30v (detail). Example of a catchword, written on the last page of the third quire.



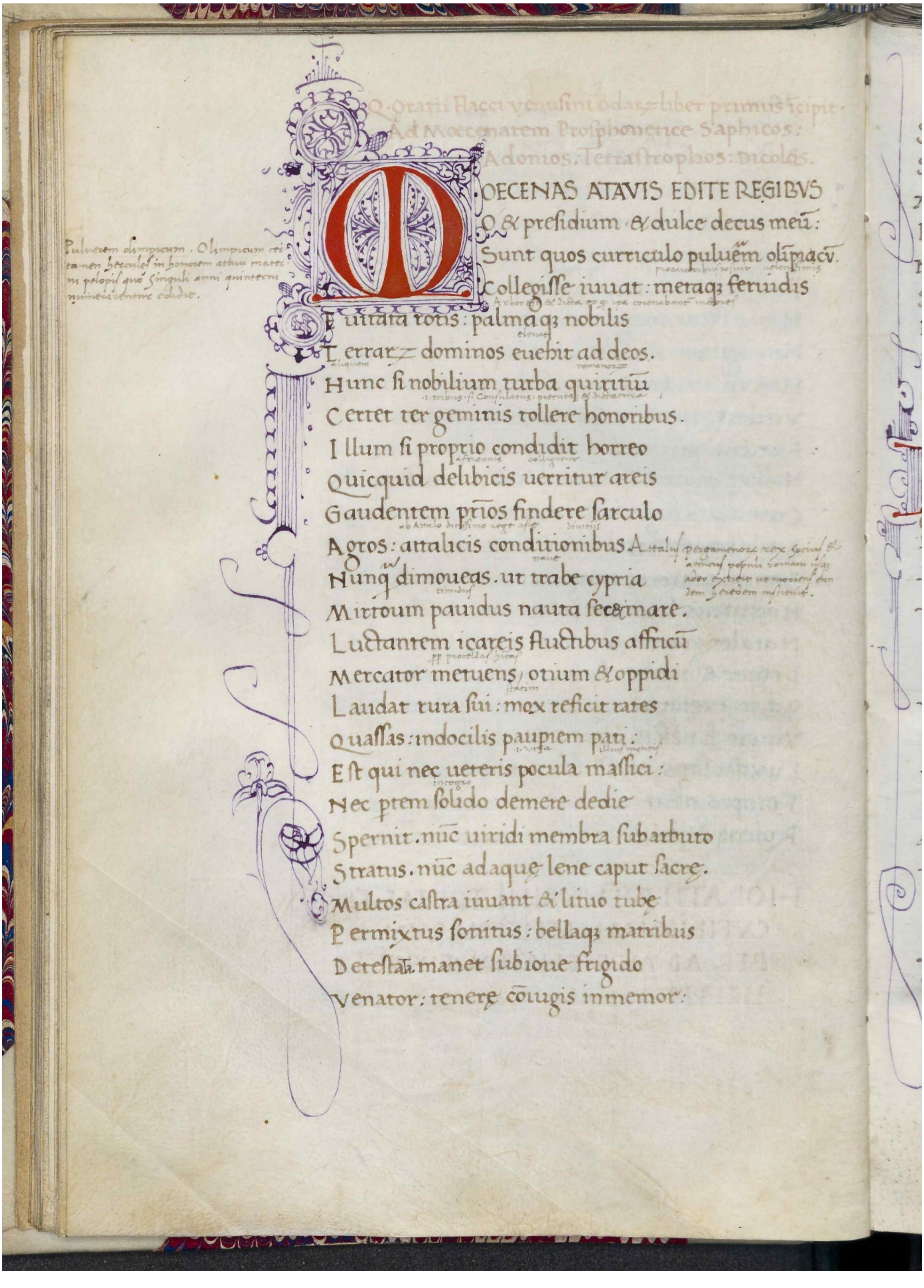
Victorem: neq; res bellica deliis
Ornatum foliis ducem
Quod regum tumidas cōtuderit minas
Oſtendet capitolio.
Sed que tibur aque fertile perfluūt
Et ſpiſſe nemorꝝ come
Fingent eolio carmine nobilem.
Rome principis urbium
Dignatur ſoboles inter amabiles
Dixitq; tandem perfidus hanibal
Cerui luporꝝ preda rapacium
Sectamur ultro: quos opimus
Fallere & effugere: ē triumphus.
Gens que cremato fortis ab ilio
Iactata tuſcis equoribus: ſacra
Gnatoſq;: maturoſq; patres:

Image 4: f. 76v (detail). Annotations to fix a copying mistake.



Horatii Flacci venuſini poete moraliſſimi
Eplarꝝ liber ad Moecenatē incip̄ foeliciter.
Prima dicte m̄ ſuma dicēde camena
Spectatū ſatis & donatū iam rude q̃ris
Mœcenas: iterꝝ antiq̊ me ĩcludē ludo.
Nō eadē ÷ etas: nō mēs. Veiani armis
Herculis adpoſtem fixis: latet abditus agro.
Ne pplm extrema totiens exoret harena.
Eſt mihi purgatam crebro qui pſonet aurem
Solue ſeneſcentē mature ſanus equum: ne
Peccet ad extremū ridendus. & ilia ducat.
Nunc itaq; uerſus & coetera ludicra pono.
Qd uerꝝ atq; decens: curo. & rogo. & oīs ĩ h̊ ſum.
Condo & compono q̄ mox deprome poſſim.
Ac ne forte roges: quo me duce: q̊ lare tuter:
Nullius addictus iurare in uerba magri:
Quo mecūq; rapit tempeſtas deferor hoſpes.
Nunc agilis fio. & merſor ciuilibus undis.

Image 5: f. 1r (detail). Incipit of Epistles *book 1.*



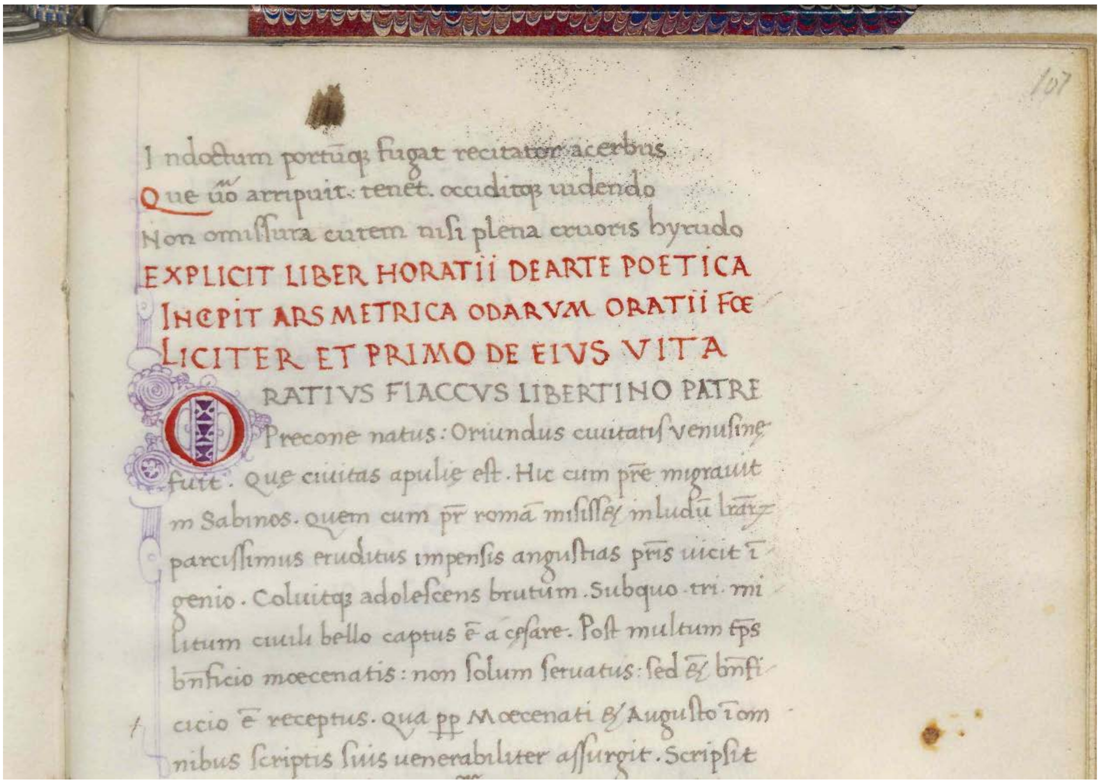
Q. Oratii Flacci uenuſini odarum liber primus incipit.
Ad Moecenatem Proſphonetice Saphicos:
Adonios: Tetraſtrophos: Dicolos.

MOECENAS ATAVIS EDITE REGIBVS
O & preſidium & dulce decus meū:
Sunt quos curriculo puluerem olīpiacū
Collegiſſe iuuat: metaq; feruidis
Euitata rotis: palmaq; nobilis
Terrarum dominos euehit ad deos.
Hunc ſi nobilium turba quiritiū
Certet ter geminis tollere honoribus.
Illum ſi proprio condidit horreo
Quicquid delibicis uerritur areis
Gaudentem patrios findere ſarculo
Agros: attalicis conditionibus
Nunquam dimoueas. ut trabe cypria
Mirtoum pauidus nauta ſecet mare.
Luctantem icareis fluctibus affricū
Mercator metuens, otium & oppidi
Laudat rura ſui: mox reficit rates
Quaſſas: indocilis pauperiem pati.
Eſt qui nec ueteris pocula maſſici:
Nec partem ſolido demere de die
Spernit. nūc uiridi membra ſub arbuto
Stratus. nūc ad aque lene caput ſacre.
Multos caſtra iuuant & lituo tube
Permixtus ſonitus: bellaq; matribus
Deteſtata. manet ſub ioue frigido
Venator: tenere cōiugis inmemor:

Pulverem olimpicum. Olimpicum certamen herculeſ in honorem [illegible] pelopiſ quod ſinguli anni quintecim [illegible]

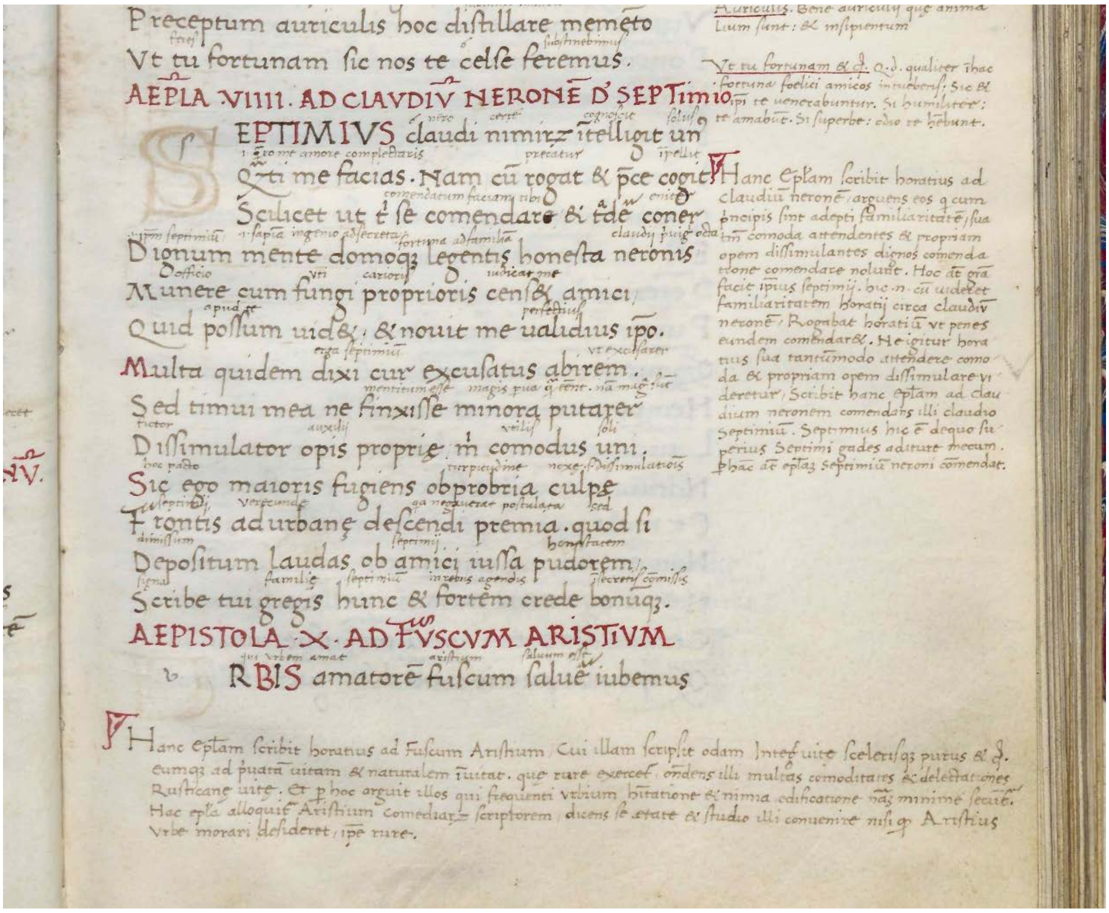
Attaluſ pergamenorum rex ſociuſ & amicuſ populi romani uſque adeo extitit ut moriens eundem heredem inſtituit.

Image 6: f. 28v. Incipit of Odes *book 1. The change in* **a** *is visible from 'Laudat rura sui'.*



I ndoctum doctūq; fugat recitator acerbus
Que ũo arripuit: tenet. occiditq; legendo
Non omiſſura cutem niſi plena cruoris hyrudo
EXPLICIT LIBER HORATII DE ARTE POETICA
INCEPIT ARS METRICA ODARVM ORATII FOE
LICITER ET PRIMO DE EIVS VITA
ORATIVS FLACCVS LIBERTINO PATRE
Precone natus: Oriundus ciuitatiſ venuſine
fuit. Que ciuitas apulie eſt. Hic cum prē migrauit
in Sabinos. quem cum pr̄ romā miſiſſ& in ludū litt
parciſſimus eruditus impenſis anguſtias pr̄is uicit ī
genio. Coluitq; adoleſcens brutum. Sub quo tri. mi
litum ciuili bello captus ē a ceſare. Poſt multum tp̄s
bn̄ficio moecenatis: non ſolum ſeruatus: ſed & bn̄fi
cicio ē receptus. qua pp Moecenati & Auguſto ī om
nibus ſcriptis ſuis uenerabiliter aſſurgit. Scripſit

Image 7: f. 107r. Incipit to Horace's Vita *and Perotti's* Ars Metrica.



Preceptum auriculis hoc diſtillare memēto
Vt tu fortunam ſic nos te celſe feremus.
AEPLA VIIII. AD CLAVDIV NERONĒ D SEPTimio
SEPTIMIVS claudi nimirū itelligit un
Qnti me facias. Nam cū rogat & pce cogit
Scilicet ut t ſe comendare & tdē coner
Dignum mente domoq; legentis honeſta neronis
Munere cum fungi proprioris cenſ& amici
Quid poſſum uid&: & nouit me ualidius ipo.
Multa quidem dixi cur excuſatus abirem.
Sed timui mea ne finxiſſe minora putarer
Diſſimulator opis proprie: mī comodus uni.
Sic ego maioris fugiens obprobria culpe
Frontis ad urbane deſcendi premia. quod ſi
Depoſitum laudas ob amici iuſſa pudorem
Scribe tui gregis hunc & fortem crede bonūq;.
AEPISTOLA X. AD FVSCVM ARISTIVM
VRBIS amatorē fuſcum ſaluē iubemus

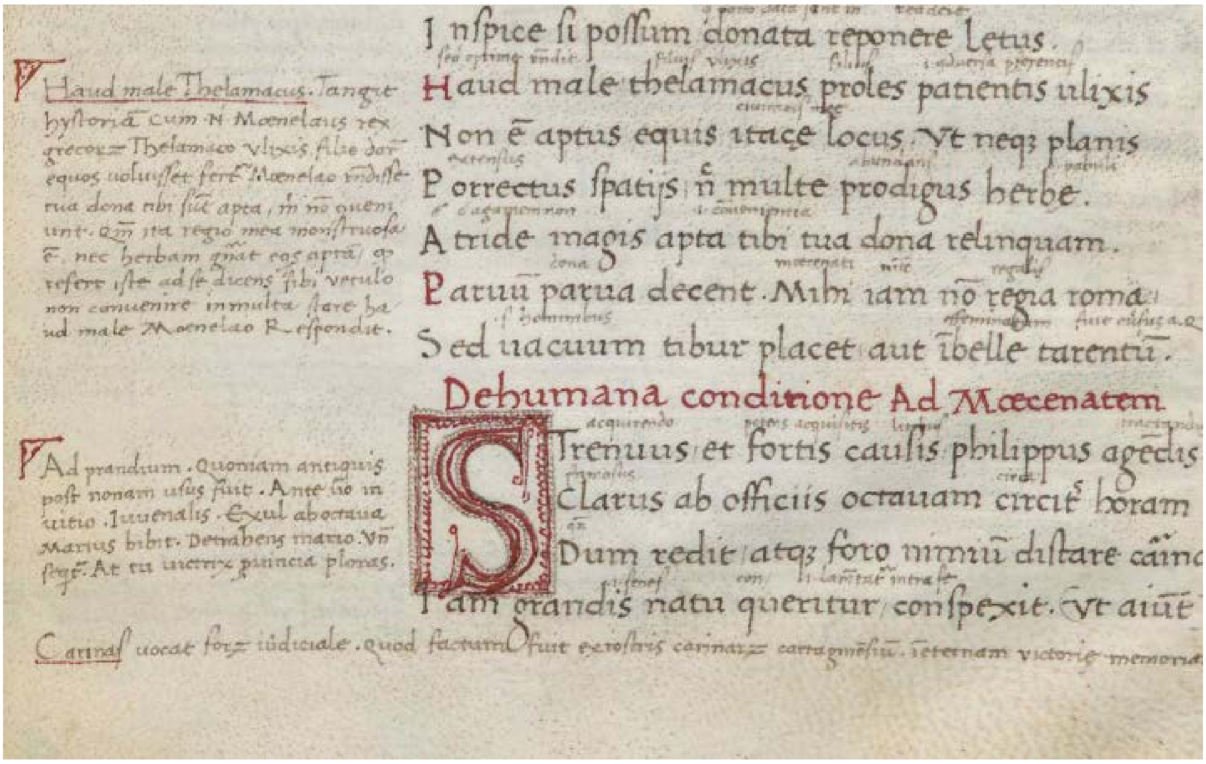
Auriculis. Bene auriculis que anima
lium ſunt: & inſipientum

Vt tu fortunam & c. q.d. qualiter ī hac
fortuna foelici amicos intuebenſ: Sic &
ipi te uenerabuntur. Si humiliter:
te amabūt. Si ſuperbe: odio te hebunt.

Hanc Eplam ſcribit horatius ad
claudiū neronē, arguens eos q cum
pncipis ſint adepti familiaritatē, ſua
tm̄ comoda attendentes & propriam
opem diſſimulantes dignos comenda
tione comendare noluerit. Hoc āt gr̄a
facit ipius ſeptimij. hic .n. cū uideret
familiaritatem horatij circa claudiū
neronē, Rogabat horatiū vt penes
eundem comendar&. Hic igitur hora
tius ſua tantūmodo attendere como
da & propriam opem diſſimulare vi
deretur, Scribit hanc eplam ad clau
dium neronem comendans illi claudio
ſeptimiū. Septimius hic ē de quo ſu
perius Septimi gades aditure mecum.
p hac āt eplaz ſeptimiū neroni comendat.

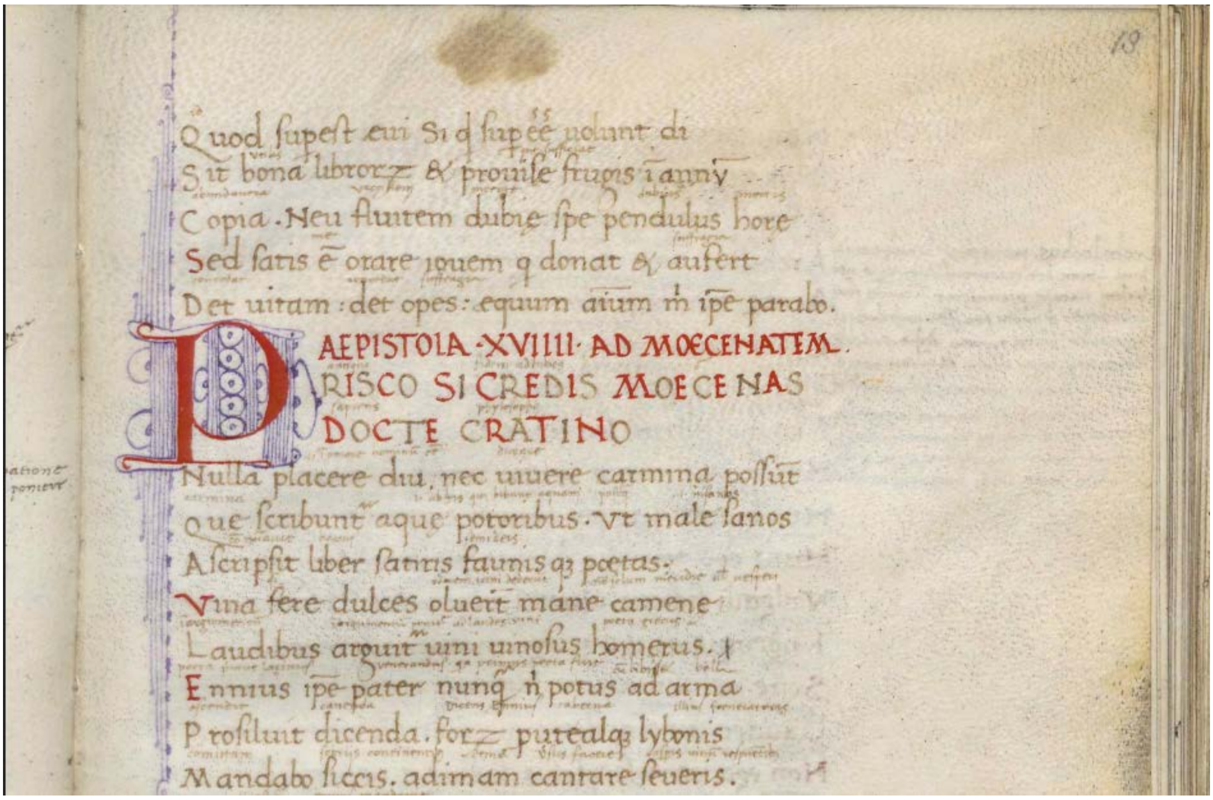
Hanc eplam ſcribit horatius ad Fuſcum Ariſtium, Cui illam ſcripſit odam Integer uite ſcelerisq; purus & c.
eumq; ad puatā uitam & naturalem īuitat. que rure exercet, oñdens illi multas comoditates & delectationes
Ruſticane uite. Et p hoc arguit illos qui frequenti vrbium hitatione & nimia edificatione nāq minime ſecuit.
Hac epla alloquit Ariſtium comediarū ſcriptorem, dicens ſe etate & ſtudio illi conuenire niſi q Ariſtius
vrbe morari deſideret, ipē rure.

Image 8: f. 9r. Vague initial at the beginning of Epistles *1.8.*



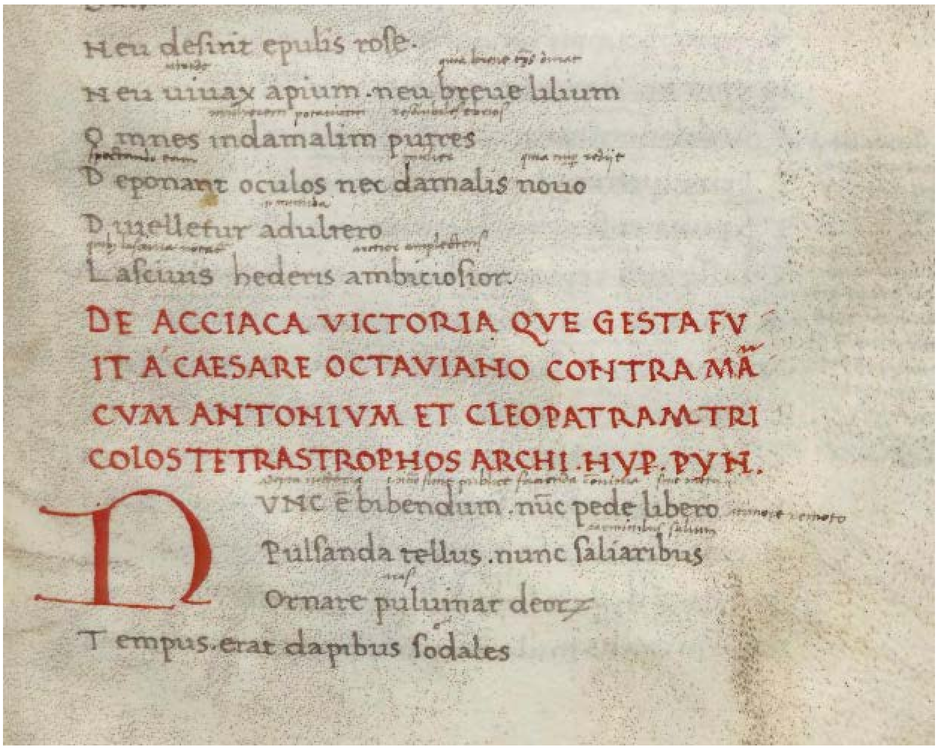
Inspice si possum donata reponere letus.
Haud male thelamacus proles patientis ulixis
Non ē aptus equis itace locus. Vt neq; planis
Porrectus spatiis ñ multe prodigus herbe.
Atride magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam.
Paruū parua decent. Mihi iam nō regia roma
Sed uacuum tibur placet aut ībelle tarentū.
De humana conditione Ad Moecenatem
Strenuus et fortis causis philippus agendis
Clarus ab officiis octauam circit̄ horam
Dum redit atq; foro nimiū distare cārinas
Iam grandis natu queritur conspexit. ut aiūt

Image 9: f. 7v (detail). Example of an ‘amateurish’ initial.



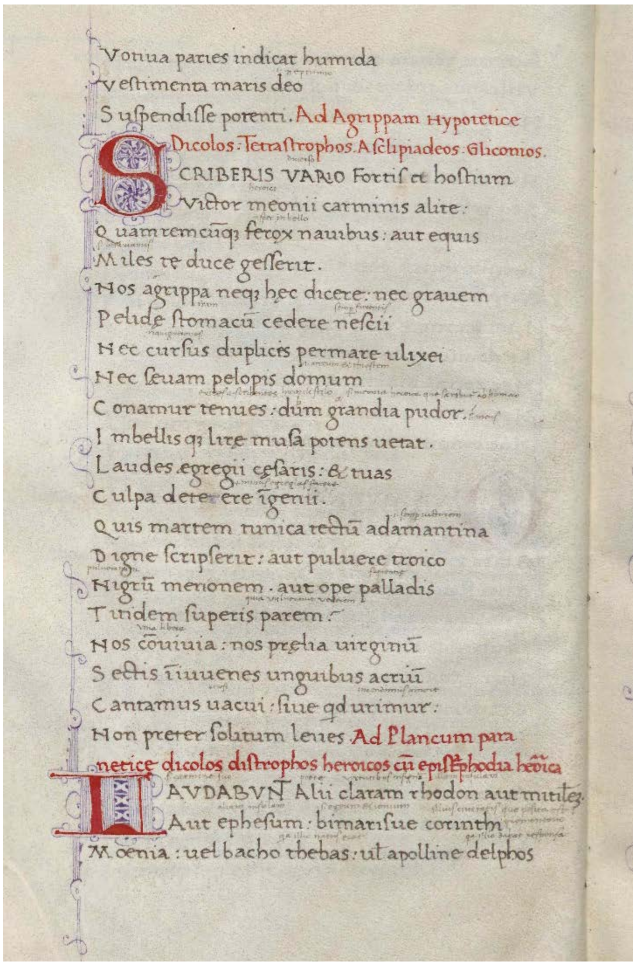
Quod supest eui si q supēē uolunt di
Sit bona librorꝝ & prouise frugis ī annū
Copia. Neu fluitem dubie spe pendulus hore
Sed satis ē orare iouem q donat & aufert
Det uitam : det opes : equum aīum m̄ ipe parabo.
AEPISTOLA·XVIIII· AD MOECENATEM.
PRISCO SI CREDIS MOECENAS
DOCTE CRATINO
Nulla placere diu, nec uiuere carmina possūt
que scribunt aque potoribus. Vt male sanos
Ascripsit liber satiris faunis q; poetas.
Vina fere dulces oluerit mane camene
Laudibus arguit uini uinosus homerus.
Ennius ipe pater nunq ñ potus ad arma
Prosiluit dicenda. forꝝ putealq; lybonis
Mandabo siccis. adimam cantare seueris.

Image 10: f. 18r (detail). Multi-coloured title to *Epistles* 1.19.



Neu desint epulis rose.
Neu uiuax apium. neu breue lilium
Omnes in damalim putres
Deponant oculos nec damalis nouo
Diuelletur adultero
Lasciuis hederis ambiciosior.
DE ACCIACA VICTORIA QVE GESTA FV
IT A CAESARE OCTAVIANO CONTRA MÃ
CVM ANTONIVM ET CLEOPATRAM TRI
COLOS TETRASTROPHOS ARCHI. HYP. PYN.
NVNC ē bibendum. nũc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus. nunc saliaribus
Ornare puluinar deorꝫ
Tempus. erat dapibus sodales

Image 11: f. 44r. Distinctive script used to accentuate the opening of Odes *1.37.*



Votiua paries indicat humida
Vestimenta maris deo
Suspendisse potenti. Ad Agrippam Hypotetice
Dicolos: Tetrastrophos. Asclipiadeos. Glicomos.
SCRIBERIS VARIO Fortis et hostium
Victor meonii carminis alite:
Quam rem cũq; ferox nauibus: aut equis
Miles te duce gesserit.
Nos agrippa neq; hec dicere: nec grauem
Pelide stomacũ cedere nescii
Nec cursus duplices per mare ulixei
Nec seuam pelopis domum
Conamur tenues: dum grandia pudor.
Imbellis q; lire musa potens uetat.
Laudes egregii cesaris: & tuas
Culpa deterere ĩgenii.
Quis martem tunica tectũ adamantina
Digne scripserit: aut puluere troico
Nigrũ merionem. aut ope palladis
Tindem superis parem:
Nos cõuiuia: nos prelia uirginũ
Sectis ĩ iuuenes unguibus acriũ
Cantamus uacui: siue qd urimur:
Non preter solitum leues. Ad Plancum para
netice dicolos distrophos heroicos cũ episthodia heõica
LAVDABVNT Alii claram rhodon aut mitilen.
Aut ephesum: bimarisue corinthi
Moenia: uel bacho thebas: ut apolline delphos

Image 12: f. 31v. Rubricated titles that begin on the previous line.

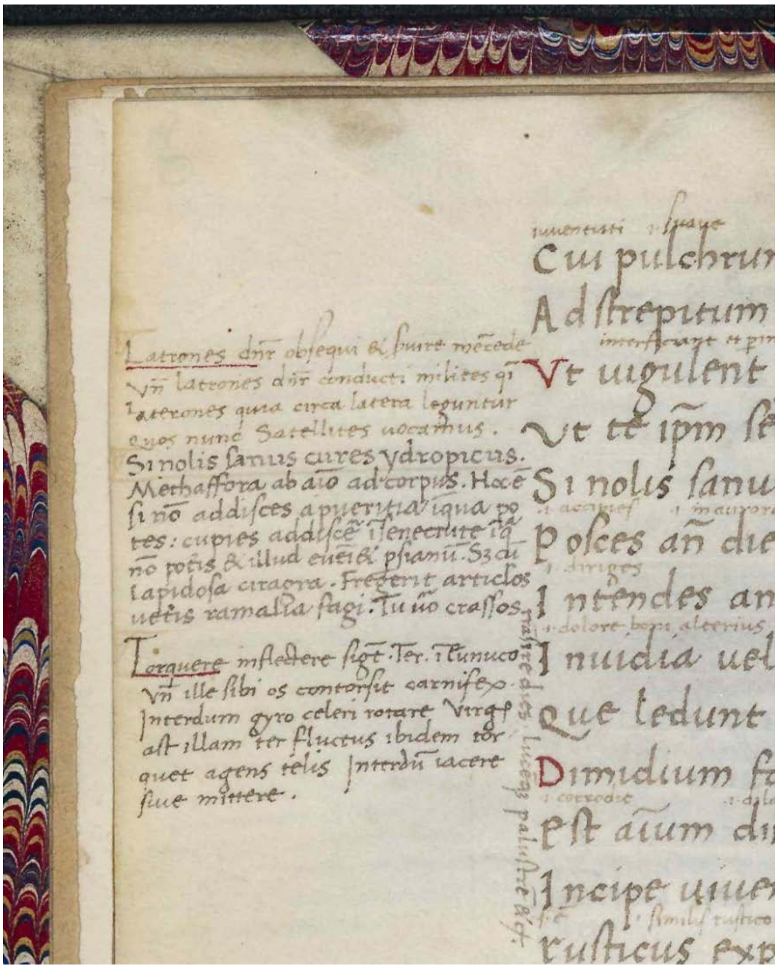


Image 13: f. 3v (detail).

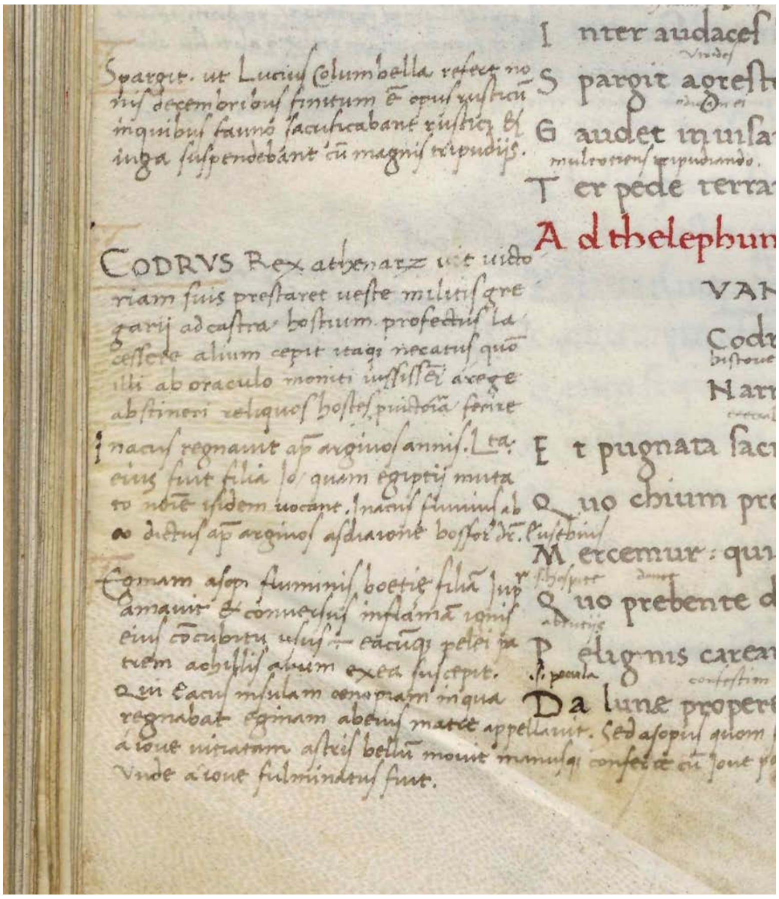
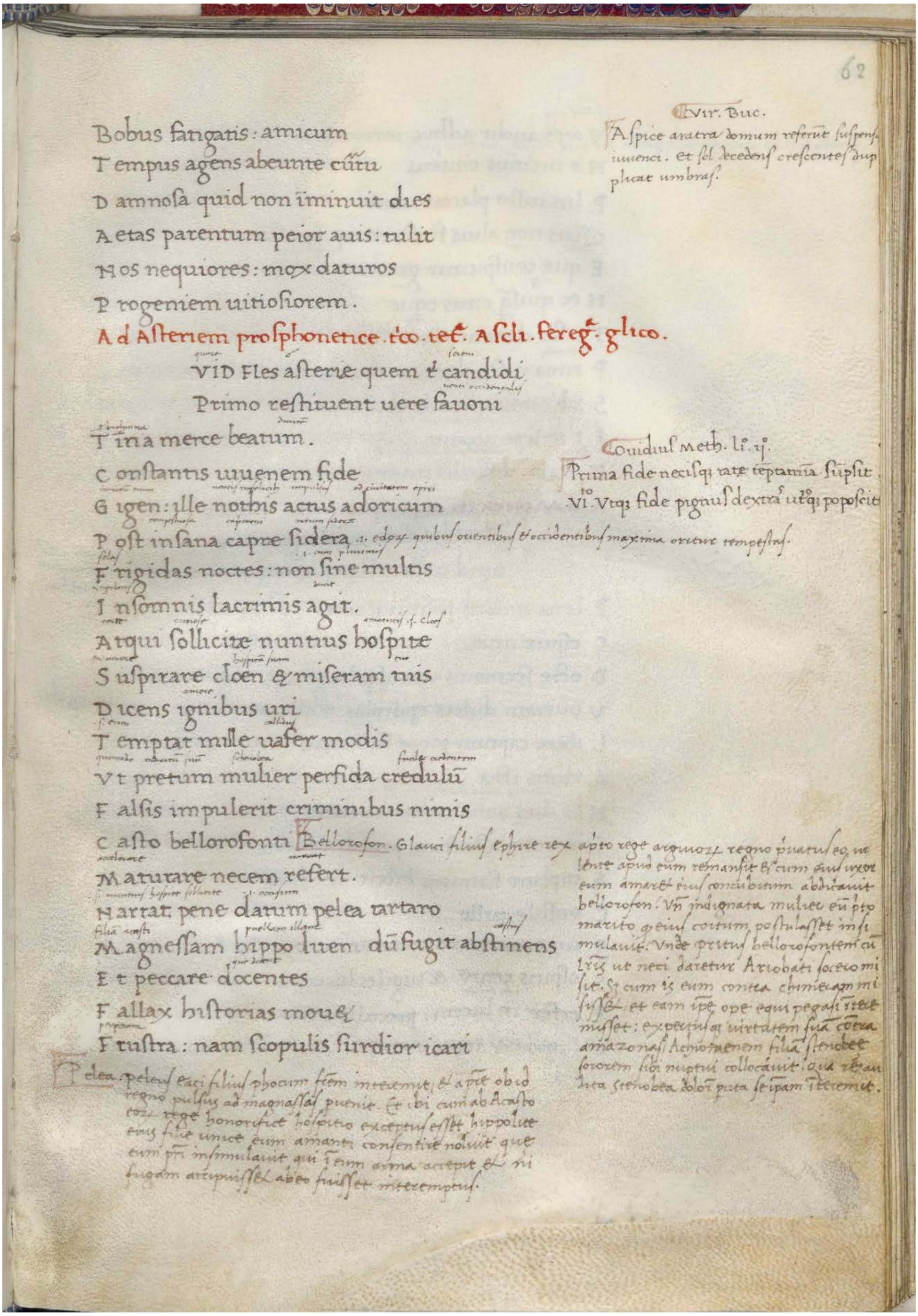


Image 14: f. 67v (detail).



62

Bobus fatigatis : amicum
Tempus agens abeunte cũru
Damnosa quid non iminuit dies
Aetas parentum peior auis : tulit
Nos nequiores : mox daturos
Progeniem uitiosiorem.
Ad Asteriem prosphonetice. tco. tet. Ascli. fereg. glico.
VID Fles asterie quem tibi candidi
Primo restituent uere fauoni
Tinia merce beatum.
Constantis iuuenem fide
Gigen : ille notis actus ad oricum
Post insana capre sidera .i. edos quibus orientibus et occidentibus maxima oritur tempestas.
Frigidas noctes : non sine multis
Insomnis lacrimis agit.
Atqui sollicite nuntius hospite
Suspirare cloen & miseram tuis
Dicens ignibus uri
Temptat mille uafer modis
Vt pretum mulier perfida credulũ
Falsis impulerit criminibus nimis
Casto bellorofonti
Maturare necem refert.
Narrat pene datum pelea tartaro
Magnessam hippo liten dũ fugit abstinens
Et peccare docentes
Fallax historias mouet
Frustra : nam scopulis surdior icari

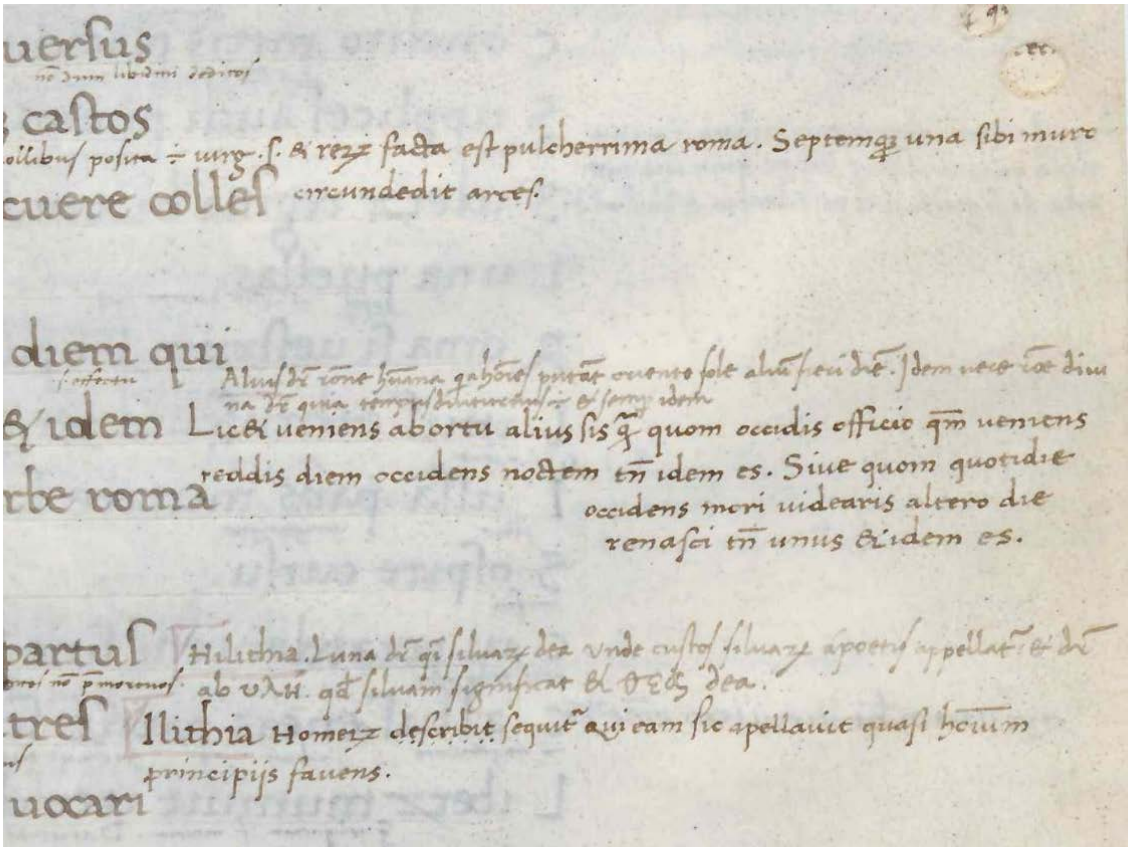
Vir. Buc.
Aspice aratra domum referunt suspensa
iuuenci. Et sol decedens crescentes dup
plicat umbras.

Ouidius meth. li. vi.
Prima fide uocisq; ratę tēptamina sūpsit
VI. Vtq; fide pignus dextrā utrq; poposcit

Bellorofon. Glauci filius ephire rex a proto rege argiuorum regno priuatus eo uo
lente apud eum remansit & cum eius uxor
eum amaret eius concubitum abdicauit
bellorofon. Vnde indignata mulier eum pro
marito quod eius coitum postulasset insi
mulauit. Vnde pretus bellorofontem cum
litteris ut neci daretur Ariobati socero mi
sit. Sed cum is eum contra chimeram mi
sisset et eam ipse ope equi pegasi interemisset : expertusq; uirtutem sua contra
amazonas Achiomenem filiā stenobee
sororem sibi nuptui collocauit. qua re au
dita stenobea dolore pta seipam interemit.

Pelea. peleus eaci filius phocum fratrem interemit, et a patre obid
regno pulsus ad magnassas peruenit. Et ibi cum ab Acasto
eorum rege honorifice hospitio exceptus esset hippolite
eius filie unice eum amanti consentire noluit que
eum patri insimulauit qui statim arma accepit et ni
fugam arripuisset ab eo fuisset interemptus.

Image 15, f. 62r. Marginal notes in different hands on Odes *3.6 and 3.7.*


uerſus

caſtos

& rex facta eſt pulcherrima roma. Septemq; una ſibi muro

cuere colleſ circundedit arceſ.

diem qui

& idem Licet ueniens ab ortu alius ſis q quom occidis efficio qm ueniens

reddis diem occidens noctem tn idem es. Siue quom quotidie

rbe roma occidens mori uidearis altero die

renaſci tn unus & idem es.

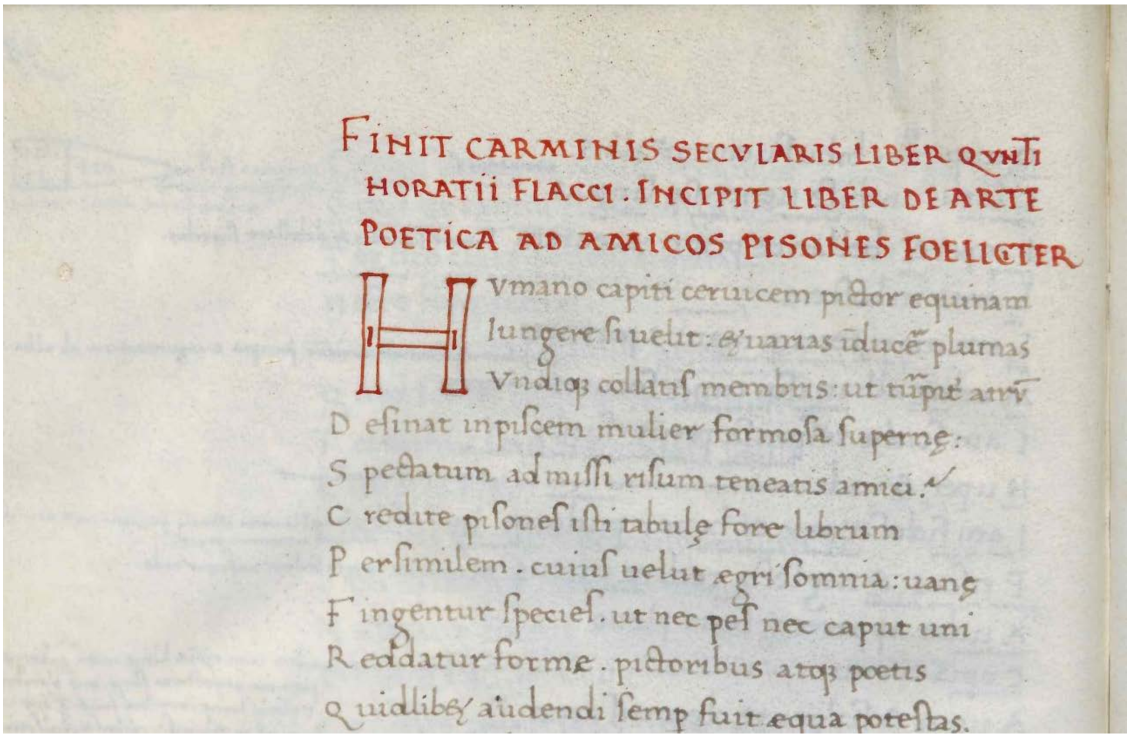
partuſ Hilithia. Luna

treſ Ilithia Homerus deſcribit ſequitur qui eam ſic apellauit quaſi hominum

principijs fauens.

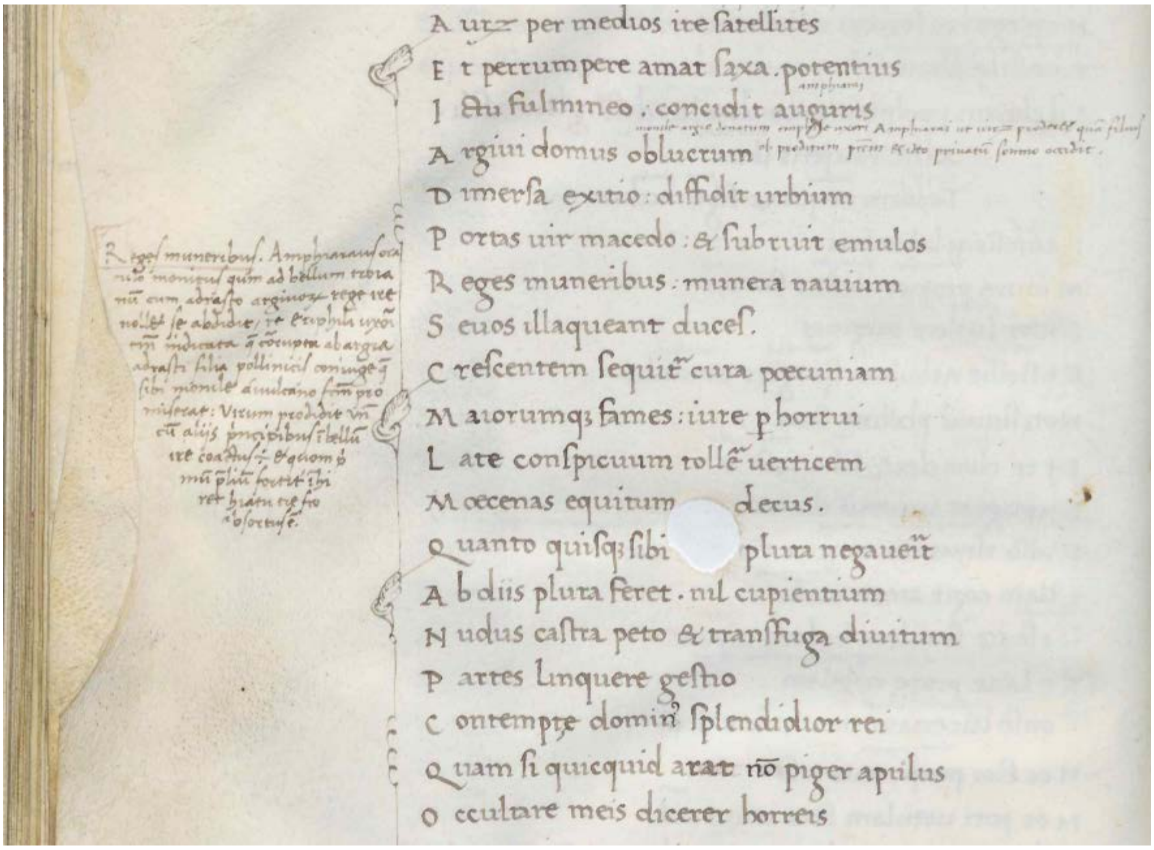
uocari

Image 16: f. 97r (detail). Notes in various hands on Carmen Saeculare*.*


FINIT CARMINIS SECVLARIS LIBER QVNTI
HORATII FLACCI. INCIPIT LIBER DE ARTE
POETICA AD AMICOS PISONES FOELICITER

Hvmano capiti ceruicem pictor equinam
Iungere ſi uelit: & uarias iducē plumas
Vndiq; collatiſ membris: ut turpit atrū
Deſinat in piſcem mulier formoſa ſuperne:
Spectatum admiſſi riſum teneatis amici.
Credite piſoneſ iſti tabulę fore librum
Perſimilem. cuiuſ uelut ęgri ſomnia: uanę
Fingentur ſpecieſ. ut nec peſ nec caput uni
Reddatur formę. pictoribus atq; poetis
Quidlibet audendi ſemp fuit ęqua poteſtas.

Image 17: f. 98v (detail). Incipit of Ars Poetica.



A urũ per medios ire ſatellites
E t perrumpere amat ſaxa. potentius
amphiaraus
I ctu fulmineo: concidit auguris
A rgiui domus ob lucrum
D imerſa exitio: diffidit urbium
P ortas uir macedo: & ſubruit emulos
R eges muneribus: munera nauium
S euos illaqueant duceſ.
C reſcentem ſequitᵣ cura poecuniam
M aiorumq; fames: iure ꝑ horrui
L ate conſpicuum tollẽ uerticem
M oecenas equitum decus.
Q uanto quiſq; ſibi plura negauerĩt
A b diis plura feret. nil cupientium
N udus caſtra peto & tranſfuga diuitum
P artes linquere geſtio
C ontemptę domin9 ſplendidior rei
Q uam ſi quicquid arat nõ piger apulus
O ccultare meis dicerer horreis

Image 18: f. 66v (detail). Maniculae *and triangle-shaped annotations.*