ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE CAROLINGIAN WORLD
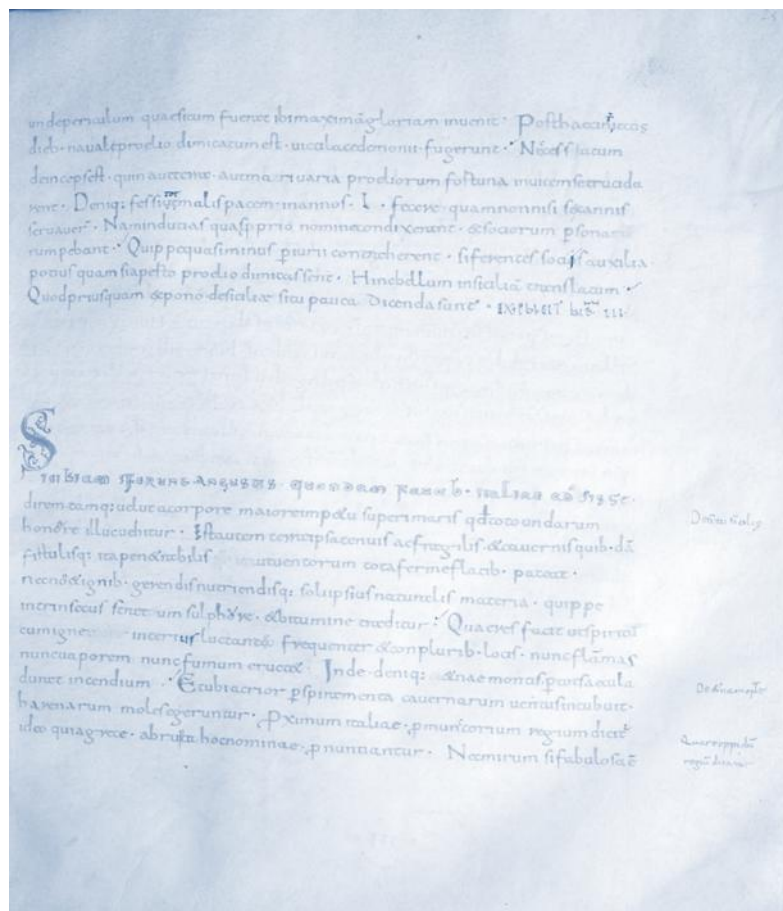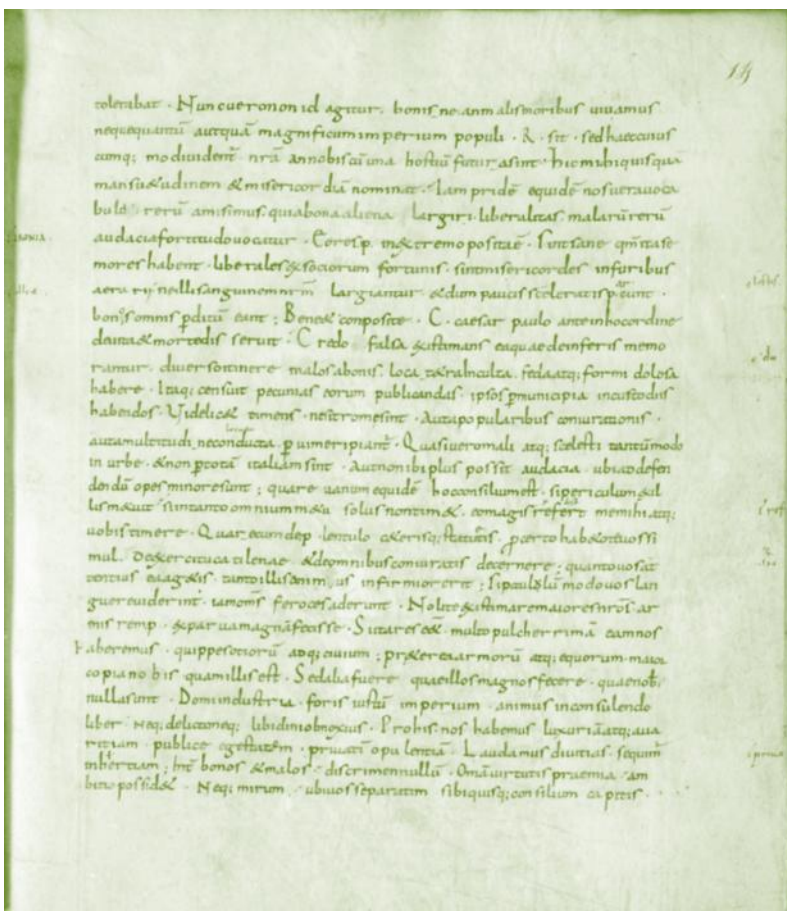
CAROLINGIAN MARGINAL ANNOTATIONS ON THE WORKS OF SALLUST AND JUSTINUS

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Ancient history in the Carolingian World. Carolingian marginal annotations on the works of Sallust and Justinus

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INTRODUCTION

Ceterum ex aliis negotiis quae ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum. - Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum*, 4.1[1]

'But among sundry intellectual pursuits, the recording of past deeds is especially serviceable.'[2]

Nine centuries after the composition of these words by the Roman historian Sallust (86 – 36 BC), Carolingian scholars had their own thoughts about what it was that made history 'serviceable'. Now, another millennium later, I will try to reconstruct what ninth-century scholars found useful and interesting about historical writings such as those of Sallust.

1.1 **Ancient history in a Carolingian world**

Recently, a volume has been published on history writing in the Early Middle Ages: *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*.[3] The editors concluded that, in the early medieval period, historians relied on late-antique Christian chronicles and histories to construct their own past, to define their identity and write about the Roman empire. Especially the *Chronicle* of Eusebius of Caesarea (263-339 AD) was a fruitful source for their historiography.[4] In the ninth century, when classical texts

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[1] In this thesis, I will not use the edition Leighton Reynolds made of the works of Sallust for quotations of the texts, but the ninth-century manuscripts themselves. (L.D. Reynolds, *C. Sallusti Crispi. Catilina, Iugurtha, Historiarum, Fragmenta Selecta, Appendix Sallustiana* (Oxford, 1991)) Readings and punctuation differ considerably from the ninth-century manuscripts studied, as Reynolds based his edition on manuscripts from the eleventh century onwards. Contrary to the ninth-century manuscripts that use classical spelling, the manuscripts from the eleventh century onwards use archaic spelling. As my research is explicitly on the ninth-century manuscripts, I believe it necessary to copy readings from the ninth-century witnesses Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16024 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025. If they offer the same reading, I will only refer to the section of Sallust's work. If they offer spelling variants, I will consider Paris, lat. 16025 as the leading manuscript and offer the variants in the footnotes.
Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum* (Jug.) 4.1.
[2] Translations of the texts of Sallust will be provided by the revision of J.C. Rolfe's translation by John Ramsey in the series of Loeb Classical Library: J. Ramsey, *Sallust. The war with Catiline. The War with Jugurtha* (Cambridge, London 2013) 171.
[3] C. Gantner, R. McKitterick, S. Meeder eds. *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge 2015).
[4] W. Pohl, 'Creating cultural resources for Carolingian rule: historians of the Christian empire', in: C. Gantner, R. McKitterick, S. Meeder eds. *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge 2015) 15-34, 17.

regained popularity to some extent, little attention was given to historiographical works by pre-Christian Romans - which I will simply call Roman histories - such as Sallust, Livy (d. 18 AD) and Tacitus (d. 116/20 AD). This phenomenon has been known, accepted, and has remained unquestioned for a long time. For example, Eva Stanford noted in 1944 that in the early Middle Ages, not many manuscripts of Roman histories were at hand, and that medieval writers of history fell back on late-antique Christian authorities instead of their Roman counterparts to describe their own past.[5] After all, the Carolingian empire was a Christian society in heart and soul.

Fundamental research on the Carolingian reception of the Roman histories has not been done recently, perhaps due to the apparent lack of new material. Few ninth-century manuscripts of Roman histories survive, and references to classical literature by Carolingian authors do not focus on these texts either. Unlike the works of, for example, Cicero, historiographical texts did not fit perfectly into the curriculum of the *artes liberales*. Presumably, the historiographical works were read in the margin of Carolingian education in grammar and rhetoric.[6] Why exactly these texts were studied in the ninth century, is hard to pin down. Perhaps one of the most clear purposes of the Carolingian use of the Roman histories is illustrated by Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, that was based on the *Vitae Caesarum* by Suetonius (ca. 70 – 140 AD). Einhard used the same structure of biographical work to describe the life of Charlemagne.[7] The language and structure of Roman histories figured as a model for Carolingian writers.

The interests in historiographical texts from Antiquity, however, were more diverse than suggested above. Extant ninth-century manuscript material allows for new insights in the purposes and interests Carolingians had in ancient history. The general scholarly trend to marginalize the impact of pre-Christian historiography on Carolingian society, has caused research on the subject to reach an impasse. By re-evaluating the role Roman histories played in the Carolingian society, and putting these texts in the spotlight, I will try counterbalance this trend and break the impasse.

Many of the ninth-century manuscripts containing Roman histories are heavily annotated by contemporaries. Through extensive study of these marginal practices, I

[5] E. Matthews Stanford, 'Study of ancient history in the middle ages' *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1944), 21-43.

[6] B. Smalley, 'Sallust in the Middle Ages', in: R.R. Bolgar ed., *Classical influences on European culture A.D. 500-1500* (Cambridge 1969) 165-176, 168; R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge 2004), 44.

[7] M. Innes, 'The Classical Tradition in the Carolingian Renaissance: Ninth-century Encounters with Suetonius' *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3.3 (winter 1998) 265-282.

am allowed to peek into the heads of Carolingian scholars and see their incentives to read the text. What did they find interesting? Which problems did they have with the text? Although the annotations give only limited access to Carolingian scholarship – not all readers of a manuscript made annotations – they are unique insights in the practice of learning. Also, I will discuss the extant material of florilegia and miscellanies using these historiographical writings, as the composition of the manuscripts and the choice of excerpts may give insight in the purposes of these texts.

Although it would be interesting, perhaps even necessary, to analyse all extant manuscript material from all Roman histories, space does not allow me to do so. That is why I limit my investigation to two historiographers: Sallust and Justinus. The two writers represent two ends of a spectrum of Roman historiographical work. Where Sallust in his two works *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum* presented two selective narratives with a very narrow time-frame, Justinus' *Epitome* of Pompeius' Trogus *Historiae Philippicae* (henceforth called *Epitome*) is an attempt to write world history. Besides, the two authors represent different 'schools' of historical writing. Justinus explicitly differentiated between the *historici Graecorum*, who were selective in their choice of topic, and the type of history Pompeius Trogus applied in his work – a chronological world chronicle.[8] One of the Greek historians Justinus is referring to, is Theucydides (fifth century BC), a historian whom Sallust took as a model to write his histories of Catiline and Jugurtha.[9] In *De Coniuratione Catilinae*, Sallust praised the Greek historians for their talent, that, according to him, Roman historiography lacked.[10] From this, one can conclude that both authors followed another, rather different, school of history writing. In fact, Justinus noted that Pompeius Trogus opposed Sallust's incorporation of speeches in direct speech, stating that this exceeds the bounds of history.[11] However, as both works acknowledged the other way of working, they did consider both types of writing as belonging to the same genre. Both authors had in common that they wrote the truth as they saw it.[12]

In this thesis, I will answer the following question: How did contemporary annotators of the ninth-century manuscripts containing the works of Sallust and

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[8] Justinus, *praefatio 3.*

[9] J.T. Ramsey, *Sallust's Bellum Catilinae second edition* (Oxford, New York 2007) 10.

[10] Sallust *De Coniuratione Catilinae* (Cat.) 8.3-5.

[11] Justinus, *Epitome,* (Epi.*)* 38.3.11 See also: A. Corcella, 'Speeches in historical works' in: *Encyclopedia of Ancient history.*

[12] J.E. Lendon, 'Historians without history: against Roman historiography', in: A. Feldherr ed,. *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Historians* (Cambridge 20009) 41-62, 55, 57.

Justinus deal with the texts, and what does this say about the purpose of and interests in these texts within the Carolingian intellectual world?

1.2 **Modern scholarship on Roman historiography**

Most research on the reception of Roman history in the Early Middle Ages has either focused on the number of surviving manuscripts, or on the impact the texts had on ninth-century scholars. In particular, I want to name the ninth-century scholar Lupus of Ferrières, who, due to his surviving letter collection, is known as a proto-humanist, collecting and revising manuscripts with classical texts.[13] In these letters, Lupus asked for the works of different historians, such as Suetonius, and quoted others, such as Sallust and Justinus.[14] In his view, Roman histories maintained an advisory role, as they were 'the masters of the world.'[15] This advisory role is visible in the different proverbs Lupus cited from Roman historians. He chose passages in which lessons, rather than events, were described. In letter 100, for example, Lupus paraphrased Sallust:

> But let none of us forget that saying which has been tested and held by all the wisest men down to our present age that 'through concord small states increase, but through discord the largest ones fall'[16]

In another letter, he quoted Justinus and Josephus on comets.[17] Apparently, there was an understanding that their lack of Christian background made Roman historians less authoritative, as Lupus felt the need to counter this view by writing:

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[13] L. Holtz, 'L'Humanisme de Loup de Ferrières' in : C. Leonard ed., *Gli umanesimi medievali. Atti del II congresso dell' 'Internationales mittellateiner komitee' Firenze certosa del Galluzzo, 11-15 settembre 1993* (Florence 1998) 201-213 ; A. Romano, 'Lupo di Ferrières un Umanista nel ix secolo' in : Leonard, *Gli umanesimi medievali*, 583-589.

[14] Lupus' letter collection is extant in one ninth-century manuscript: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2858. An edition of this manuscript is made by Ernst Dümmler: E. Dummler ed., *Lupi abbatis Ferrariens epistolae* MGH Epistolae 6.I 1-126. For an English translation of the letter collection of Lupus of Ferrières, see: G. W. Regenos, transl. and ed., *The Letters of Lupus of Ferrières* (The Hague 1966). I will follow the numbering of the letters of Dümmler. A table on numbering the letters in different editions, see: Regenos, *The Letters of Lupus of Ferrières*, 151-153.
Lupus asks for a copy of Suetonius in letter ninety-one; he quotes Sallust in letter ninety-three and Justinus in letter twenty.

[15] *Romani orbis terrarum domini*, Letter 93.

[16] Sallust (Jug. 10.6.) Translation by Regenos, *The Letters of Lupus of Ferrières*, 114-115.
Illud autem neminem nostrum fugiat quibusque doctissimis usque ad nostrum aetatem probantum et creditum, qui "per concordiam parvae res crescunt, per discordiam vero maximae dilabuntur".

[17] Letter twenty. Severus compares the notes on comets: P.E. Severus, *Lupus von Ferrières. Gestalt und Werk eines Vermittlers antiken Geistesgutes an das Mittelalter im 9. Jahrhundert* (Münster 1940), 50-51.

And do not despise the exhortations even of those who, though ignorant of God, have seen what is profitable. In them is found the truth that we should wisely examine what should be done before we begin anything, and, having found out, do it with dispatch, and also the fact that a war must be prepared for long in advance, in order that it may be quickly won.[18]

Lupus' letters are only one example of how ninth-century scholars dealt with Roman historiographical texts, and it is a matter of discussion whether he can in fact be considered representative. Besides, how much Lupus really knew of the classical and historiographical texts is much debated. Robert Gariépy states that Lupus did not show much knowledge of the Roman histories themselves, but that he was quoting from grammatical works from the fifth century.[19] Thomas Noble agrees, as he notes that Lupus may have cited from Priscian or Servius, or even Christian writers such as Augustine and Isidore of Seville, instead of the original histories.[20] So, ironically, the best-known example of a ninth-century scholar studying Roman history, is in fact built on sand.

A more solid foundation for the reception of Roman history in the Carolingian period may be provided by the extant manuscript material. Ninth-century manuscripts have been a helpful source in the search for the purposes of and the interests in Roman history in the Carolingian age. However, this source has not been explored to the full. Already long ago, scholars have paid attention to the marginal annotations in Roman histories in ninth-century manuscripts. Their main interest concerned identifying annotators through palaeography, and finding a date and place of origin of manuscripts.[21] Many of the annotations have been ascribed to Lupus of Ferrières himself – the arguments for this are mostly based on his letters

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[18]Translation by Regenos, *The Letters of Lupus of Ferrières*, 64-65.
 Nec spernatis etiam eorum hortamenta, qui Deum ignotantes utilia non tam sibi quam nobis viderunt ; in quibus invenitur, quod ante quam aliquid incipiamus, prudenter, quid agendum sit, debeamus inquirere et, cum invenerimus, matura festinatione perficere, et quod dui apparandum sit bellum, ut celeriter vincatur. Letter 33.

[19] R.J. Gariépy, 'Lupus of Ferrières' knowledge of classical Latin literature' in: G. Cambier, *Hommages à André Boutemy* (Brussels 1976) 152-158. Gariépy does not give explicit examples. The examples given by P. E. Severus, suggest that Lupus did not quote the historiographical texts but may have used secondary sources. P.E. Severus, *Lupus von Ferrières*, 49-60.

[20] T.F.X. Noble, 'Lupus of Ferrières in His Carolingian Context', in: A.C. Murray ed., *After Rome's Fall. Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History* (Toronto 1998) 248.

[21] A leading scholar in this field was Bernhard Bischoff. See for example: B. Bischoff, 'Paläographie der Klassiekenüberlieferung' *Mittelalterliche Studien* III (1981).

that tell that he wished to study these manuscripts - or his pupil Heiric of Auxerre.[22] When it concerned the actual content of the annotations, scholars have kept to the surface. Sometimes only a few lines, or one page was devoted to marginal annotations, only mentioning that a certain manuscript was used for teaching purposes or that corrections were made.[23]

Over the last decades, researchers have focused more elaborately on the content of the annotations of Roman historiographical texts. For example, Anna Grotans extensively examined the glossed manuscripts of Notker of St. Gall, by which she explores the practices of reading in St. Gall in the tenth century.[24] Also, different scholars have examined glosses to uncover the interests of medieval readers in certain texts. Studying Vegetius' *De Re Militari*, Christopher Allmand dedicated an entire chapter to the marginal annotations in extant manuscript material, exploring which passages received most attention.[25] Similarly, Nathalia Lozovski noted that the marginal annotations in the *Epitome* of Valerius Maximus showed an interest in the geography of foreign lands.[26] In other works, the marginal space is the main focus of research. For example, Mariken Teeuwen and Sinéad O'Sullivan discussed the commentary traditions found in the margins surrounding the work of Martianus Capella.[27]

1.3 Methodology

In this thesis, I will analyse marginal annotations in order to find an answer to the question of the reception of the Roman histories of Sallust and Justinus in the Carolingian world. I will conduct this research from two different perspectives. Firstly, I will study the types of annotation and their content. Secondly, I will look at the density of the marginal practices, following the method developed in a project supervised by Mariken Teeuwen. Before I explain these methods, let me first

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[22] Holtz, 'L'Humanisme de Loup de Ferrières', 201. For instance, Ludwig Traube in 1891 first argued that it was Lupus of Ferrières himself, who annotated the manuscript of Valerius Maximus. L. Traube, 'Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte römischer Schriftsteller', *Sitzungsberichte. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1891) 387-391.

[23] For example, Veronica von Büren only mentioned that Lupus 'corrected' a manuscript. V. von Büren, 'Livy's history in the eleventh-century catalogue from Cluny', in: C.A. Chavannes-Mazel and M.M. Smith ed., *Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: Production and Use* (London 1996) 57-73, 65.

[24] A. A. Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall* (Cambridge 2006).

[25] C. Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 2014) 17-46.

[26] N. Lozovski, 'Roman Geography and Ethnography in the Carolingian Empire' *Speculum* 81.2 (2006) 325-364, 354.

[27] M. Teeuwen and S. O'Sullivan eds., *Carolingian scholarship and Martianus Capella: ninth-century commentary traditions on 'De nuptiis' in context* (Turnhout 2011).

introduce some fundamental definitions. The 'marginal space', in my definition, is all the space on a folio that is not covered by the main text, including the space between the lines. I use the terms 'annotations' and 'notes' to refer to all that is written in this marginal space, signs as well as words. Textual annotations could also be referred to as 'glosses'.

In her extensive study on the marginal practices in **St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. Sang. 621**, Heidi Eisenhut made a distinction between various types of annotations.[28] I will follow her terminology, because it covers the entire spectrum of marginal annotations that I, too, encountered in the manuscripts I studied. There are five main types of glosses: corrections and variants; lexicographical glosses (explaining words through synonyms); grammatical annotations (helping to understand the grammatical structure of a sentence); notes concerning syntax (adding elliptic words); and comments (interpretive glosses, *nota*-signs, etymological and encyclopedical knowledge, and references to other texts).[29]

The different types of annotation can give an indication of the 'purpose' of the text in the early Middle Ages, and give a glimpse of the 'interests' the annotators had in the text. The difference between the two is that a 'purpose' reflects the main goal of the text as a unit according to the Carolingian annotators, whereas an 'interest' is specific for an annotator or a small group of annotators and covers certain topics within the text. For example, the ninth-century manuscripts of Sallust show a grammatical purpose or function of the text, because in all manuscripts, grammatical glosses are inserted by various annotators. Carolingian 'interests' in Sallust, on the other hand, are only visible in one or a few manuscripts through, for example, attention signs; they concern concrete topics, such as milititary techniques.

In order to measure the density of annotations in the surviving manuscripts of Sallust and Justinus, it is important to incorporate two elements: first, the number of hands, and second, the number of annotations per folio. The number of hands that annotated a manuscript gives a minimum of readers that worked on the manuscript. A manuscript that is annotated by multiple hands, shows that it was actively used. A manuscript that shows very little traces of usage, however, is not indicative for less frequent use. Not all readers left traces in the margins.[30] The complete surviving ninth-century witnesses of both Sallust's and Justinus' work were annotated by

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[28] H. Eisenhut, *Die Glossen Ekkeharts IV. von St. Gallen im Codex Sangallensis 621* (St. Gall 2009) 254-8.

[29] Eisenhut has added three more types of annotations: capitals/table of contents, quire-numbering, humanistic traces. I believe these three types will not enhance the understanding of the Carolingian functions of the discussed manuscripts, so I did not include these types in my analyses.

[30] H. Mayr-Harting argues the same in his study of tenth-century marginalia in Cologne: H. Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany. The View from Cologne* (Oxford 2007) 64.

Carolingian hands, which shows that these manuscripts were used actively in this period. It is not always easy to reconstruct the number of Carolingian annotators who worked on the studied manuscripts. It is sometimes impossible to distinguish a particular hand belonging to a single annotator. Therefore, I will often speak of a 'type of hand', meaning that, palaeographically, the hands look very similar and may perhaps belong to one person, but that this cannot be stated with certainty.

Not only the number of hands is indicative of how actively a manuscript was annotated in the Carolingian period. There are also methods for calculating the density of annotations in general. In her project 'Marginal Scholarship', Mariken Teeuwen developed a method by which this can be calculated.[31] By counting the blank pages of a manuscript, i.e. the pages without marginal annotations, we can see if the manuscript is annotated throughout. Then, through pre-calculated examples, estimations of the maximum percentage of the marginal space covered by annotations can be indicated. This shows how densely the manuscript was annotated. The combination of blank pages and the percentage of marginal space covered by marginalia allows us to compare the density of marginalia without having to count all entries. Through a careful analysis of both the content and the density of the annotations, I will pursue to answer the question of how Carolingian annotators dealt with texts of Sallust and Justinus.

In two chapters, I will focus on the surviving ninth-century material of Sallust and Justinus respectively. Each chapter begins with a general overview of the text and the author. Then, the surviving manuscripts up to and including the ninth century will be discussed. In the sections that follow, the marginal activity of ninth-century students of the text will be described in detail. I will point out different purposes and interests. In the last chapter, these elements will be compared and contextualized.

The focus of this research lies on the content of the annotations, which creates a few problems. First of all, in order to search for ninth-century interests in the text, glosses must be interpreted. This brings with it the danger of making connections and finding incentives to our own liking. For example, it is tempting to interpret the chrismon signs found in **Paris, lat. 16025** as proof for a Christian interpretation of certain fragments by Carolingian annotators. However, if we take a closer look at the content that is stressed by these signs, the signs were merely used as an ordinary

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[31] This method is implemented in the database that was a product of this project. For an explanation of the database and the method, see: https://www.marginalscholarship.nl/what-is-this/about-the-data-recorded-here/.

attention sign.[32] It is very tempting to connect as many dots as possible, but this would bring too much arbitrariness in the research. Therefore, I have chosen only to discuss the purposes and interests that could be placed into context either with the other discussed texts and manuscripts, or with modern scholarship on the matter. I included a large number of appendices to allow the reader to follow my arguments.

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[32] See section 2.5.2.

2   ANNOTATING SALLUST

2.1 **Sallust and his works**

Gaius Sallustius Crispus (henceforth called Sallust) lived in the first century before Christ (86 – 36 BC).[33] He was politically active in the last years of the Roman republic, where he, in his own words, encountered 'shamelessness, bribery and greed',[34] and although he did not agree with the 'evil ways of the rest', he wrote that 'the craving for public office made me the victim of the same ill-repute and jealousy as the rest'.[35] Although there is no certainty on his exact political career, we know he was a tribune in the senate in 52 BC, when the murder of Clodius Pulcher was an incentive for him and two other tribunes to cause uproar against Milo and Cicero. In 50 BC Sallust was expelled from the senate for reasons that are hard to reconstruct. Perhaps he was punished for committing adultery with Milo's wife Fausta.[36] His political career failed miserably, but that did not put an end to Sallust's fascination for the *res publica*: he turned to selective, political historical writing.

Two of his historical writings are still extant in (almost) complete form and are usually bound together.[37] His first history concerns the conspiracy of Catiline in 63/2 BC (*De Coniuratione Catilinae)*, which he had witnessed himself before his own political career took shape. The *Bellum Jugurthinum* focused on the war in northern Africa between Rome and the commander Jugurtha that took place between 111 and 105 BC. Unlike other histories by contemporary historians, these two writings did not cover a large time span between the founding of Rome and the contemporary period. Instead, Sallust chose to 'write up the deeds of the Roman people selectively, according to whatever seemed to me worth of record'.[38] In his choices of events to describe, Sallust displayed his political interests. His incentive to write an account of Catiline was, as written down in the history itself: 'because of the novelty of the

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[33] These dates are given by Jerome in his *Chronicle,* written in the fourth century. For elaboration on the dates of birth and death of Sallustius: Ramsey, *Sallust. The war with Catiline. The War with Jugurtha,* xvi-xv

[34] Sallust (Cat. 3.3) 'nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute audacia, largitio, avaritia vigebant'

[35] Sallust (Cat. 3.5) 'ac me cum ab reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minos honoris cupido eadem qua ceteros fama atque invidia vexabat'.

[36] Ramsey, *Sallust. The war with Catiline. The War with Jugurtha,* xx-xxii.

[37] There is a lacuna in the Jugurtha, see for further information section 2.2.

[38] Ramsey, *Sallust. The war with Catiline. The War with Jugurtha,* 26-27; Sallust (Cat. 4.2) 'res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere'

crime and the danger arising from it'.[39] For his reasons to write the *Bellum Jugurthinum* he gives two reasons: 'first of all, because it was a great and terrible conflict of varying fortune; secondly, because then for the first time opposition was offered to the insolence of the nobles'.[40] With these statements, and the subsequent dealing with the main protagonists, Sallust openly agitated against the moral decline and the *superbia* of the nobility that caused the downfall of the Roman Republic.[41]

A third work ascribed to Sallust will not be discussed in this chapter: the *Historiae*. This work only partially survived in one ninth-century codex: **Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 3864**. Together with excerpts from *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and the *Bellum Jugurthinum*, only excerpts from the *Histories* survive.[42] Since there is no complete witness of this text, it is not possible to reconstruct the entire content or context of the work. Besides, the excerpts of the *Historia* are very sparsely annotated, giving me little opportunity to analyse the intended purpose of the text by means of the notes of annotators. I will therefore not include this third work in this thesis.

2.2 The transmission of Sallust's works

It is hard to pin down the popularity of the works of Sallust in the ninth century. Late-antique evidence suggests the presence of a relatively wide audience of his texts in the centuries after the composition of the works. Rodolfo Funari elaborates on a relative large number of Egyptian papyri fragments of the texts, originating from the Roman Republic as well as from Late Antiquity.[43] Also, late antique grammarians such as Priscian (ca. 500) cited passages from Sallust. So, in the first centuries after Christ, the texts of Sallust were fairly well known. According to most scholars, the firsthand knowledge of Sallust's text faded afterwards, leading his work into relative obscurity in the period before the ninth century, a faith shared by many other classical texts. Relatively few references to Sallust were made in ninth-century sources such as letters, and if they did, they could well be cited from late antique texts.[44] As the corpus discussed below shows, the extant manuscript evidence

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[39]Sallust (Cat. 4.4).

[40] Ramsey, *Sallust. The war with Catiline. The War with Jugurtha*, 173-4; Sallust (Jug. 5.1).

[41] Ramsey agrees: Ramsey, *Sallust. The war with Catiline. The War with Jugurtha*, xxxix.

[42] For an edition of the excerpts of the *Historiae*, see Reynolds: Reynolds, *C. Sallusti Crispi. Catilina, Iugurtha, Historiarum, Fragmenta Selecta, Appendix Sallustiana,*152-201.

[43] R. Funari, 'Outlines for a protohistory of Sallust's text' in: J. Velaza ed., *From the Protohistory to the History of the Text* (Frankfurt am Main, 2016)141-164, 142.

[44] See footnote 16.

suggests that only a small intellectual circle in Northern France had knowledge of the complete texts of *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum.*

However, one must not forget that many witnesses of Sallust might not have survived the rigours of time. For example, in a ninth-century catalogue of the library of Murbach, kept in St. Gall, the oldest known mention of Sallust's text in a manuscript that is now lost is made.[45] Also, some tenth-century witnesses of Sallust's text, only very loosely related to the Frankish manuscripts, originate from Germany, suggesting one or more now lost archetypes may have circulated in intellectual circles that were active in Germanic lands. Leighton Reynolds agrees that there was a Frankish and a German branch of manuscripts of Sallust's texts.[46]

2.2.1   Complete witnesses

There are two complete ninth-century manuscripts that contain *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and the *Bellum Jugurthinum,* both written in Northern France. **Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 16024** is dated in the second half of the ninth century and may have been written in Soissons.[47] The texts by Sallust were preceded by the last lines of the *Ars Grammatica* by Maximus Victorinus (fourth century), as the first lines of the remains of the manuscript indicate.[48] The second complete witness of Sallust's writings is **Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 16025**, also dated in the second half of the ninth century, from the region Fleury-Auxerre.[49] There are no other works present in this manuscript.

Being produced around the same time in the same region in northern France, one might argue that the two manuscripts circulated within the same intellectual circle. The two manuscripts are stemmatically closely related, as they have the same lacunae and are both written in classical Latin.[50] Manuscripts travelled, as did early medieval scholars. It is therefore likely that, assuming that the manuscripts were

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[45] B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne* (Cambridge 2007) 148.

[46] L.D. Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford 1983) 345. On the 'contamination' of manuscript B, which belongs to the French branch but originates from Southern Germany, Reynolds says the following: 'The texts which B carries are ultimately of French origin, and in B we have an early example of the diffusion of the X text to Germany. (p. 347)

[47] B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen) III* (Wiesbaden 1998-2014) no 4978.

[48] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16024, 1ʳ The Ars Grammatica is also present in St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 877 (ca. 800 AD). For an edition of the text, see: H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini VI*, 185-205.

[49] The ties between the two monasteries are too tight to distinguish the two centres of study.

[50] One the Latin used in the manuscripts, see note 1.

indeed produced in the regions of Soissons and Fleury-Auxerre, some medieval scholars may have known of the existence of both manuscripts.

2.2.2 Florilegia and miscellanies

There are florilegia in which excerpts of Sallust's works are described. Birger Munk Olsen has identified these manuscripts, and his list includes several ninth-century witnesses.[51] However, not all of these manuscripts guarantee direct knowledge of Sallust's text. For example, the one line of *De Coniuratione Catilinae* that is quoted in **Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 10470-10473**, is also present in Priscian's grammatical text (18.69).[52] The author of the Brussels florilegium, Macon of Saint Riquier, may have copied the citation from a grammatical book rather than from a copy of *De Coniuratione Catilinae.*[53] In **Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, reg. lat. 1625 III**[54] and **Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, reg. lat. 1762,**[55] only short citations from Sallust's work are cited.[56] The quotations of Sallust in these manuscripts do not function as independent texts, but are part of the main texts of the manuscripts: texts by Cicero (Vatican **reg. lat. 1762**) and Virgil (Vatican **reg. lat. 1625 III)** respectively. It is difficult to consider to what extent Carolingian readers noticed that Sallust was cited in these texts, as the citations were removed from their

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[51] B. Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XII siècles* II (Paris, 1982-1989) 307-363

[52] B. Munk Olsen, *La réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Age (IXe – XIIe siècle)* (Copenhague 1995), 156.

[53] For information on Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 10470-10473, see Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts,* no. 742 ; Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins* II, 846.

[54] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10307 II (α) and Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, reg. Lat. 1625 III (β) Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts,* no. 4627. The manuscript originates from Laon, 875-900, and the content of the manuscript is mostly from Virgil.

[55] B. Bischoff, 'Hardoard und die Klassikerhandschriften aus Corbie' *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* I (Stuttgart 1966), 49-62, 50ff. Corbie 825-850. For the debate on this codex belonging to Hadoard of Corbie, compare Bischoff, 'Hardoard und die Klassikerhandschriften aus Corbie', with C. Auvray-Assayas, 'Qui est Hadoard ? Une réévaluation du manuscrit Reg. Lat. 1762 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane' *Revue d'histoire des textes* (2013) 307-338.

[56] Vatican, Bibliotheca Vaticana Apostolica, lat 1625 III Excerpt: β f. 65r b excerpt *Qui sim exeo quem ad te misi cognosces. Fac cogites in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te uirum esse. Considere quid tuae rationes postulent : auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infumis* Sallust (Cat. *44.5) ;* Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, reg. lat. 1762 f. 44rv *Dux atque imperator mortalium animus est* Sallust (Jug. 1.3) ; *Quibus summa claritudo paratus* Sallust (Jug. 2.4) Vatican, reg. lat. 1762 f. 13rv *Quod si regnum atque imperatorum animi virtus* Sallust (Cat. 2.3) ; *neque copia neque inopia minuitur* Sallust (Cat. 11.3).

original context. Moreover, as the cited parts of Sallust's text are integrated in other texts, it is unlikely that the readers of the text were interested in Sallust in particular.

Two other ninth-century florilegia and one miscellany contain much larger excerpts, that allow us to see in what context the works of Sallust were read. **Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 3864,** copied in Corbie in the second half of the ninth century, contains the complete *De Bello Gallico* by Ceasar, books I-IV of the *Epistolae* by Pliny the Younger, the orations from Sallust's *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum*, excerpts from his *Historiae* and from the *Epistola ad Caesarem*, which was ascribed to Sallust until the twentieth century, but which is now no longer believed to be his work.[57] It is plausible that the compilers of this manuscript did assume the work was genuine, because it is placed directly after excerpts from all other works by Sallust. Two elements must be noted about this collection. First of all, the authors of the texts all lived either in the first century before or after Christ and covered the same period in their narratives. Secondly, except from *De Bello Gallico*, all texts concern letters or orations.

The interest in Sallust's orations is also visible in **Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 357,** where several orations from *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum* are collected together with glossaries and excerpts from the grammarians Priscian and Nonius Marcellus, and excerpts from the *Satiricon* by Petronius Arbiter. The manuscript may have been written in Auxerre or Fleury in the second half of the ninth century. Here the context in which the works of Sallust are placed is more ambiguous. The presence of grammatical excerpts would suggest the works of Sallust were used in or grammatical a rhetorical context, but one must also realize that **Bern, cod. 357** was part of a much larger codex containing all sorts of text on different liberal arts.[58] The exact purpose of these texts within the manuscript remains unknown.

Both **Vatican, lat. 3864** and **Bern, cod. 357** contain the orations of Sallust's *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum,* and, as Reynolds notes, they are 'uncommonly close' to each other.[59] The orations present in both manuscripts follow the order in which they appear in Sallust's texts, the orations of *De Coniuratione*

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[57] Ramsey, *Sallust. The war with Catiline. The War with Jugurtha,* xviii-xxx. The main argument for dismissing the *Epistola ad Caesarem* as a genuine work of Sallust, is that the style of writing in this *epistola* corresponds with Sallust's style in later writings, but was not yet developed at the time of the composition of the *Epistola ad Caesarem.*

[58] This manuscript contains quires 14-17 of a large composite manuscript that is now: Bern, Burgerbibliothek 330, 347, and 357, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7665 and Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 30. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts,* no. 579

[59] Reynolds, *Text and Transmission,* 343.

Catilinae first. The main difference between the two copies is that the Bern manuscript omits a few speeches.[60] Another ancient copy of the speeches and letters may have been present in the palace library of Charlemagne about 790; unfortunately, this copy is now lost.[61] The existence of an ancient copy of the speeches and letters only, suggests that these have been transmitted separately, in a tradition possibly originating in Antiquity. Perhaps the orations were used whilst studying rhetoric or oratory. Unfortunately, there are very few annotations present in these codici, giving us no clue of contemporary usage of the manuscripts.[62]

Another ninth-century florilegium sheds light on a very different type of excerpts from Sallust's work. In **Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6256,** written in Western Francia in the period 825-850, citations and paraphrases are taken from different, non-consecutive parts of both of Sallust's works, and most fragments are followed by a short commentary in the main text. The distinction between citation, paraphrase, and commentary is not immediately visible, as everything is presented as a continuous text. Other texts in this manuscript, that are dealt with in a similar way, are Justinus' *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus *Historiae*, the Latin translation of *De Bello Iudaico* of Flavius Josephus, and a Latin abridgement of this text by (Pseudo-) Hegesippus.[63] Little research has been done on this manuscript, although its content is worth a thorough study. The margins are almost completely filled with unidentified additional texts from a later medieval period. I will return to the ninth-century content and purpose of this manuscript in chapter four.

2.3 Marginalia

In contrast with the ninth-century florilegia and the miscellany containing excerpts of Sallust's works, the two complete witnesses of his texts are vividly annotated by contemporary hands. I will therefore return to manuscripts **Paris, lat. 16024 (A)** and **Paris, lat. 16025 (B)** in order to study the marginal practices. In the following sections, I will identify the different marginal practices in the manuscripts.

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[60] The orations *Contra Manli Mandata* (Cat. 33), *Contra Caesaris in Senatu* (Cat. 51), *Contra Memmi ad Populum Romanum* (Jug. 31) and *Contra Mari ad Populum Romanum* (Jug. 85) are not copied into Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 357, but are present in Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 3864. Also, the letter Catilina wrote to Catulus is not present in the Bern manuscript, but is written down in the Vatican manuscript.

[61] Reynolds, *Text and Transmission*, 343.

[62] In the sections on Sallust's work, only a few corrections are visible in Bern, cod. 357 and Vatican, lat. 3864

[63] Not to be confused with the Hegesippus from the second century mentioned by Eusebius

2.3.1 General remarks on the marginalia

The two copies of *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum* are very differently annotated, despite their shared intellectual circle. Although the manuscripts were both written in Northern France in the second half of the ninth century, there are few Carolingian annotations that coincide in both manuscripts. Also, in general, interlinear annotations are less frequent in **A** than in **B**, which is very densely annotated between the lines as well as in the margins. Comparing the most densely annotated page of both manuscripts, five percent of the margin of **A** is filled, against twenty percent of the margin of **B**. Moreover, the number of blank pages – pages without marginal annotations – is higher in **A** than in **B**.[64] Manuscript **A** is annotated by one type of hand, whereas several Carolingian hands worked on the other manuscript.

A second comment concerns the condition of the manuscripts. The first folio is damaged in both manuscripts, which makes it difficult to read the glosses of these pages. The remainder of the folia, however, are in good condition. Even so, the marginalia are not always easy to reconstruct. The outer margins of **A** have been cut off at some point, mutilating parts of the marginal annotations close to the edge of the page. The same happened to **B**, but here the annotations were written much closer to the main text, resulting in only minor cuts in the annotations. It is not known when parts of the margins were cut off. Presumably, this was done when the book needed a new binding. It does show, however, that at one point in time, the marginalia were not considered important enough to keep, suggesting that the marginalia had lost their value for the readers of that time.

2.4 Annotating Paris, lat. 16024

As noted above, the margins of **Paris, lat. 16024** have been cut off, which caused many marginal annotations to be incomplete. Luckily, a relatively large part of these

Figure 1 Carolingian Annotating hands in Paris, lat. 16024
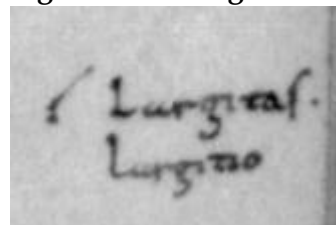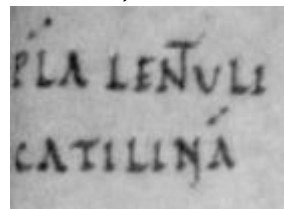
Paris, lat. 16024, 9r   Paris, lat. 16024, 10v

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[64] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France 16024 (A) has six blank pages, whereas Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France 16025 (B) does not contain any blank pages.

annotations can be reconstructed by comparing the fragments of the gloss with the main text. Even so, it must be taken into account that not all marginal annotations can be reconstructed in their entirety, and some annotations cannot be reconstructed at all, as they are cut off entirely.

There is only one type of Carolingian hand active in this manuscript, who wrote in minuscule as well as in majuscule script. The argument for assigning both scripts to the same type of hand is found in figure 1, where it becomes visible that the 'L' in '*Largitas*' is very similar to the 'L' in '*CATILINA*'. There are a few notes in the manuscript written after the Carolingian period, in an early Gothic hand; these notes will not be discussed here.[65]

The marginalia in this manuscript can be divided into four categories. First, I will discuss the catchphrases in majuscule script. Most of these annotations explain where in the story the reader is, like modern-day chapter headings. Second, I will discuss corrections made by an annotator, who may have used **Paris, lat. 3864** to make small corrections or to give an alternate reading in **A**. I will also attempt to discover the common ground between passages marked with a *nota*-sign. This sign is used in many manuscripts to mark a passage or word that needs more attention for some reason. Since there is only one annotator working with *nota*-signs, these signs may show a particular interest. Lastly, the single words written in the margin will be discussed. At first glance, they appear to be random words copied from the text: verbs and nouns, names and places, difficult and easy words follow each other.

2.4.1   Majuscule catchphrases

At the beginning of the manuscript, the annotating hand seemed to pursue a comprehensive guide for the reader by adding catchphrases in majuscule script. These notes, usually no more than a few words, caught the eye of the reader, allowing him to skim through the text for certain passages. For example, he wrote '*ORIGO ROMAE*' *(*origin of Rome) at the beginning of chapter six of *De Coniuratione Catilinae,* where the first tribes in Rome are described.[66] The annotator also marked passages where letters and speeches began. For example, chapter 51 of *De Coniuratione Catilinae* consists of a speech, which is introduced by the annotator: '*ORATIO [CONTRA CAESA]RIS IN [SENATU]*' (speech against Ceasar in the

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senate).[67] The annotator noted speeches and letters consistently throughout both of Sallust's texts. I will come back to this point in the next section.

Not all majuscule notes, however, are catchphrases. On folio 2ᵛ, the annotator added *'REGIBUS'* (on rulers[68]) at the beginning of chapter seven, where Sallust explained that the Roman people tried to distinguish themselves in a positive manner, as 'rulers (*regibus*) are suspicious more of good men than bad'.[69] The content the annotation referred to was cited in the paragraph above, where Sallust had explained that the Roman Republic was governed by consuls. If the annotator wanted to remind the reader of the subject of the text, he would have written the word earlier. Moreover, he would have used a nominative case, as he did in the annotation '*ORIGO ROMAE'* and the several introductions to an '*ORATIO',* not the ablative case. Instead, the annotator decided to mark some words, without explicit consistency, in majuscule writing. He did so with *'REGIBUS'* as described above, but he also marked 'SENTINAM' (dirty water from the bottom of a ship) (Cat. 37.5), 'AGUNT' (they spend) (Cat. 51.12), 'REFERT' (he gives back) (Cat. 52.16) 'IRONIA' (irony) (Cat. 52.11) and 'MAPALIA' (huts from African people) (Jug. 18.8) in majuscule script. The relationship between these words is hard to pin down, although one could argue that these are difficult words for the ninth-century audience, or have an ambiguous meaning. Comparing the majuscule annotations with the same passages in manuscript **B,** one cannot help but notice that most of these words are given explanations and alternatives in the margin of **B**.[70] Only *agunt* remained unnoticed by the annotators of the other witness of Sallust's texts. However, many other words that are noticed by the annotator of **A** in his minuscule hand may have had the same function. It is uncertain why the scribe made the distinction in script. To conclude, the annotating hand wrote both catchphrases and notes that did not have a structuring function. By using majuscule script, the annotator gave his readers the possibility to navigate easily to the speeches and letters.

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[67] Paris, , Bibliothèque nationale de France,lat. 16024, 12ʳ.

[68] Ramsey translates *regibus* with kings, but I don't agree, since Sallust has just explained the government of the Roman Republic, consisting of two consuls.

[69] Sallust (Cat. 7.2) Nam regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt…

[70] For example, on folio Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 16025, 14ʳ the word 'refert' is given the alternative 'expedit' in the interlinear space and 'ironia' is stressed in the margin.

2.4.2   Speeches and letters

One cannot help but notice that the chapters that contain speeches encompass more annotations than the other parts of Sallust's texts. The annotator has marked (usually small) alternatives with the Greek letter *delta,* to let the readers know the alternate reading is from another, perhaps ancient, codex.[71] Reynolds notes that these alternatives were taken from a manuscript from the β-family, close to one of the eleventh-century manuscripts from the region stretching from Orléans to Paris.[72] The capital *delta* is usually combined with a single or double dotted tie-mark to link the alternative letters with the word in the text. For example, *monumenta* was given the alternative *munumenta* (Jug. 14.17) and *ipsos* became *ipsi* (Cat. 20.6).[73] I hesitate to call these annotations corrections, since it would imply that 'wrong' sentences were consciously corrected. Instead, it is more helpful to call them alternatives, as they were copied from another manuscript. As there is no difference in visualization of alternate spellings given and corrections, the annotator may have pursued to supplement this manuscript with alternatives without consciously correcting it.

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[71] Bernard Bischoff identified the delta sign as a Tironian note for 'antiquus' in this manuscript. B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, 220.

[72] See stemma of *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum* in: Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, 346

[73] For the delta sign, see for example: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16024, 21ᵛ.

Leighton Reynolds has noticed that many of the alternate readings given correspond with **Vatican, lat. 3864**.[74] The annotations with a *delta* sign only occur in

Figure 2 Annotations with the speech of Catiline to the conspirators (Cat. 20)			
Annotations in lat. 16024	**lat. 16024**	**vat. lat. 3864**	**cod. 357**
Δ opp	opurtuna	o portuna	opurtuna
Δ ipsi	ipsos	ipsi	ipsi
Δ ce	quae	quae	quae
Δ &	atque	&	&
Δ uobis	nobis	uobis	uobis
Δ a	hortentur	hortantur	hortantur
Δ e	utimini	utemini	utimini

passages of speeches and letters, it is very likely that the annotator had a manuscript containing only the letters and speeches with which he could compare his own copy. However, comparing the Vatican manuscript with **A,** it can be concluded that it was not the Vatican manuscript the annotator used, nor the Bern manuscript. To illustrate this point, I insert a table (see figure 2) with the marginal annotations made in **A** concerning the speech of Catiline to the conspirators, combined with the variants in the main texts of the two ninth-century miscellanies containing only the speeches. The manuscript used had many similarities with both **Vatican, lat. 3864** and **Bern, cod. 357.** However, the third variant '*ce*' is not present in either of the manuscripts. Less significant is the double 'p' in *oportuna;* it has been erased in **Vatican, lat. 3864** and was not present in the Bern witness. These are small elements, suggesting that the annotator may have had a manuscript on his desk with a text that was closely related, but not identical to, the two miscellanies. As Funari has already concluded, it is very likely that, judging from these variants, the speeches of Sallust's text were part of a different tradition from that of the complete copies of Sallust.[75] Considering the sign used to indicate these alternate readings, perhaps the annotator had a much older codex on his desk, a predecessor of the two miscellanies discussed above. The capital *delta* is Tironian shorthand for '*antiquus*', meaning 'ancient'.[76] Taken literally,

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[74] Reynolds, *C. Sallusti Crispi. Catilina, Iugurtha, Historiarum, Fragmenta Selecta, Appendix Sallustiana,* viii, xi.

[75] Funari, 'Outlines for a protohistory of Sallust's text', 157.

[76] M. Teeuwen, Carolingian Scholarship on Classical Authors: practices of reading and writing' in: Kwakkel ed., *Manuscripts of the Latin Classics 800-1200* (Leiden 2015) 23-52, 30.

the annotator may have copied these alternate readings from a manuscript much older than the contemporary Vatican and Bern manuscripts. As the practice of using a *delta*-sign to mark alternatives from another codex is previously ascribed to Lupus of Ferrières, the annotations may be placed within the same intellectual circle as other manuscripts from the Auxerre-Fleury region.

If there are indeed two traditions of Sallust's text – the complete witnesses and collections of speeches and letters – what does that tell us about the purpose of Sallust's texts in **A**? Other than the annotations indicated with a *delta*-sign, the annotator did not insert more - or more elaborate - annotations in the margins of speeches or letters. This indicates that the annotator most likely had access to a copy of Sallust's speeches, compared it to **A**, and noted the variants, without leaving visible traces of a more elaborate study of these parts of the text: there is no significant increase in *nota*-signs or repeated words.

2.4.3 *Nota*-signs

There are thirty-two *nota*-signs present in **A,** with which the annotator wanted to draw the attention of the reader to certain passages of the text. All *nota*-signs have the same shape - some with minor variants - indicating there was only one person inserting the attention signs. Although the *nota*-signs are not accompanied by text, it is highly probable that the Carolingian hand was also responsible for the *nota*-signs. If we compare the *nota* with the majuscule 'N' as depicted in figure 1 above, the same long right shaft is visible. Also, the *nota*-signs are written relatively far away from the main text, like the other Carolingian annotations. This indicates that the *nota*-signs are of Carolingian origin. What are the possible patterns in these *nota*-signs? As it is always uncertain to what word, phrase or passage the sign refers, I have chosen to consider the complete phrase or sub-chapter the *nota*-sign is found in. The results can be found in appendix II.

Comparing the different entries the annotator drew attention to with the *nota*-signs, two *topoi* can be distinguished: military strategy and the moral behaviour of those who fight. As we are dealing with two different texts, these *topoi* need to be interpreted in their own context. The military strategy in *De Coniuratione Catilinae* is that of a violent political struggle rather than the siege of a town or region. The 'army' in the conspiracy is that of Catiline's morally despised *familiares*,[77] whereas in

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[77] Sallust (Cat. 14) *Familiares* are the friends of catiline from all morally abject parts of society that join him in his uprising against the Roman Republic.

the *Bellum Jugurthinum* real armies occur. Despite these differences, the connections between the *topoi* and the texts are easily made.

Various lessons of military strategy can be learnt from Sallust. The annotator of **A** noted the passage of Catiline's plans on how to murder the consuls (Cat. 18.6), and a passage on how Catiline avoids battle with Antonius (Cat. 56.4). In *Bellum Jugurthinum*, the annotator thought it important to stress military formations (Jug. 55.4, 100.2) and sly tactics such as falsely announcing the death of the enemy's leader (Jug. 101.6). Furthermore, the annotator was keen to stress passages where the leader commands his army (Cat. 50.2), and actively motivates his troops by giving pep-talks (Cat. 58.16) and by participating in the heat of the fight (Cat. 21.5, Jug. 85,34, 94.2, 100.3, 100.4/5).

The second *topos*, concerning the behaviour of the army, is rather diffuse. Epecially in the beginning of *De Coniuratione Catilinae*, the annotator marked passages emphasising how in the past Romans used to have a good morale (Cat. 9.1), but that the friends of Catiline succumbed to sacrilege (Cat. 12.4) and lack of morality (Cat. 7.4, 13.3, 23.2, 37.5). The moral behaviour and actions of the leaders is stressed several times (Jug. 22.2, 37.2/3 55.4, 63.2. 63.5, 85.9).

2.4.4   Vocabulary

Most of the annotations made in **A** are single-worded and copy a word – verbs, nouns, adverbs - that is present in the line next to it. There are too many to treat separately: more than a hundred of these annotations occur in the manuscript. The diversity of the notes is such, that it is impossible to place all the notes in their context. Even so, it is possible to distinguish some interests.

The first phenomenon relates to the *nota*-signs discussed above: interest in military practices. Different types of soldiers are named, such as *velites* (light-armed foot-soldiers), *ferentarius* (light-armed soldier on foot with a javelin), *gregarius* (common soldier) and *lixa* (camp-follower).[78] A second element that may reveal one of the interests of the annotator, is the repeated insertion of words in the comparative and superlative case. Examples are *amicior* (more friendly), *proxima* (nearest) and *confertissimos* (most pressed together). Repeated words like these may indicate an interest in certain grammatical aspects.

Most of the single-worded annotations, however, do not fit in a carefully defined box of interest. These words cover many different subjects, and most of them can be considered difficult words that needed explanation. In some cases, the

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[78] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16024, 28ᵛ ; 30ᵛ.

annotator wrote a word in the margin that had been given an alternative in the interlinear space. This way, the word received extra attention. For example, *frequentes* (numerous) is given the note *multi* (many),[79] and *exercito* (exercise) is supplemented with *fatigato* (weary).[80] In the interlinear space, we find several of such notes that are not stressed in the outer margins. These interlinear notes give explanations or alternatives to the words in the main text. For example, *usui* (use) is given the alternative *utilitati* (usefulness), and to the words *auxiliarios equites* (auxiliary cavalry) additional information is given: *qui ex diversis gentibus convenerant* (who had come together from different peoples).[81] In a similar way, but more densely, manuscript **Paris, lat. 16025 (B) is** annotated in the interlinear space. Here, the word *frequentes* is not explained with the word *multi* but with *densi.*[82] In **B** too, the interlinear glosses give alternatives for words and explain the vocabulary of Sallust by means of a synonym. This suggests that many words that the annotator of **A** wrote in the margins, were considered difficult words that needed to be checked in other sources or explained by a teacher.

These three interests lead to an image of an annotator who is busy with lexicographical challenges and grammar. Stressing military vocabulary and other difficult words, he may have been looking to ameliorate his vocabulary.

2.4.5 The annotator

If we combine all elements discussed in the previous paragraphs, what can we say about the annotator of **A** and his interests in Sallust? The visible traces he left, concern a comparison with a manuscript containing the orations and letters only; the insertion of *nota*-signs, catchphrases, and single words; and interlinear explanations. All these elements suggest a close reading of the manuscript, carefully studying the texts by Sallust on various levels. The annotator had a copy of Sallust's letters and speeches on his desk while carefully searching for variants in the text, studying Sallust on a textual level. He also was keen on understanding the text, supplying the

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[79] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 16024, lat. 30v: ut cum signis **frequentes** incederent - Sallust (Jug. 45.2).

[80] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 16024, 37ʳ: Sed cum eae littaere allatate forte Nabdalsa **exercito** corpore... – Sallust (Jug. 71.1).

[81] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 16024, 12ʳ: ubi illa officiunt, neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul et **usui** paruit. – Sallust (Cat. 51.2).
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 16024, 30ᵛ: in utrumque latus **auxiliarios equites** tribunis legionum et praefectis cohortium dispertiuerat - Sallust (Jug. 47.6).

[82] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 16025, 30ᵛ :. ut cum signis **frequentes** incederent – Sallust (Jug. 45.2).

manuscript with alternatives and explanations of words. With the *nota*-signs, the annotator showed interest in military strategy and moral behaviour, indicating that he was not only keen on understanding the text, but that he had preferences for certain passages too.

2.5 Annotating Paris, lat. 16025

Different from the glosses in the manuscript discussed above, the annotating hands in **Paris, lat. 16025 (B)** are more difficult to distinguish from each other. The interlinear space as well as the marginal space is densely glossed by different hands, resulting in a hotchpotch of different types of comments and alternative words. Most annotations are made by Carolingian hands and hands from a slightly later date. The interlinear glosses are mostly Carolingian as well. Although palaeographical similarities make it impossible to distinguish all hands separately, let alone date them, it is possible to see which type of hand annotated first and which hands came after. In figure 3 below, I have inserted pictures of what I believe are the different hands that occur most often in the manuscript.[83] It is not possible to precisely distinguish all the hands from each other, due to minor alterations in script and inconsistency of the hands. Therefore, I will refer to these pictures as representatives of a type of script, without stating that there was only one hand writing like this. There are also hands present that represent none of the four types of hand. These are not included either, because they are from a later medieval date or they occur only sporadically. The four types of annotating hands depicted in figure 3 occur most often in the manuscript and are characterised by different features.

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[83] I gave the types of hand Greek letters in order not to confuse them with the manuscripts that have sigla in Latin capitals.

Figure 3 annotating hands Paris, lat. 16025
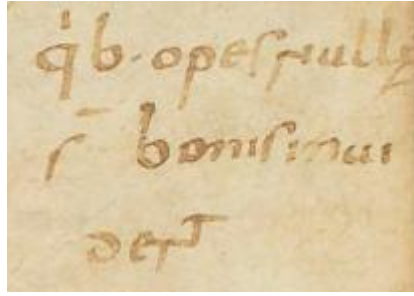
Paris, lat. 16025, 9r. type α
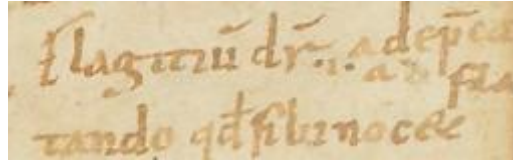
Paris, lat. 16025, 9r. type β

Paris, lat. 16025, 30r type γ
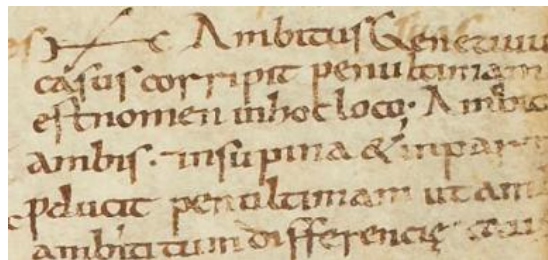
Paris, lat. 16025, 5r. type δ

The hands of type α are distinctive through the NT-ligature, the capital 'N' with a long left shaft and clubbed ascenders, characteristics that relate this type with the school of Fleury-Auxerre.[84] Type β is very similar to α, but does not contain the typical Fleury-Auxerre features such as the NT-ligature and the n with a long left shaft. The space between the letters of this Caroline minuscule is smaller, than in type α. Type γ has a typical 'd' with a wavy ascender and uses a *nota*-sign containing all four letters of 'nota' in different variants. The last type, δ, is written in a darker ink and uses different tie-marks. Furthermore, the 't' has a rounder base than in the other types. Although it is impossible to give an exact date to these types of hands, it is possible to give them a relative date. All annotators in this manuscripts wrote their glosses right next to the lemma. Sometimes, two or more hands wished to comment on the same lemma. In these cases, we can deduce that the hands closest to the lemma annotated first. In this way, we can argue that type α contained the oldest layer of annotations, as this type does never have to give way to already existing annotations. Type β comes after α, as it needs to work around its already existing notes.[85] The γ-type comes before β, as on folio 15ᵛ a β-hand supplements the note of

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[84] Franck Cinato and Charlotte Denoël have described the typical palaeographical traits of Auxerre scholars at length, in the article: F. Cinato and C. Denoël, 'Y a-t-il eu un scriptorium à Auxerre au temps d'Heiric (841–v. 876) ?' in: A. Nievergelt, R. Gamper eds. *Scriptorium. Wesen · Funktion · Eigenheiten. Comité international de Paléographie latine, XVIII. Internationaler Kongress St. Gallen 11.–14. September 2013* (München 2015) 199-230.
[85] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 16025, 9ʳ .

this γ-annotator.[86] Type β annotated before type δ, who needed to insert tie-marks on different occasions.[87] Thus, the chronological order of the type of hands is α-γ-β-δ.

In the following paragraphs, I will discuss the types of hands α and γ separately. Types β and δ largely depend on comments on etymology and grammar. These are discussed in section 2.5.3.

2.5.1   Type α, the teacher

The annotations made by type α usually consist of short sentences or a few words that share similarities with the catchphrases present in manuscript **Paris, lat. 16024 (A)** discussed above. Although not in majuscule script, these annotations guide the reader through the text by summarizing the contents of a paragraph. For example, notions like *Africa descriptio* (a description of Africa) and *Litterae Adherbal[is] in senatu* (The letters of Adherbal in the senate) give the reader an indication of where they are in the text and what the main point of the paragraph is, or whom it is about.[88] Also, as in **A,** annotations are made to indicate the beginning of letters and speeches. However, the difference is, that these glosses are not written in a fixed formula to indicate the speeches. For example, the speech of Adherbal to the senate (Jug. 14) is indicated with *Adherbalis cum questio* (Adherbal with complaint) instead of *oratio Adherbalis ad senatu* (*sic*!), as present in **A** and the manuscripts containing excerpts of the letters and speeches.**[89]** The annotating hand α gives more variety to these catchphrases.

The second type of annotations by these α-hands deserves special attention. Using an interrogative like *qui(s),* sometimes in combination with a verb in the conjunctive case, the annotator created a formula that occurs throughout the manuscript.[90] Examples of these are: *qui familiares Catilina* (who the friends of Catiline are) and *Sulla qui fuerit* ([This passage is about] who Sulla was).[91] In a way, these annotations supply catchphrases like the other notes discussed before. However, the glosses posed in this formula review more detailed information, mostly about

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[86] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 16025, 15ᵛ. γ-type: *NOTA patricius id est pater civum*. β-type: *Patricii uocabantur nobiles romanorum quasi patres civium dicta*

[87] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 16025, 5ʳ ; 6ᵛ ; 7ᵛ.

[88] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 16025, 22ʳ Sallust (Jug. 17) ; Paris, lat. 16025, 24r Sallust (Jug. 24)

[89] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 16025, 20ᵛ

[90] Although the conjunctive case can also be interpreted as a future case, this is very unlikely, since the account commented on in one from the past. The technical term for these phrases is: dependent interrogative.

[91] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 4ᵛ Sallust (Cat 14.1) ; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 44v Sallust (Jug. 95.3).

individuals. It is not hard to imagine that these notes were meant to question students on their knowledge of the texts.

It is difficult to distil a particular interest of the annotators, as the summarizing notes do not seem to have a distinct subject. Most annotations are made at the beginning of *De Coniuratione Catilinae*, when the early history of Rome is described as well as an image of Catiline and his deprived followers. Little attention is given to the political aspect of the conspiracy itself, but the glosses return when Caesar and Cato debate on the faith of the conspirators and the execution afterwards. The glosses in the *Bellum Jugurthinum* focus less on the protagonist. No attention is given to the rise of Jugurtha himself. The annotators were interested in the description of Africa and the campaigns of 109 BC and 108 BC. In these chapters, they mostly marked the names of leaders in the margin, such as *Albinus, Bomilcar*, and *Nabdalsa*.[92] The actual capture of Jugurtha is given no attention.

The focus of the *α* type annotator is adding catchphrases to the texts of Sallust, both in a general way and on more detailed level. Following these catchphrases, they are not directly summarizing the main storylines of *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum.* The annotator was very specific in his interests; perhaps we are dealing with a teacher, who wanted his students to learn about historical figures and distant lands. Aspects of war and politics are neglected - or at least not explicitly annotated.

2.5.2   The γ-type

The hand(s) belonging to the γ-type are relatively easy to distinguish thanks to two elements that are not visible in other hands. Firstly, many of the annotations by this hand are accompanied by a *nota*-sign, consisting of a large NT-ligature with the 'o' and the 'a' attached to it in various ways. Secondly, this same hand abbreviated *id est* (*id*), with a 'd' with a long and wavy ascender (see figure 4). The *nota*-signs are always accompanied by texts, which makes it possible to assign all *nota*-signs to the same scribe. As the wavy 'd'

Figure 4 γ-type

Paris, lat. 16025, 30r

occurs in the same hand as the *nota*-scribe, one can assume it was the same person – or a close-knit group of people - annotating.

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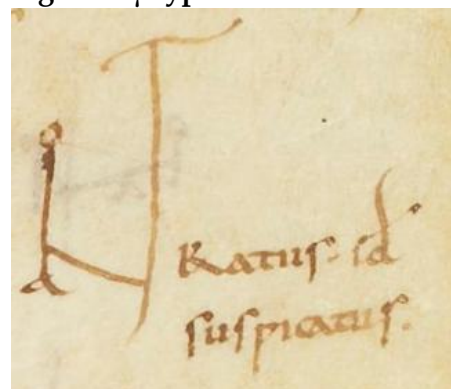
[92] Sallust (Jug. 37.3, 61.4, 70.2) ; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 28ʳ 35ᵛ 37ᵛ.

The type γ annotator generally used three abbreviation marks to indicate annotations: *nota*, *idest* and *scilicet*. His hand hardly seems to occur in *De Coniuratione Catilinae* but is omnipresent in *Bellum Jugurthinum,* where it is not uncommon to find four or five annotations on a single page. The function of the annotations introduced by a *nota*-sign is similar to the notes consisting of words in manuscript **A** concerning vocabulary. Single words are repeated in the margin to stress those words as interesting or difficult. They do not necessarily function as keywords or catchphrases. The annotations are many, but it is difficult to distil a particular interest of the annotator. Many of the words referred to are given an alternative interlineally, suggesting the annotator noted difficult words that needed clarification.[93] This clarification not only concerned the meaning of words, but also the grammatical construction they are part of or the composition of the words. For example, on folio 18ᵛ the annotator stresses that *pollens viribus* is an *ablativo pro genetivo*,[94] and on folio 21ʳ, the reader needs to be remembered that *ubivis* (no matter where) is one word, not two.[95]

In some cases the annotator gave clarifying alternatives, when his notes were accompanied by *id est (*that is). For example, Sallust used the archaic phrase *ea tempestate* to say 'in this time', not 'this tempest'.[96] To solve the ambiguity for the readers, the annotator wrote *id est tempore* in the margin.[97] The main function of the interlinear annotations is to solve ambiguities in the text concerning grammar or vocabulary. This annotator seems to have the same goals, although it remains unclear why he chose to stress certain words that already got an adequate explanation in the interlinear margin.

The last element assigned to this type of hand is the use of a *chrismon*, a sign consisting of the Greek letters *chi* and *rho,* also known as a monogram to indicate Christ.[98] However, as Sallust's text is pre-Christian, the annotator could not have indicated correct doctrinal passages with the *chrismon*, as Cassiodorus did.[99] It is

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[93] For example : Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 18ᵛ Perinde similiter Sallust (Jug. 4).

[94] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 18ᵛ Sallust (Jug. 6)

[95] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 21ʳ Sallust (Jug. 14). *Ubi vis* (where the power) would cause ambiguity. It is therefore important to realise that *ubivis* is one word in this case.

[96] Ramsey, *Sallust's Bellum Catilinae*, 77.

[97] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 18r Sallust (Jug. 8)

[98] On Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025,18ᵛ the chrismon is present in combination with the *id est* abbreviation of the γ-type, hence this sign is ascribed to this annotator as well.

[99] E. Steinová, *Notam superponere studui. The use of technical signs in the early Middle Ages* (dissertation 2016) 271.

more likely that the annotator used it as an attention sign, as described by Isidore.[100] There are nine *chrismon*-signs present in *Bellum Jugurthinum*, and none in *De Coniuratione Catilinae.* Analyzing the passages highlighted, it becomes clear that the annotator used the signs to indicate moral lessons, showing the difference between right and wrong on the battlefield. Lessons such as: 'It is preferable for a good man to be defeated than to triumph over a wrong in a wicked manner',[101] and 'the glory of ancestors is, as it were, a light shining upon their posterity, and it suffers neither their virtues nor their faults to be hidden.'[102] Not always is the difference between good and bad made explicit. The annotator noted two passages on being forced into battle (Jug. 48 and 54) and two passages on a rather treacherous attack (Jug. 68 and 69). In these cases one can only guess if the annotator indeed saw these passages as moral lessons or perhaps as accepted behaviour on the battlefield. By annotating a passage in which the Numidians did not allow themselves to be intimidated by the shouting of their enemies, the annotator proved himself to be interested in similar questions as the colleague who wrote the *nota*-signs in manuscript **A**: how do you fight a battle?

To conclude, the hand(s) from the γ-type were mostly interested in waging war, judging from the lack of interest in *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and the abundant annotations made in *Bellum Jugurthinum.* The *chrismon*-signs suggest an interest in waging war, too. In the margin, this annotator wrote difficult words or keywords, accompanied by *nota*-signs that could not be missed. Contrary to the α-hands, this annotator regularly provided explanations of words, by giving alternatives, or providing explanations he thought of himself or had learned elsewhere.

2.5.3   Isidore, Priscian and Servius

Different hands in the margin show knowledge of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, an encyclopaedic work from the seventh century that was immensely popular among medieval scholars. In the ninth century, the *Etymologiae* were wide-spread, including

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[100] Steinová, *Notam superponere studui,* 271-2. Below, I will argue that this annotator had knowledge of Isidore's *Etymologiae* 1. xxii.

[101] Sallust (Jug. 42.3); Ramsey, *Sallust. The war with Jugurtha,* 263; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 29ᵛ.

[102] Sallust (Jug. 85.24); Ramsey, *Sallust. The war with Jugurtha,* 353; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 41ᵛ.

in the intellectual circle of manuscript **B,** as at least three types of hand show knowledge of Isidore. Below, I will give an example for each type.

The γ-type annotator gave an explanation of the words *patres conscripti*, quoted from Isidore's *Etymologia.* The annotation explains that in the time of Romulus, the names of the senators were written on golden tablets and shown to the people, and therefore the senators received the name 'enrolled fathers'.[103] The place of this quotation from Isidore is peculiar, as the term *patres conscripti* has been used throughout the manuscript at the beginning of the many speeches. This term is used for the first time in *Bellum Jugurthinum*, which implies that this annotator either was not active in the other text or he annotated that text later. Since there are a few *nota-* signs present at Ceasar's speech in de *Conspiracy*, the latter is more plausible.

The β-type annotator's principle task appears to have been writing etymological origins and explanations of words in the margins, most of which occur in the first work of Sallust. On folio 9ᵛ, for example, six of those explanations are given.[104] In the *Bellum Jugurthinum*, he explains that a toga is a sign of peace, explaining, similarly to the previous example, an element typical of the past Roman world.[105]

For a third hand, probably from the δ-type, quoting Isidore's work appears to have had a different purpose. The third annotator grasped the opportunity to explain the etymology of the word 'epilepsy', a medical word that does not seem to be related to the text by Sallust. The link between events from ancient times and epilepsy becomes clear when one links the annotation with the lemma concerned: *Igitur comitiis habitis consules declarantur* (Accordingly, the consuls were proclaimed at the annual assembly (*comitia*)).[106] The annotator explained through the words of Isidore that epilepsy was also called *morbus comitialis*, the disease of the assembly, because when someone at the yearly assembly got an epileptic attack, the meeting was cancelled.[107] Likewise, when the text of Sallust speaks of spears (*sparus)* and lances, the annotator noted that *sparus* could also mean a type of fish, sea bream, that had the figure of a spear.[108]

Having discussed how three hands showed knowledge of Isidore's *Etymologiae,* I want to turn to other late antique and early medieval authors that were useful for the

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[103] Isidore, *Etymologiae,* 9.iv.10; compare: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 20ᵛ.
For an English translation of the Etymologies of Isidore of Seville, see : S.A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, and J.A. Beach transl., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge 2006).
[104] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 9ᵛ. Explanations are given of the words, *Tabes, flagitium, facinus, sentina, gregarious* and *tribunus.*
[105] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 23ᵛ ; Isidore, *Etymologiae,* 19, xxiv, 4.
[106] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 6ᵛ.
[107] Isidore, *Etymologiae,* 4, vii, 7.
[108] Isidore, *Etymologiae,* 12, vi, 31.

understanding of Sallust's work. Some of these authors are called by name. For example, an annotator quoted Priscian to make clear that the personal pronoun *eo* in that line must be interpreted as a causal clause.[109] The δ-type annotator gave grammatical aid like this often, although he did not always appear to cite from grammarians.[110] Also, in *De Coniuratione Catilinae*, when Cato gave his speech, the following is noted on the word *sepenumero*:[111]

> *Sepenumero una pars est et ponitur pro frequenter uel racionabiliter ut dicit seruius in commento xi libri virgilii*

> 'Sepenumero' is one word and is put for 'frequently' or 'reasonably', as Servius says in his comments on Virgil in book xi.

The annotator (from the δ-type) may have read the commentary by Servius on Vergil, which was rather popular in the ninth century, recognized the word *sepenumero,* and wrote down where else he found it. This annotator showed knowledge of Servius's text before, on folio 6ᵛ, where he encountered the word *fortunata*:

> *Fortunata modo bene prospera altare debet legi servio in commento [vir]gilii*

> 'Fortunate' can now best be read as 'prosperous through the altar' in Servius' commentary on Virgil'.

What can we conclude from this? The quotations from Isidore, Priscian and Servius show intellectual capacity, but they are no real surprises. Isidore was a school text, Priscian was one of the most popular grammarians, and Servius' commentary was read intensively; these texts were present in most intellectual centres of study, including that of Fleury-Auxerre, where this manuscript originates. A second important conclusion is that all types of hands have inserted citations from other sources, except for type α. The oldest type of annotator was more concerned with the content of Sallust's work than with grammatical help or etymological references.

2.5.4   Interlinear glosses

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[109] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 16025, 4ᵛ.

[110] For example, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 5ʳ

[111] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 13ᵛ.

A last element for discussion are the interlinear glosses of **B**. These are single words that are written by different annotating hands and occur consistently throughout the entire manuscript. Through the analysis of a small fragment from *Bellum Jugurthinum*, I will discuss the different functions of the interlinear annotations. The interlinear glosses had one main purpose: to aid the reader with the text by giving grammatical help and alternate vocabulary.[112] Some of Sallust's stylistic traits were difficult to grasp for a ninth-century reader. For example, the historical infinitive is consequently annotated by adding the imperfect verb ending (*-bat)*. In figure 5 below, we notice many of these verbs: all are given an imperfect verb ending as alternative to the historical infinitive.[113] Sallust also used relative pronouns, referring to a person or thing in the previous sentence. Often the annotators felt the need to

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Figure 5 Transcription of the fragment with annotations (Jug. 6.1) in Paris, lat. 16025, 18v

s. Iugurta   adolescentiam ingressus

Qui ubi primum adoleuit, pollens uiribus, decora facie, sed multo maxime ingenio

ualidus, non se luxui neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit, sed uti mos gentis illius
              bat   bat   s. suis   bat   i. anticiparet
est, aequitare, iaculari; cursu cum aequalibus certare. Et cum omnis gloria anteiret,
                 pro erat   praeter hoc   ducebat
omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque
                                bat   bat
alias feras primus aut in primis ferire, plurimum facere, [et] minimum ipse de se
bat
loqui.

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clarify the subject that accompanied the pronoun. In the example, *qui* is given the addition *Jugurta*, to remind the reader of the subject of the sentence, mentioned just one line above the gloss. Apart from grammatical help, ninth-century readers were given unambiguous terms to choose the correct meaning of words that could have multiple meanings. For example, *ad hoc* could mean 'till now' and 'besides'; *praeter*

hoc dissolves this ambiguity, as it can only mean 'besides'. In the case of *venando agere* (he performed the hunt), the annotator gave as an alternative to *agere* the word *ducebat* (he led the hunt). The alternative gives a slightly different interpretation to the sentence, forcing the reader into a certain view on Jugurtha. In other cases, it is not clear what verb the word derives from. *Adoleuit* is a perfect tense of *adolesco* (to grow up); the annotator thought in necessary to explain the verb with the words *adolescentiam ingressus* (becoming mature).

An element that figure 5 does not show, but that is actually covering a large part of the annotations, is the category of 'difficult' words that needed explanation for the ninth-century reader. For example, the Roman term *patres conscripti* was abbreviated in Sallust to *P.C.* The annotator decided to consistently write down the entire word, as ninth-century readers were not commonly familiar with the abbreviation.[114]

Most of the interlinear annotations focus on an elementary understanding of the texts by Sallust, making sure that the texts are interpreted correctly. However, some interlinear glosses provide evidence that an expert was working on the text.[115] For example, in *De Coniuratione Catilinae* as alternative for *lacerauerat* (had squandered), *obligurrierat* (had squandered) is given.[116] The verb *obligurrio* is very rarely used, but occurs in the *Res Gestae* by Valerius Maximus (1st century BC).[117] This work is from a contemporary historian of Sallust, which makes it more likely that the annotator noted an archaic verb he had read while studying other historiographical texts, rather than an alternative more comprehensible for ninth-century readers. Another example is *fluxi* (transient/frail), which is supplemented with *fragiles* (frail). One could argue that the annotator clarified the correct interpretation of the word *fluxi* by adding the less ambiguous word *fragiles.* In fact, the annotator may have referred to a passage earlier in *De Coniuratione Catilinae,* where the phrase *fluxa atque fragilis* is used.[118] In the chapter where this combination occurred, Sallust deliberately put these synonyms together for the sake of alliteration and in doing so he strengthened the meaning of the words in the text.[119] The ninth-century annotator shows knowledge of this passage by a reference, perhaps to recall the purposes Sallust intended.

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[114] Sallust (*Cat.* 51.1) ; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 12r
[115] This paragraph was first presented in a paper for the course Medieval Latin, 2016.
[116] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 4v.
[117] Lewis and Short, lemma *obligurio.*
[118] Sallust *(Cat.* 1.4).
[119]Ramsey, *Sallust's Bellum Catilinae,* 56, 57.

2.5.5   The annotators

Having discussed the elements the different annotators focussed on, we can conclude that manuscript **Paris, lat. 16025** primarily had a grammatical purpose for the Carolingian annotators. For students who needed to master the Latin language by means of Sallust, it was not only necessary to understand the construction of sentences and learn difficult and obscure words, but it was also essential to understand the content and context of the text. The combination of interlinear glosses, summarizing glosses, and explanatory notes help ninth-century readers to learn the Latin of Sallust. Although the different types of hand allow us to separate different layers of annotations, they all served the same purpose. Particular interests in non-grammatical elements of Sallust's work is less obviously present. There is, for example, no sign of special interest in the orations and speeches. Only the γ-type annotator shared interest in military morale with *nota*-signs, in a way very similar to the manner in which the annotator of manuscript **A** expressed his interests.

3 ANNOTATING JUSTINUS

3.1 Justinus and his work

In the second or third century AD, Justinus composed the *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi* (henceforward simply called *Epitome*), an abridgement of the lengthy historiographical work by Pompeius Trogus (1st century BC). There are very few sources for the life of Justinus himself, and even the estimates of the date of composition of the *Epitome* vary greatly.[120] We know more about Pompeius: he was a Roman citizen from the Narbonne region, working in the service of Julius Caesar.[121]

The original work by Pompeius is lost, which makes it difficult to reconstruct the exact relationship between the original work and the abridgement made by Justinus. The only passages that can be considered original are Pompeius' prologues to each of the forty-four books. In many cases, the prologues mention passages that are not present in Justinus' text, indicating that Justinus had omitted these passages in his *Epitome.* In any case, although the abridgement is rather voluminous, the work by Pompeius had been much larger.[122] This abridgement appears to have been very welcome: from Late Antiquity onwards, scholars have referred to Justinus' *Epitome* rather than to the original by Pompeius Trogus, suggesting that this work quickly replaced the original instead of simply complementing it. For example, in his *De Civitate Dei,* Augustine (354-430) quoted Justinus rather than Pompeius.[123] Also Orosius (d. ca. 420), who was a contemporary of Augustine, used the *Epitome* instead of the original work.[124]

In some manuscripts, the work by Pompeius was given the title *Liber historiarum philippicarum et totius mundi origines et terrae situs.*[125] Indeed, the work is an attempt at a history of the world, with a focus on the succession of people and states, including Alexander the Great and the Macedonian dynasty. The sources he used are almost exclusively Greek, the reason for which is explained by the preface:

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[120] On the date of composition of the Epitome, see: R. Syme, 'Date of Justin and the Discovery of Trogus' *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* (1988) 358-371.

[121] Justinus (*Epi* 43.5.11-12).

[122] Estimations vary from one fifth to one tenth. J.C. Yardley transl. and R. Develin, *Justin. Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (Atlanta 1994) 6.

[123] 'Summarizing the historian Trogus Pomeius, Justinus wrote in Latin a history of Greece, or, to be more exact, of the non-Roman nations. He begins as follows:…' Augustine (*De Civitate Dei,* IV, c. VI) E. Gilson, G. Walsh and D. Zema transl., 'The City of God, Books I-VII' *The Fathers of the Church: a New Translation* 8 (2008) 197.

[124] J.C. Yardley and W. Heckel, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (Oxford 1997) 26.

[125] This title is also present in the ninth-century manuscripts discussed below.

Many Romans, even men of consular rank, had already composed Roman history in a foreign language – Greek – but Pompeius Trogus chose Latin as the medium for his history of Greece and the whole world. Possessed of an eloquence characteristic of the ancients, he was motivated either by a desire to rival the fame of these authors or by the originality of his project, his intention being that Greek history should be as accessible in our language as ours is in Greek.[126]

In a moment of 'free time' (*per otium*) Justinus decided to abridge the work of Pompeius, which consisted of forty-four books.[127] He removed all passages that were 'not interesting or did not have a moral function'.[128]

It is difficult to say to what extent Justinus not only abbreviated, but also interfered in the text presented to him by Pompeius. John Yardley has defined a list of so-called 'Justinisms', words or phrases used that are more likely to have been written by Justinus than by Pompeius.[129] In some instances, Justinus addresses his audience by using the first person, and phrases like 'to this day' suggest the addition was made by Justinus.[130] He also omitted certain passages that were necessary for a good understanding of the order of events, which caused some chapters to be difficult to follow.[131] Consequently, as modern scholars have pointed out, the narrative gives confusing accounts of events, and names are mixed up.[132] However, being historically correct was not Justinus' goal. He wanted to preserve the passages that caught his interest and had moral value.

In the next paragraphs, I will elaborate on the Carolingian marginalia present in the surviving manuscript material. As the work was originally written to teach the moral lessons of Greek history, the following sections will explore to what extent this original purpose has survived the rigours of time.

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[126] Justinus (*Epi* Preface 1); Yardley, *Justin. Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, 13.
Cum multi ex Romanis etiam consularis dignitatis viri res Romanas Graeco peregrinoque sermone in historiam contulissent, seu aemulatione gloriae sive varietate et novitiate operis delectatus vir priscae eloquentiae, Trogus Pompeius, Graecas et totius orbis historias Latino sermone conposuit, ut, cum nostra Graece, Graeca quoque nostra lingua legi possent.

[127] Justinus (*Epi,* Preface 4) *per otium*

[128] Justinus (*Epi,* Preface 4)

[129] J. Yardley, *Justin and Pomepeius Trogus: a study of the language of Justin's Epitome of Trogus* (2003) 116-180

[130] Yardley, *Justin. Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, 5.

[131] Ibidem, 10.

[132] Yardley gives examples of ommision and confusion: Yardley and Heckel, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, 23-30.

3.2 Introduction to the manuscripts and their margins

The oldest witness of Justinus' *Epitome* consists of two fragments from a manuscript written in the eighth century in a Northumbrian script, although it was probably written on the continent.[133] Then follow a set of five manuscripts written in the ninth century, all belonging to the Transalpine family (τ) of witnesses to Justinus' *Epitome*.[134] This grouping has been made by Rühl, who discovered a shared lacuna of more than one hundred words in book eleven.[135] Moreover, this family is the only one in which the prologues occur.

These five ninth-century manuscripts originate from different regions: two manuscripts from the Auxerre-Fleury region (**Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 1601 (P)** and **Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32 (L)**), one from north-eastern Francia (**Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4950 (A))** and two from the Lake Constance area (**Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. sang. 623 (S)** and **Gieβen, Universitätsbibliothek H 79 (G)**). Furthermore, it is argued that there must have been a copy at Fulda too, since several scholars from this monastery – Einhard, Hrabanus Maurus and Walahfrid Strabo – show knowledge of the *Epitome*.[136] So, contrary to the extant manuscript material of Sallust's works, that suggest a concentration of scholarship in the Northern France, the *Epitome* was spread amongst different Carolingian centres of study.[137]

3.2.1   florilegia

In addition to the five more or less complete witnesses of the *Epitome*, there are also two ninth-century fragments still extant. The first fragment is now part of a miscellany originating in St. Gall: **Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLF 67,** which

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[133] Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission,* 197. J. Crick, 'An Anglo-Saxon fragment of Justinus' *Epitome*' *Anglo-Saxon England* 16 (1987)181-196, 183. G. Rusche, 'a 12th century English Fragment of Justinus' *Epitome*' *Scriptorium* 48.1 (1994) 140-146, 145.

[134] For a complete stemma of Justinus' *Epitome*, see M.P. Arnaud-Lindet, *Abrégé des Histoires Philippiques de Trogue Pompée* (Augsburg 2003).

[135] There are three classes to distinct. The first class contains the oldest surviving manuscripts and can be devided into two families, the τ and π. The ninth-century manuscripts all belong to the τ (transalpine) family. The π-family comprises two manuscripts from Verona. The second class ι contains four manuscripts from the tenth and eleventh centuries, do not contain the prologues and have three distinct lacunae in the text. The third class γ is represented by two manuscripts from Monte Casino. Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission,* 197-199; Arnaud-Lindet, *Abrégé des Histoires Philippiques de Trogue Pompée.*

[136] R. Mckitterick, *History and Memory in a Carolingian World,* (Cambridge 2004) 44.

[137] For the location of the extant ninth-century manuscripts in Sallust, see section 2.2.1, 2.2.2.

was bound together with other texts at a later stage.[138] It contains the prologues by Pompeius Trogus; what happened to the remainder of the text is uncertain. Perhaps the prologues were once attached to a version of the rest of Justinus' *Epitome*.[139]

The second fragment of the *Epitome* is found in a miscellany from Verona from the first half of the ninth century. Next to the first two books of the *Epitome*, other historiographical texts are incorporated in this miscellany, including fragments by the authors Eutropius (fourth century), Jordanes (sixth century), Paul the Deacon (720-799), Jerome (c.343-420), Prosper of Aquitaine (390-463) and Isidore of Seville.[140] The miscellany may have functioned as a history of peoples, focusing on the peoples of Italy, as well as a book on kingship.[141] It suggests that the *Epitome* was studied for its historiographical content, too. According to McKitterick, the annotations made to the fragment of Justinus suggests the same, because the keywords present form a 'short marginal guide to the contents of the texts'.[142] The focus on kingship of this miscellany might suggest that the text by Justinus was still read as a moral compass, at least for the rulers. In the following sections I will discuss the marginal activity found in the complete witnesses of the text.

3.2.2   complete witnesses

Of the five (almost) complete ninth-century witnesses of the *Epitome*, three contain marginalia. The manuscripts **Paris lat. 4950** and **St. Gall cod. sang. 623** do not, or very sparsely, show early medieval glosses. The annotations in the other three manuscripts mostly consist of summarizing notes and keywords. Corrections and technical signs are less frequent, although some *nota-*signs and other attention signs do occur. Suspicious by its absence are grammatical glosses, which are not found in any of the manuscripts. Instead, the margins are filled with summarizing notes that guide the reader through the text. **Paris, n.a.l. 1601** is annotated by one type of hand, in a Caroline minuscule, suggesting that the annotations are more or less contemporary to the main text. Just over half of the pages contain marginalia, and only seven percent of the most densely annotated page is covered with

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[138] K.A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini. Codices in Folio* (Leiden 1973) 130-131. Other parts of the manuscript contain fragments of Cicero, Sedulius Scotus and Priscian.

[139] There are no annotations visible in this fragment, but this does not mean that the rest of the text – if it ever was there – was not annotated. In none of the extant manuscripts are the prologues accompanied by extensive marginal activity.

[140] McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World,* 54-56.

[141] Ibidem, 57.

[142] Ibidem, 57.

annotations.[143] In **Gieβen H 79,** various hands occur regularly throughout the manuscript.[144] At least one of these hands is from the ninth century; other hands are from later medieval periods. There is one hand present that dates from after the Middle Ages. So, we can conclude that this manuscript was continuously used throughout the Middle Ages. **Leiden, VLQ 32** is annotated by various hands, both contemporary and from a later medieval period. The annotations are plentiful: ninety-five percent of the pages contain marginalia, and up to twenty-five percent of the marginal space per page is used. This is considerably more than in the other two manuscripts, that have a maximum of five to ten percent marginal space covered. In the following sections, I will discuss the margins of each of the manuscripts separately. Then, I will focus on the Carolingian marginal annotations that are similar in all three manuscripts, a collection of glosses I called a 'marginal commentary'.

3.3 Paris, n.a.l. 1601

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 1601 (P) is written in ninth-century Fleury, and is the least lavishly glossed of the three, annotated only by one or multiple but very similar Carolingian hands.[145] As discussed below, the annotations are mostly dependent on a marginal commentary containing summarizing notes that focuses on rulers and origins of cities and people. The marginal notes are not made in the entire manuscript. In some parts of the *Epitome* there are no annotations present at all. The annotations are concentrated in the first twelve books of the *Epitome*, where the rise and fall of kingdoms is described up to Alexander the Great.[146] In books thirteen up to seventeen, where the successors of Alexander the Great are described, only a few annotations per book are added. A larger number of annotations are added from book eighteen onwards; they last up to book twenty-five, where the histories of Carthage, Sicily, Macedonia and Greece are portrayed. The annotator gives less attention to the books on the eastern kingdom of the Seleucids. The marginal activity becomes stronger again in book thirty-one, where several battles with Rome are described, and in book thirty-six, where biblical figures from the Old Testament, such as Moses and Joseph, make their appearance. After this book, the annotator stopped all together, leaving no glosses in the last eight books of the *Epitome.* Judging from the annotations, one may conclude that the interest of the

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[143] In Paris, n.a.l. 1601, 91 of the 220 pages are blank, so 59% of the pages contain marginalia.

[144] In Gieβen H 79, 33 of the 344 pages are blank, so 90.4 % of the pages contain marginalia.

[145] Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission,* 198.

[146] The topics discussed in each book are derived from Yardley and Heckel, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus,* 22-23.

annotator mostly included early history and the origins of the empires surrounding the Mediterranean. Judging from the lack of glosses after book thirty-six, one could come to the conclusion that the annotator was not interested in the most recent part of history portrayed in the *Epitome,* perhaps because he thought other sources such as Sallust's *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and Ceasar's *De Bello Gallico* dealt in a better way with the first century BC than the last books of the *Epitome*. Nathalia Lozovski notes a similar interest in a ninth-century codex containing the *Epitome* by Valerius Maximus (first century AD) and *De chorographia* by Pomponius Mela (d. ca. 45 AD): there too, the annotations grew less or were not present at all when a topic was discussed of which more knowledge was available – in this case it concerned the Gauls.[147] So, it is possible that the annotator of **P** was less interested in the last books because other sources were more informative.

The type of annotations found in **P** are mostly summarizing and structural: notes that summarize the content of the text without expressing values or individual thought. The notes give structure to the text, allowing the reader to search for certain chapters and topics. In accordance with the general topics of the *Epitome*, and the topics of the marginal commentary (see section 3.6) , the notes concern victories, deeds and defeats of rulers, and the origins of lands, cities and peoples. Also the notes that do not follow the marginal commentary discussed below, concern the same topics.[148] Secondly, there are a few corrections made in the text, and some lacunae are solved: omitted sentences that the annotator(s) inserted in the margin.[149] We also find a few *require*-signs, an 'r' indicating that a passage is missing or wrongly copied and needs to be looked up.[150] There are no commentary glosses or notes that give grammatical aid with reading the text. The lack of interpretative evidence of the text suggests that it is not very likely that the text in this manuscript was used for teaching grammar or rhetoric. The focus lies on the contents of the text.

3.4 Gieβen H 79

The type of annotations made in Caroline minuscule in **Gieβen, Universitätsbibliothek, H 79 (G)** are very similar to those in **P.** Many of the annotations belong to the same marginal commentary, and the topics dealt with are very similar. The notes summarize the content, usually beginning with *de* (about).

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[147] Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 4929; Lozovski, 'Roman Geography and Ethnography in the Carolingian Empire' 335.

[148] For example, the marginal notes in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 1601 of books twenty three and twenty four do not follow the marginal commentary.

[149] For example: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 1601, 29ᵛ 34ʳ 46ᵛ 47ᵛ 52ʳ.

[150] For example: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 1601, 97ʳ 112ʳ.

Figure 6 Two annotating hands
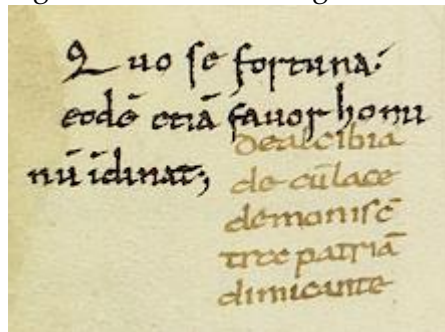
Gieβen, H. 79, 33v.
Quo se fortuna eodem etiam favor hominum inclinat
Whichever way Fortune inclines, the favour of human beings follows (translation Yardley)
De Alcibiade cum Lacedemonis contra patriam dimicante
About Alcibiades who fights with Lacedemonius against his homeland.

However, unlike manuscript **P**, the annotators of **G** continued throughout the manuscript, leaving no book without annotation. This codex has been glossed throughout the Middle Ages, and the Carolingian hands are accompanied by hands from later in the Middle Ages as well as by humanistic hands. In figure 6, an example is given to illustrate the difference in interest of the different hands. The hand in black ink is writing in an early Gothic script, whereas the lighter hand is in Caroline minuscule. The black hand is definitely later than the Carolingian hand, as the annotator needs to work around the already existing summarizing gloss. The line cited by the more recent annotator does not deal with summarizing the *Epitome*, but is a proverb. In general, the more recent hand in black ink was interested in moral issues and *sententiae* (proverbs).[151] The annotations in the early Gothic script were not a substitute for the Carolingian annotations; they were merely complementing the already existing annotations. Even though they showed different interests, this does not indicate that the later medieval readers did not benefit from the summarizing notes already present.

Apart from more recent hands showing a more diverse interest in the text, there are also *nota*-signs present that give insight into the interests of the annotators. Unfortunately, only very few of those are Carolingian. The two types of *nota*-signs that occur structurally throughout the manuscript, are later. One of these types of

nota-signs is written by the hand in black ink (see above figure 6).[152] This type occurs mostly at the beginning of the Epitome, but it difficult to assign a typical

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[151] Two examples of this are found in Gieβen, Unversitätsbibliothek H 79, 42ᵛ.
Epaminonda duce uolut mucrone teli ablato Thebanorum uires haebetatae sunt Justinus (*Epi* VI.8.2)
Epaminon incertum uir melior an dux fuerit pecuniae adeo contempotor ut fueneri sumptus defuerit Justinus (*Epi* VI.8.4-6).
[152] The hand and the *nota*-sign occur simultaneously in Gieβen, Unversitätsbibliothek H 79, 63ʳ

interest to the annotations. They sometimes occur together with a gloss.[153] Another common *nota*-sign appears to be written by the same pen as a later medieval hand

 .[154] This *nota*-sign occurs very irregularly throughout the manuscript; in most books it does not occur at all, but for example in book thirty one, there are seven of such *nota*-signs present. All of these signs in this book reflect on the role the Romans played on war with Hannibal.[155] There is one type of *nota*-sign that may have had a

Carolingian origin.[156] This sign occurs only three times in the manuscript, and on all three occasions, the word *patria* (fatherland) occurs.[157] Although the word 'fatherland' occurs many times in the *Epitome*, it is clear that this annotator had a specific interest in the concept.

3.5 VLQ 32

The codex **Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32 (L)** is a ninth-century manuscript which originates, like **P,** in the Fleury-Auxerre region. It is very densely annotated by different hands, at least three of which are medieval, according to Rühl.[158] In fact, most annotations are written in Caroline minuscule, indicating that this manuscript may have been used intensively in the Carolingian period.[159] One of the hands has been ascribed to Auxerre scholars, on the basis of palaeographical traits.[160] Although it is clear that multiple Carolingian hands worked in the manuscript, it is hard to distinguish them in a consistent way. They appear to have similar interests and to originate in the same period. Palaeographically, the hands

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[153] For example, Gieβen, Unversitätsbibliothek H 79, 11ʳ 12ᵛ 16ᵛ 17ᵛ 36ᵛ 37ᵛ.

[154] Gieβen, Unversitätsbibliothek H 79, 96ᵛ.

[155] The *nota*-signs in book thirty-one reflect on the following passages in the *Epitome*: Justinus (*Epi* XXXI.2.3; XXXI.3.8; XXXI.5.4-5; XXXI.5.9; XXXI.7.5 and two on XXXI.8.9).

[156] Steinová has discovered a very similar type of *nota*-sign in her survey: Steinová, *Notam superponere studui*, 402-3.

[157] Gieβen, Unversitätsbibliothek H 79, 57ᵛ. Justinus (*Epi* XI.4.4): nec iam pro civibus se, qui tam pauci remanserint, orare, sed pro innoxio **patriae** solo et pro urbe, quae non viros tantum, verum et deos genuerit.; Gieβen, Unversitätsbibliothek H 79, 68ʳ Justinus (*Epi* XII.4.1) Inter haec indignation omnium totis castris erat, Philippo illum patre tantum degenerasse, ut etiam **patriae** nomen eiuraret Moresque Persarum adsumeret…; Gieβen, Unversitätsbibliothek H 79, 121r Justinus (*Epi* XXV.5.2) Caput eius Antogono refertur, qui Victoria mitius usus filium eius Helenum cum Epirotis sibi deditum in regnum remisit eique insepulti patris ossa in **patriam** referenda tradidit.

[158] Rühl distinguishes three hands before the fifteenth century, of which at least one is Carolingian. Rühl, *Textquellen*, 13.

[159] De Meyier distinguishes three hands from the ninth up and till the eleventy century. K.A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini. Codices in Quarto* (Leiden 1973) 84.

[160] See footnote 55.

show many similarities. Therefore I will consider the different hands to belong to the same layer of annotations and refer to them as a unit.

In a few cases, it is possible to prove which hand preceded another. In figure 7 for example, it is clear that the bigger annotating hand had wished to write his annotation somewhat higher on the page, but had to move down due to the presence of a smaller note by the hand that is also responsible for most of the annotations of the marginal commentary. The annotator used a line to link the passage with the corresponding annotation.

Figure 7 Different annotating hands in Leiden, VLQ 32
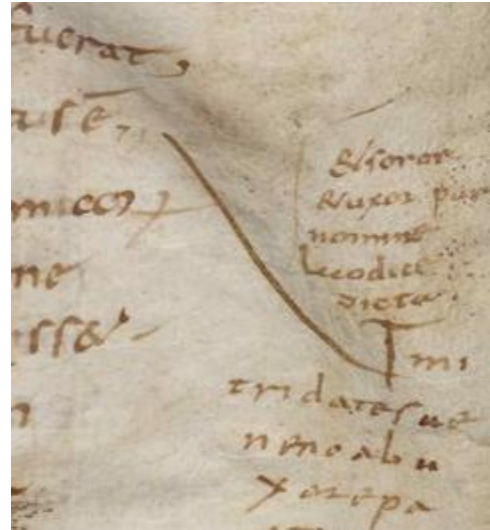
Leiden, VLQ 32, 115^r

Unfortunately, not all annotations are equally legible. The manuscript has experienced some water damage in the past, causing the pages to slightly curl up. Also, in some instances the ink has faded too much to allow a full transcription of the annotation. Even so, the majority of notes left can be deciphered without difficulty.

Similar to the other codices containing the *Epitome,* most annotations are summarizing notes and corrections. However, in this manuscript there are more types of annotation present that appear to be spontaneous. In the following paragraphs, I will focus on keywords, attention signs, and phrases found in the manuscript that are not part of the marginal commentary. The types of annotation that are absent in this manuscript are grammatical and syntactical annotations: there are no signs of grammatical aid or alternative vocabulary. Also, there are no sources used or authors cited, such as Isidore of Seville.

3.5.1 Keywords

First, keywords and catchphrases are found: single words that structure the text so that the reader knows what it is about. These catchphrases concern mostly regions and names of kings and rulers. For example, in book seven, three rulers are named in

the margin: *Telegonus* (!),[161] *Europus*, and *Ceraunus.* Later in the book, the name *Magabarus* (!) is written in the margin, and in other books too, single-worded references to kings and rulers are regularly made.[162] Other single-worded keywords are less easy to explain: *Spurios* (illegitimates), for example, or *cista* (basket).[163] As there are hardly any syntactical annotations that serve as a grammatical aid, it is plausible that the annotator wrote down words that interested him, perhaps words that were no longer in use in the ninth century. The annotators of **L** were not alone in doing so. For example, Rather of Verona (890-974), a tenth-century bishop of Verona, annotated a ninth-century copy of Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* with words in capital letters that he wanted to add to his vocabulary.[164] However, the majority of the single-worded keywords concern the names of kings, which betrays an interest in kings and rulers.

3.5.2 Attention signs

Figure 8
Attention sign
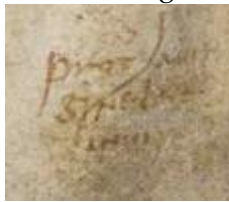
Leiden, VLQ 32, 129r

One of the signs that occurs throughout the manuscript is the attention sign . Although signs are exceptionally hard to date, it is plausible that the signs were contemporary to the Carolingian annotations in the margin. In figure 8, the sign is integrated in an annotation, suggesting it was done by the same scribe. Judging from the first book of the *Epitome,* I argue that these signs indicate direct actions of kings and rulers, and that the annotator wished to study the behaviour of previous kings.[165] Examples of this kind are found in other books too. For example, in book twelve it is highlighted that Alexander the Great conquered several tribes, and that

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[161] Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 38ᵛ: Justinus (*Epi* VII.1.5-7) In the edition of Seel, Telegonus is replaced by Pelegonus. O. Seel ed., *M. Iuniani Iustini. Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi* (Stutgart 1972) 70.

[162] Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 39ʳ: Justinus (*Epi* VII.3.7) In the edition of Seel, Magabarus is replaced by Magabasus: Seel, *M. Iuniani Iustini,* 73. Other examples of names of rulers in the margins are: 'Mida' Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 50ᵛ. Justinus (*Epi* XI.7.14); 'Cineas' Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 76ʳ Justinus (*Epi* XVIII.2.7).

[163] 'spurious' Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 81ʳ Justinus (*Epi* XX.1.15); 'cista' Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 119ʳ Justinus (*Epi* XXXVIII.8.13).

[164] M. Teeuwen, 'The vocabulary of Martianus Capella commentators. Some observations' *Bulletin de Cange* (2005) 71-81, 80.

[165] '…First of all, several attention marks are visible. Interestingly, all these signs mark a passage where a ruler acts directly: The kings of Egypt and Scythia were only involved in distant wars; a king committed suicide after a defeat; the young Cyrus whipped his friends while playing and declared he acted as a king; king Astyages spoke to his army to improve morale in battle. The annotator who inserted the attention marks was perhaps using history to study behaviour of previous kings. This

he founded twelve cities, relocating non-functioning soldiers.[166] In book forty-two, it is highlighted that Phradates killed not only his father, but also his thirty brothers.[167] In other cases, the attention signs shed light on the character of rulers, both positively and negatively. For example, we learn that Viriatus was a man of integrity and restraint, but that other kings only cared for their power, falling victim to *hubris.*[168]

A second topic that the annotator was interested in, and that did not become visible by studying the first book of the *Epitome*, are myths and *fabulae*. In the last book an attention sign is placed next to the story of the mares that got impregnated by the wind in the woods where the Titans made war on the gods.[169] The marginal annotations show an interest in stories, for example in book forty-three, where a story about a pregnant bitch asking a shepherd for help is annotated by the word *fabula*, the term also used in the *Epitome* itself.[170] In book four, not only the beginning of the *fabula* was glossed, *fabula Scyllae et Carybdin*, but also the reason for inserting this fable is referred to: *quid non sit in dulcedinem fabulae ab antiquis compositum* (This was not composed as a tale for entertainment by the Ancients).[171]

A third and last element which is stressed by the attention signs are the different tribes and peoples, and their character. Attention is given to the passage that tells of the inhabitants of Spain, who have a stronger will to keep secrets than to stay alive, for example.[172] Also, the people of Carthago are typically clever and the Romans do not let their spirits 'diminish by defeat'.[173]

Next to the use of a typical attention sign, there is also another type of sign present, known as a *frontis*, composed from the Greek letters *phi* and *rho* .[174]

One could argue that most of these attention signs show interest in moral behaviour. For example, Rome decided to give Asia to its allies, as that was a better

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theme continues in other annotations, where values given to different kings and queens are stressed, such as '*Ninias rex mollito*' and '*Sardinapalli indignissima*'.' cited from L. van Raaij, *Scripts and Signs in the Margins. A profile of Auxerre annotators* (unpublished paper) 40.

[166] Justinus, (*Epi* XII.5.9; XII.5.13); Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 56ᵛ.

[167] Justinus, (*Epi* XLII.5.1); Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 127ʳ.

[168] Justinus, (*Epi* XLIIII.2.8; XXXVIIII.1.3; XXV.4.3); Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 131ʳ, 120ʳ, 75ᵛ.

[169]Justinus, (*Epi* XLIIII.3.1; XLIIII.4.1); Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 131ʳᵛ.

[170] Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 129ᵛ; Justinus (*Epi* XLIII.4.4).

[171] Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 28ʳ; Justinus (*Epi* IV.1.13; IV.1.17).

[172] Justinus (*Epi* XLIIII.2.3); Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 131ʳ.

[173] Justinus (*Epi* XXXI.4.2; XXXI.8.8); Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 105ʳ, 107ʳ.

[174] Steinová, *Notam Superponere Studui,* 277-8.

thing to do than to keep the lands for pleasure.[175] In some cases, this sign is added when the text spoke of a prophecy for the city.[176] Yet another example shows interest in the war between Pompey and Ceasar and the sides the Partheans chose in this conflict.[177] It is hard to connect the interests with each other. The only conclusion we can draw from this diversity, is that we are dealing with an annotator who had several interests, among which moral behaviour.

3.5.3   Detailed information

Similar to **Paris lat. 16025,** this manuscript too contains phrases with an interrogative and a verb in the conjunctive case, which could be interpreted as a dependent question.[178] At least two Carolingian hands inserted this type of annotations. For example, *Quo proelio Asiam Alexander rapuerit*[179] can be translated with: '[this passage is about] the fight in which Alexander conquered Asia'. Some of these notes contained two elements: *Quid* (!) *non iuven[es] elegerit et quare*[180] ([This passage is about] that he did not chose young men and why) The answers to these questions are rather complicated, as one would need to read and comprehend entire paragraphs in order to find the answers. Unlike the summarizing notes that formed a reading guide throughout the *Epitome*, these notes tested the reader's more detailed knowledge on the text. The subjects these questions reflect, are similar to those in **Paris lat. 16025**: they concern rulers, the battles they fought, or their character.

3.6 **The marginal commentary of books I-XI**[181]

The ninth-century manuscripts of Justinus' text contain a large number of glosses that are shared by all three manuscripts. This set of glosses concerns mostly summarizing notes; it is best visible in the first eleven books of the *Epitome*. Through books twenty up and till twenty-five, too, the similarities between the annotations are unmistakably present, mostly in **L** and **G**. In appendix IV, an edition of the glosses is given for the first eleven books, because here the similarities are clearest, with only a few exceptions and hints of originality.

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[175] Justinus (*Epi* XXXI.8.9) ; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 107ʳ.

[176] Justinus (*Epi* XII.2.6) ; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 55ʳ.

[177] Justinus (*Epi* XLII.4.7) ; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 127ʳ.

[178] See above, section 2.5.1

[179] Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 53ᵛ. Justinus (*Epi* XI.14.6).

[180] Justinus, (*Epi* XI.6.4) Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 49ᵛ.

[181] For an edition of the annotating tradition of books I-XI, see appendix four

3.6.1 Marginal commentary

One must realise that this set of glosses was by no means a static and unchangeable entity. On the contrary, in some cases one of the manuscripts deviates from the other versions or did not copy the entry at all, whilst in other cases variants between similar entries occur.[182] The complicated relationship between the manuscripts in fact suggests that there was no fixed annotating tradition allowing one to reconstruct an archetype. To illustrate this point, some examples are given that suggest the presence of exemplars. At the same time, we must realize that the number and type of variants present suggest that the text of the set of annotations did not have as much authority as the main text, allowing each annotator to change the glosses and cause many different versions of the annotations to exist next to each other.

We can assume that to some extent the scribes copied directly from an exemplar, making mistakes on the way. In figure 9, examples of copying mistakes are given. In the first example, the Carolingian hand in **G** copied *didatur* (!) instead of *dicatur.* The variant copied is not an existing word, which the annotator would have noticed if he had been conscious of the gloss. It is plausible that the scribe copied from an exemplar that was hard to read or flawed, and through mechanically copying the text, he did not notice the mistake.

In the third example in figure 9, the **L** annotator wrote that Alexander was the father (*pater*) of Phillip. If the scribe would have read the main text, it would have been clear that it concerned Phillip's brother (*frater*). It is hard to judge if this case is one of error in copying or that the annotator applied a form of hypercorrection, as he

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Figure 9 Variants in marginal commentary

	Gieβen, H 79	**Leiden, VLQ 32**	**Paris, n.a.l. 1601**
IV.1.7	quare oppidum Regium didatur	quare Regium ciuitas dicetur	quare oppidum Regium dicatur
VI.6.1.	Artaxerxes Greciae pacem dedit	Artaxerxes Greciae pacem dedit	Artaxerxes Greciae libertatem dedit
VII.4.8	Alexander frater Philippi	Alexander pater Philippi	Alexander frater Philippi

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[182] Not all of the manuscripts contain the same number of annotations belonging to this set. For example, in book one, there are hardly any notes in L that coincide with the notes in G and P, which are similar. In book eleven, **Paris n.a.l. 1601** lacks the expected annotations. Of the total of eighty-three annotations that are part of this tradition, twenty only are present in **Gieβen H. 79** and **Paris n.a.l. 1601** and ten entries only are present in **Leiden VLQ 32** and **Paris n.a.l. 1601.** However, this manuscript also lacks annotations in certain books where the other two do continue.

misunderstood the text and thought to correct it by making an alteration.

Inserting alternatives that deviate from the main text form another type of variant. For instance in example two, where the hands in **G** and **L** both used *pacem,* the annotator in **P** wrote *libertatem.* Did the other two hands decide to write a synonym for *libertatem* - the word that was found in the main text – because it was more suitable or comprehensible for the audience?[183] Or was the **P** annotator copying from a different exemplar than the other two? Again, in example one, we find *oppidum* in two manuscripts (**G** and **P**), whereas the main text first speaks of a *promuntorium* (promontory), which Justinus goes on to describe as an area full of myths where the wind blows with extreme power.[184] Only a few pages later, the reader learns about the people living in Regium (*civitas*) and the city itself (*civitas*).[185] Only the annotator in **L** uses the word *civitas.*

In this instance, annotators in **G** and **P** choose the same alternative; in the previous example the hands in **G** and **L** chose the same variant. This indicates that the three manuscripts did not copy from a single exemplar, nor from each other, but that the annotators were capable of using alternative words themselves. Considering this notion, it is impossible to reconstruct an archetype. It would therefore be inappropriate to speak of a proper 'tradition'. Instead it is best to refer to this set of glosses as a 'marginal commentary'. According to Louis Holtz, marginal commentaries were personal and were unlikely to be copied verbatim from one manuscript to the next.[186] Unlike other commentaries, the marginal commentary cannot be handed down separately, without the main text. The word 'commentary' is confusing in a way, because usually a commentary refers to a set of interpretative glosses that 'comment' on the main text, like the glosses by Servius on the work of Virgil. The similar glosses in the first eleven books of the *Epitome,* however, are summarizing, not explanatory. Even so, I will use the word 'commentary', because a commentary can comprise more than only interpretative notes, and there is no alternative term at hand.

If indeed the annotations are a testimony to the personal interest of the users of the manuscripts, the three manuscripts show very similar interests in the

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[183]In the *Epitome* the following text is given: *civitatibus libertatem suaque omnia restituit* Justinus *(Epi* VI.6.1).

[184] Justinus (*Epi* 4.1.7-10).

[185] Justinus (*Epi* 4.3.1). *Medio tempore, cum Regini discordia laborent civitasque per dissensionem divisa in duas partes esset...*

[186] L. Holtz, 'Le rôle des commentaires d'auteurs classiques dans l'émergence d'une mise en page associant texte et commentaire (Moyen âge occidental', in : M.Goulet-Cazé ed., *Le Commentaire entre tradition et innovation* (Paris 2000) 101-117, 104-5.

Carolingian age. Annotators in all three manuscripts decided it was worth copying a certain type of summarizing notes from an exemplar. Considering that there are also certain types of annotation absent from the three manuscripts, such as references to other texts and grammatical notes, it is plausible that in the ninth-century the *Epitome* had one particular main use.[187]

3.6.2   Shared interest

The annotations found in these manuscripts that are part of the marginal commentary, function mainly as summarizing notes to the text. Although it is not applicable in all instances, there are a few keywords that are typical for the author(s) of the commentary, such as *de* (about), *qualiter* (in what way), *factum* to indicate an annotation about the deeds of a ruler, and *miserunt* to indicate misery.[188] As far as the contents are concerned, the commentary focuses mostly on the names of cities, orators, and the deeds of kings. The interest in the etymological origins of names of cities is present for example in book four, where the note *Quare oppidum Regium dicetur* (sic) (why the town is called Regium) is placed at a fragment that explains that Regium is derived from the Greek word meaning 'broken off'.[189] Like the *Etymologiae* by Isidore, the *Epitome* was used to explain certain aspects of the past, in this case the origins of certain places. Furthermore, the attention of the reader is drawn towards orators and scholars of the past, such as Licias (*Licias Saracusanus orator*[190]) and Pericles and Sophocles (*De Pericle et Sophocle*[191]).

Most annotations that occur in all three manuscripts concern the deeds and characters of the rulers involved. For example, not only victories are stressed (*Alcibiades pro Atheniensibus Lacedemonios uincit*[192]), but also the manner in which rulers dealt with these victories (*Philippus in Athenienses victos clemens fuit*[193]). Furthermore, interest is shown for the deaths and succession of kings (*Conon Alcibiadi*

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[187] These interests may have also existed in the eighth century. In the small fragments from the eighth-century manuscript in Northumbrian hand, Crick discovered two marginal notes at the beginning of book twenty-four. If we compare her transcription with the annotations present in the Leiden and the Gießen manuscripts, we can see that that the similarities are striking, proving that the set of notes was already in existence in the eighth century.

[188] Examples of these are found in Appendix IV. For example: 'de' Justinus (*Epi* III.5.9, IV.1.1); 'qualiter' Justinus (*Epi* III.1.8, V.4.7); and 'factum' Justinus (*Epi* II.12.1).

[189] Yardley and Develin, *Justin. Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, 53. Justinus (*Epi* IV.1.7).

[190] Justinus (*Epi* V.9.9)

[191] Justinus (*Epi* III.6. 12)

[192] Justinus (*Epi* V.4.3)

[193] Justinus (*Epi* VII.6.5)

succedit[194]*)* and the relations between rulers (*Perdicca frater Alexandri et Philippi*[195]). These notes can be considered as no more than summarizing notes, as the content of the *Epitome* in general focuses on the succession of kings and their moral behaviour.

In general, there is no room for interpretation in this marginal commentary: the text of the annotations keeps close to the words used in the main text, with the exception of the keywords discussed earlier. Many notes refer to an entire *caput*, especially those that concern the deeds of a king or ruler (*factum*), indicating that the main aim of these glosses was to summarize the text. So, the Carolingian annotators of the marginal commentary all agreed with the need for summarizing the text.

3.7 Conclusion: learning from Justinus?

In the past sections, is has become clear that the Carolingian annotations in the manuscripts of the *Epitome* focus on its historical content. Summarizing notes form the largest part of the annotations. The fragment of the *Epitome* present in the Verona miscellany discussed in section 3.2.1 also, suggests that Carolingian scholars were more interested in the text as a historiographical work, rather than a rhetorical or grammatical text. However, when we have a closer look, the historiographical knowledge learned from the *Epitome* appears to be very selective. To illustrate this point, we turn to book thirty-six, which deals with the origins of the Jews.

In his biblical commentary on Maccabees, Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856) cited the first part of book thirty-six, concerning the reign of Demetrius.[196] In the first book of the Maccabees, the Bible shortly tells about Alexander and the war with Demetrius.[197] Hrabanus wanted to know more about this war, and found an elaborate account of Demetrius and the war against Alexander in the *Epitome*. In other parts of the commentary, Hrabanus quoted substantial passages of book thirty-four of the *Epitome*, and book thirty-five in its entirety in order to supplement his work with additional information.[198] So, according to Hrabanus, Justinus could, like other historians such as Josephus, Eusebius and Bede, be used to explain the past.[199] Unlike Augustine, who felt the need to express his doubt on the genuineness of Justinus'

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[194] Justinus (*Epi* V.5.4-6)

[195] Justinus (*Epi* VII.5.6)

[196] J.P. Migne ed., 'Rabanus Maurus. Commentaria in libros Machabaeorum' *Patrologia Latina 109*, 1125,1256, 1192-3.

[197] 1 Maccabees 10.3

[198] Migne ed., 'Rabanus Maurus. Commentaria in libros Machabaeorum', 1177,1188-9.

[199] M.B. de Jong, 'The empire as *ecclesia:* Hrabanus Maurus and biblical *historia* for rulers', in: Y. Hen and M. Innes eds., *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge 2000), 191-226, 217.

work some centuries earlier, Hrabanus did not publicly question the authority of the *Epitome*.[200]

However, the text of Justinus did not always fit into a Christian context. Only a few paragraphs after the cited text on Demetrius, the *Epitome* elaborates on Israel and Joseph, Moses and the Exodus from Egypt. The account of Pompeius Trogus and Justinus is significantly different from the account found in the Bible. In Justinus' version, Joseph, being able to predict dreams, was well versed in the *artes magicas*,[201] and Moses 'occupied' Mount Sinaï.[202] The following interpretation was given to the Exodus:[203]

> Joseph's son was Moses, who not only inherited his father's knowledge, but also had good looks (*pulchritudo*) to recommend him. When the Egyptians were beset by mange and leprosy, however, they heeded the advice of an oracle and drove him [Moses] from the borders of Egypt, along with those afflicted, to prevent further spreading of the plague. Moses became the leader of the exiles and stole objects of worship belonging to the Egyptians.[204]

Considering that the early medieval audience of this text consisted mostly of monks who were well versed in the Bible and considered the Bible to be true, one might have expected all annotators to react to this passage. In fact, only one annotator in manuscript **G**, the hand in black ink who wrote slightly later than the Carolingian hands, wrote: *male interpretatur diabolus scripturas* (the devil interprets Scriptures badly).[205]

In reaction to the passage above, the annotator in **P** noted the rather neutral summary: *Aegiptii Moysen cum sociis pellunt* (The Egyptian drove Moses away with his companions).[206] The annotator in **L** noted something different again: *Moysi pulchritudo eiusque de aegypto egressus* (The beauty of Moses and his departure from Egypt). Would a Carolingian, Christian, annotator rather stress the good looks of Moses than noting discrepancies with the Bible? In any case, there is not one

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[200] After Augustine quoted the first sections of the *Epitome*, he questioned the trustworthiness of this source, stating: 'Whatever the trustworthiness of Justinus or Trogus, for it appears from more reliable sources that, in some matters, they did not report the truth, other historians do agree that King Ninus expanded the Empire of the Assyrians far and wide' (*De Civitate Dei*, IV, c. VI) E. Gilson, G. Walsh and D. Zema transl., 'The City of God, Books I-VII, 197-8.

[201] Justinus (*Epi* XXXVI.2.7).

[202] Justinus (*Epi* XXXVI.2.14).

[203] Justinus (*Epi* XXXVI.2.11-12).

[204] Yardley and Develin, *Justin. Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, 230.

[205] Gieβen, Universitätsbibliothek, H 79, 144ʳ Justinus (*Epi* XXXVI.2.12)

[206] Paris, Bibltiohèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 1601, 101ʳ

Carolingian annotator who felt the urge to insert attention signs, or a value judgement like the later hand in **G** mentioned above, nor is the passage ignored by annotators. What the Carolingian readers of this passage really thought, and to what extent they took it seriously, will remain unknown; they did not feel the urge to explicitly dissociate themselves from it.[207]

A non-Christian version of one of the most important Old Testamental topics did not withhold Hrabanus Maurus from using Justinus for the passages he could actually use. This supports the idea that Carolingian readers did not take offense of non-Christian thought, and, perhaps more important, it did not withhold them from considering other parts of the *Epitome* useful and interesting.

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[207] De Jong and McKitterick state that it is 'obvious' that not all Roman pagan history was accepted. M.B. de Jong and R. McKitterick 'Conclusion', in: : C. Gantner, R. McKitterick, S. Meeder eds. *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge 2015) 283-291, 284.

4 TWO ENDS OF A SPECTRUM

As explained in the introduction, the *Epitome* of Justinus was a history of the world written in Roman style, whereas the works of Sallust narrated a selection of historical events, following the Greek style of Theucydides.[208] In this chapter, it will become clear that the differences in approach were not only visible in Antiquity, but also in the ninth-century. In the Carolingian intellectual world, the two texts served different needs: Sallust functioned in the sphere of grammar and rhetoric, whereas Justinus' *Epitome* was rather read for histiographical purposes. This dichotomy is described in the first section, based on the ninth-century composite manuscripts that include fragments of both Sallust and Justinus. In the second and third section of this chapter, the dichotomy between the liberal arts on the one hand, and historiography on the other is further explored by means of an analysis of the marginal activity found in the manuscripts of both authors. In the remaining sections of this chapter, I will unravel specific interests annotators showed in the texts, in search for the glue that keeps the two authors together.

4.1 Manuscript evidence: two ends of a spectrum

The texts that the works by Sallust and Justinus were combined and bound with, can tell us more about the contemporary reception of the texts. As described in section 2.2.2., the speeches and letters from *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum* used excerpts from the main text, forming a separate tradition. The two extant witnesses of this tradition, **Vatican, lat. 3864** and **Bern, cod. 357**, do not have an outspoken historiographical character, because the letters and speeches of Sallust are separated from their original context. The combination of texts suggests that the texts functioned in the 'genre' of letter writing and oratory, rather than showing interest in history. Another argument in favour of assigning Sallust's text a place within the context of grammar and rhetoric, is that in **Paris, lat. 16024**, the complete witness of Sallust's text from Soissons, *De Coniuratione Catilinae* is preceded by the concluding words of the *Ars Grammatica* by Maximus Victorinus (fourth century).[209]

In contrast, the manuscript context of the ninth-century copies of Justinus' work do point rather to an interest in historiography, rather than to a close

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[208] section 1.1

[209] Smalley agreed that Sallust was mostly read in a grammatical context: Smalley, 'Sallust in the Middle Ages', 168.

connection with grammar or rhetoric. Ninth-century copies or fragments of the texts are never combined with grammatical texts, and the only miscellany of which we know the manuscript context contains other works on the past and the origin of peoples.[210] This ninth-century division of Sallust as a grammatical texts and Justinus as a historiographical text will become more sharply visible when the marginal practices are discussed. Before I turn to the margins however, there is one ninth-century manuscript in which fragments of both authors are present. This manuscript, **Paris, lat 6256**, might shed a more detailed light on the distinction made in the ninth-century between the texts.

4.1.1 Sallust and Justinus in one manuscript

Despite the oppositions between the perceived genre of the texts of Sallust and Justinus in the ninth century, there is still a thread that connects the two authors. This thread is visualized in manuscript **Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 6256**. In this miscellany from the second quarter of the ninth century, fragments of Sallust and Justinus are present, as well as fragments from Josephus, Hegesippus and Julius Ceasar.[211] These fragments are present one codicological unit, written by one ninth-century scribe. It is plausible that the text was not only written, but also compiled in this period. The arguments for this are twofold. First of all, there is no other extant material that holds the same combination of fragments of these texts, nor are there other examples found, at least not to my knowledge, of ninth-century historiographical fragments supplied with commentary in the main text.[212] Secondly, the text by Hegesippus is introduced as '*Libro Egesipi'*. According to Richard Pollard, the name 'Hegesippus' only gradually replaced 'Josephus' in the second half of the ninth-century.[213] In fact, this manuscript may be one of the first to mention 'Egesipi' as author of *De Exidio*. So, this compilation of texts can be considered Carolingian in origin, portraying ninth-century interests in and purposes of Justinus and Sallust.

The section with fragments of Justinus' *Epitome* (folio 1ʳ-16ᵛ) consists of a consecutive list of literal quotations from the text. Entirely without aim this list of citations was not, because the short citations appear to have a summarizing

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[210] The Verona miscellany, see appendix I.

[211] see section 2.2.2.

[212] The *catalogus translationum et commentariorum* suggests that there was no ninth-century commentary tradition of Sallust, nor other historiographical texts that are discussed in this series. In volume eight, Sallust is discussed: *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, VIII, 183-326.

[213] R. Pollard, 'The *De exidio* of 'Hegesippus' and the reception of Josephus in the Early Middle Ages' *Viator* 46 (2015) 65-100, 95.

purpose.[214] Taking the excerpts from the first two books as a sample, one is presented with the main protagonists of the most ancient peoples, and a history of Athens in a nutshell. In this summary, one may distinct certain themes.[215] For example, multiple fragments about fleeing and retreat from battle are listed together,[216] and another cluster praises moderation in leadership.[217] It is noteworthy to mention that contrary to the complete ninth-century witnesses of Justinus' *Epitome*, the fragments in **Paris, lat. 6256** are annotated frequently in the interlinear margins with alternatives.

In contrast, the section of fragments of Sallust (folio 23ᵛ-30ᵛ) rarely shows interlinear annotations. Furthermore, the fragments are chosen from different, non-consecutive parts of both *De Coniuratio Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum*, and are alternated with commentary. This commentary – which includes all text that is not a part of the main text of Sallust's work - in some cases consists of a few words to introduce the quotation, such as *item* or *Salustius in Catilinario*.[218] In other instances, grammatical exegesis is given:

> […] 'Grassor', a 'gressu'[219] dictum. Unde 'grassor' est quasi saepius gradior, id est pleno gressu 'ambulo'. Id est dicitur etiam seuire que mos est, seuientium pleno gradu sepius uerti. Sed grassari pro gradi, id est 'ire', Salustius ita dicit : **Imperator uitae mortalium animus est, qui ubi ad gloriam uirtutis uia grassatur. Abunde pollens potensque et clarus est.** Sallust (Jug. 1.3)[220]

> 'Grassor' means 'to advance'. When 'grassor' is like 'stepping more', it is walking (*ambulo*) in a plain pace. It is said, that it is custom when someone is angry, the angry person turns many times whilst walking plainly. But to advance for the sake of walking, it is '*ire*'. Thus Sallust says: 'But the leader and ruler of man's life is the mind, and when this **advances** to glory by the path of virtue, it has power and potency in abundance, as well as fame'

The length of this entry is exceptional. Most commentary notes concern only a few words, giving alternatives (*refert id est prestat*) or other lexicographical help.[221] The

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[214] Rühl states that the fragments were 'planlos'. F. Rühl, *Die Textquellen des Justinus* (Leipzig 1872) 22.

[215] See appendix V.

[216] These fragments contain fleeing and retreat: Justinus, *Epitome,* II.9.6; II.12.7; II.11.1; II.12.20; II.13.9.

[217] These fragments contain praises of moderation in leadership: Justinus, *Epitome,* I.10.21; II.7.4-5; II.15.4; II.2.11-13.

[218] Paris, Bibltiohèque nationale de France, lat. 6256, 23ᵛ

[219] 'a grassu' is corrected to 'a gressu' by the original scribe.

[220] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de france, lat. 6256, 25ʳ

[221] An example where lexicographical help is given: The lemma *pessum dedit* is given the help *pessum do, deiicio* ('*pessum do*' is 'I overthrow')

line *Tabulas signa toreumata emunt nova diruunt, alia edificant* (Cat. 20.12) is accompanied by the comment *toreumata quare* (why 'toruemata'?).[222] These commentary phrases are from the same categories as the marginal and interlinear annotations made in **Paris, lat. 16025**. In this witness of Sallust's texts, too, most annotations concern etymologies and explanations of words. In **Paris, lat. 6256,** the marginal annotations have been copied into the main text together with the lemma belonging to the marginal entry. This practice was not uncommon, as commentary traditions in general, for example those by Servius or Remigius of Auxerre, occurred by themselves too, without a complete copy of the main text.[223] In this case, however, we must consider that the lemmata discussed in the section on Sallust were not following the order of the main text. Sentences projecting similar grammatical phenomena were put together, without showing any interest in the chronology of the work. For example, in order to illustrate the grammatical phenomenon of a juxtaposition, three examples from Sallust were given of this phenomenon on folio 24[v].[224] Although on could argue that this is a lemmatic commentary that circulated independently from the main text of Sallust's work, it would be a confusing term to use.[225] It does not serve as an explanatory work for the 'meaning and the letter' of this specific work.[226] Instead, this commentary could serve as an educational codex on grammar, for which Sallust's texts provides the examples. Unfortunately, a thorough analysis of this manuscript is beyond the scope of this research, but this type of compilation deserves more attention.

If we look at the other texts present in **Paris, lat. 6256** - texts by Hegesippus, Josephus and Julius Caesar - small fragments alternate with statements starting with *id est* or *item.* Again, alternative words and lexicographical help form the basis of the 'commentary'.[227] From this we can conclude that the different historiographical texts

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[222] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6256, 24[r-v]

[223] J.E.G. Zetzel, *Marginal Scholarship and Textual Deviance. The Commentum Cornuti and the Early Scholia on Persius* (London 2005) 83.

[224] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6256, 24[v]: **Iuxta pro equaliter.** Ex omni copia Catilinae neque in proelio neque in fuga quisqua ciuis ingenuus uiuus captulem Ita cuncti suae hostiumque vite iuxta pepercerant (Cat. 61.5-7) **Item.** Quibus contra naturam corpus uoluptati, anima onere fuit eorum ego uita mortemque iuxta existimo.(Cat. 2.8) **Item.** Illa fuit litteris grecis atque latinis iuxta atque doctissime eruditus animo ingenti cupidus voluptatum. (Jug. 95.3).
In Paris, lat. 16024, 36[r] the word *iuxta* is inserted in the margin with similar purpose (Jug. 72.2)

[225] On marginal and lemmatic commentaries, see: L. Holtz, 'Le rôle des commentaires d'auteurs classiques dans l'émergence d'une mise en page associant texte et commentaire', 104.

[226] For the definition of commentary, see: S. Reynolds, Medieval Reading. Grammar, rhetoric and the classical text (Cambridge 1996) 29.

[227] This conclusion is based on selective research on the texts of Ceasar, Josephus and Hegesippus. I have researched two folia of each of the texts.

functioned as case studies to teach and learn grammar and lexicography. It is telling that the fragments of Justinus were the only ones that do not show evidence of this purpose.

The most important conclusion we can draw from the compilation in **Paris, lat. 6256**, is that the works by Justinus and Sallust were excerpted differently. Reading the section on Sallust, it is impossible to distinguish a comprehensive overview of the content of the main text. Fragments from *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum* alternate, and the comments concern lexicography and etymology. The complete lack of this type of exegesis in Justinus' fragments suggests that his text was not used to teach or learn grammar. In fact, the comprehensive selection of fragments suggests that interesting fragments and proverbs were added to extract lessons that could be learned from the text. It must not be forgotten that the Carolingian compiler decided to combine the commentaries of five (late) Roman historiographical texts in one manuscript. He thought the commentary on the five authors formed a logical unit, suggesting that despite the dichotomy, Sallust's texts were still considered part of historiographical writing.

4.2 Sallust, Justinus and the liberal arts

The margins of the studied manuscripts of Sallust and Justinus confirm the hypothesis that in the ninth century Sallust's works were more associated with grammatical education than Justinus' *Epitome*. That does not mean that Justinus was completely ignored in the school curriculum. In this section, the role of these Roman histories within the *artes liberales* will be discussed in more detail.

In the Carolingian period, studying the liberal arts served first and foremost a religious goal, allowing monastic scholars to study the Bible and learn 'true wisdom'.[228] According to David Wagner, students in the Carolingian period needed to focus on the fundamentals of education, due to the neglect of study in the previous, Merovingian, age.[229] This view has been successfully contested by Yitzhak Hen, who argued in favour of more continuity with the Merovingian Age.[230] Be this as it may, recent studies on Carolingian scholarship show that Carolingian scholars

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[228] J. Contreni, 'Learning for God. Education in the Carolingian Age' *The Journal of Medieval Latin* (2014) 89-129, 107-9.

[229] D.L. Wagner, *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages* (Indiana 1983) 22.

[230] Y. Hen, *Roman Barbarians. The Royal Court and Culture in the Early Medieval West* (Palgrave 2007).

were capable of complicated and sophisticated learning.[231] And it cannot be denied that the seven liberal arts were made a part of the school curriculum in the ninth century.[232] Roman historiography would not form part of the fundamental and elementary study of the liberal arts, as it required a profound knowledge of the Latin language and the content of the text did not primarily focus on Christian thought.

In Wagner's book on the seven liberal arts, little attention is given to the Carolingian era, as the period 'lacked creativity' and relied on late antique works.[233] True, Carolingian scholars heavily relied on grammarians like Priscian and encyclopaedists like Isidore of Seville for their study of the liberal arts, regarding them as authorities in the field. The term 'creativity' in this context, however, is misleading. Although new works on, for example, grammar were hardly produced in the Carolingian age, commentaries on existing works show a creative way of dealing with the school texts, as manuscript **Paris, lat. 6256** discussed above shows. Moreover, using ancient texts that were not originally intended to contribute to the study of the liberal arts in this way, is proof of creativity. One needs to keep in mind that teaching in the Carolingian period was highly dependent on the resources available in the centre of study and the interests of the teacher. The availability of works such as those of Sallust and Justinus were dependent on teachers like Lupus of Ferrières and his pupils, who showed an explicit interest in these texts. Consequently, while learning or improving one's skill of grammar, Sallust's work could be studied in Auxerre and Fleury, but perhaps not in other centres of study where these books were not available.

4.2.1   Sallust and Grammar

The annotations in the ninth-century witnesses of Sallust show an explicit interest in grammar. Especially **Paris, lat. 16025** is abundantly glossed with lexicographical and grammatical annotations. This practice is also present in **Paris, lat. 16024**, although less copiously. In this manuscript, interlinear annotations occur only a few times on a page, and commentary glosses with citations of Priscian and Isidore are not present. Judging from other manuscript material, adding interlinear grammatical and lexicographical glosses is rather common. An eleventh-century copy of the works of Sallust that circulated in Fleury copied several of the interlinear and marginal

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[231] For example, in her study on Martianus Capella, Mariken Teeuwen showed that Carolingian scholars had thorough understanding of one of the most difficult works available in the Carolingian Age: M. Teeuwen, *Carolingian scholarship and Martianus Capella.*

[232] Contreni, 'Learning for God', 108-9.

[233] Wagner, *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages,* 22, 76.

annotations from the ninth-century manuscript **Paris, lat. 16025,** including the notes on Isidore and Priscian.[234] Also, a tenth- and an eleventh-century manuscript - from Lorsch and from the Germanic lands respectively- containing the works of Sallust include many interlinear glosses relating to grammar and lexicography.[235] The textual similarities between these two manuscripts and the Fleury copies of Sallust's texts are few, which might suggest that the interests in grammar and lexicography developed separately in the two areas.

The historiographical content of *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum* seem to be of minor importance according to the annotators, when compared to the grammatical and lexicographical usage of the texts. Other historiographical works that were present in the Auxerre-Fleury region in the ninth century are annotated differently. We have seen that the annotations in Justinus' *Epitome* are mostly of a summarizing nature, leaving hardly any signs of grammatical aid in the interlinear margins. Other historiographical texts present in this area, namely the *Bello Gallico* by Ceasar and Livy's *Ab urbe condita*, are abundantly annotated in a similar way to that of the *Epitome*: containing many summarizing notes, but no or very few grammatical or lexicographical glosses.[236] This may indicate that Carolingians thought Sallust to be more fitted for grammatical purposes than other historiographical works.

Students who read and studied Sallust's work did not have an easy task. The author applied archaic meanings to words and often used the historical infinitive.[237] Quintilian, a famous rhetorican from the first century AD, mentioned that the readers of Sallust's work had to be 'intelligent and attentive' in order to understand the texts.[238] The abundance of interlinear annotations in **Paris, lat. 16025** makes clear that some annotators thought it necessary to aid the reader on different levels. We have seen elementary help, consisting of solving the historical infinitive and giving

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[234] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6085.

[235] Vatican, Bibliotheca Vaticana Apostolica, pal. lat. 887; Vatican, Bibliotheca Vaticana Apostolica, pal. lat. 889. See also: J. Mareck, 'Codex Vaticanus latinus 1904 as a Source for Sallust' *Manuscripta* 11.2 (1967) 112-114. John Mareck suggests that the annotations in this eleventh-century manuscript containing Sallust's works were written in the same hand as the main text, and perhaps copied from an exemplar.

[236] Julius Ceasar, *De Bello Gallico* – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5763 ; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5725.
The manuscript with Curtius Rufus, *De Historia Alexander Magni* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5716) is not abundantly annotated with summarizing notes and commentary. It does contain *nota*-signs and corrections. The *nota*-signs are similar to the Carolingian *nota*-signs in Gieβen, H 79.

[237] Ramsey, *Sallust's Bellum Catilinae*, 12-14.

[238] Ibidem, 15.

alternatives for basic words. In other cases, more advanced aid was given, such as noting intertextuality and giving explanations of words by means of a citation of late-antique texts.[239] Considering that different annotators commented on the text by the means of citations from Isidore's *Etymologiae,* it is fair to assume that the annotators were already well acquainted with the art of grammar.

4.2.2   Justinus and oratory

Oratory is the art of persuasive speech, which was a practical part of the more theoretical study of rhetoric, one of the *artes liberales.* In the early Middle Ages, the works of Cicero were considered leading in this field. However, not only the works of Cicero were used for teaching the art of persuasive speech. Yardley and Heckel stated that Justinus was more of an orator than a historian.[240] Justinus was not concerned with the chronology of historical events, but chose to focus on topics that also had rhetorical value: change of fortunes, marvels, *fabulae*, and scenes that evoke pity.[241] Moreover, the repetition of words and the insertion of rhetorical figures might suggest that the *Epitome* was intended to be not only a historiographical, but also a an oratorical work. Florus (ca. 74-130 AD), who made an epitome of the work of Livy in the second century AD, had similar purposes, and made an abridgement that would have fitted the needs of the study of oratory.[242] Using historiographical texts to study oratory is not uncommon. It is a great source for examples, functioning, according to Morse, more as literature than history.[243] I do agree that examples may be extracted from historiographical texts like those of Justinus. However, it seems incorrect to assign the lable 'literature' to this work, since its content considered to be the truth. I believe literature in this context carries an element of fiction with it, presenting works of imagination. Lendon would not have appreciated this statement either, since he argued that Roman historiography can be compared to a non-fiction book rather than literature.[244] Even so, a historiographical and oratorical purpose do not rule each other out; they can easily exist next to one another.

The function of oratory in general seems to be diminishing in the Carolingian period. In public speech, the use of rhetorical figures was discouraged, and simple

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[239] See section 2.5.4

[240] Yardley and Heckel, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus,* 17.

[241]Ibidem, 17-8.

[242] Yardley and Heckel, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus,* 17-9.

[243] R. Morse, *Truth hand convention in the Middle Ages, Rhetoric, Representation and Reality* (Cambridge 2005) 91.

[244] Lendon, 'Historians without History,'57.

speech was promoted for sermons.[245] Yet, scholars like Lupus of Ferrières and Notker of St. Gall (ca. 950-1022) expressed the wish to revive the original practical function of rhetoric, which included oratory.[246] This suggests that, at that point, the study of the performance of speech was not a major concern of the *artes liberales*. This argument is further supported by the manuscript transmission of Quintilian's (ca. 35 – ca. 95 AD) *Institutio Oratoria* (The Orator's education). This educational work on rhetorics and oratory was only selectively transmitted in the early Middle Ages: the books on giving speeches were missing from the medieval manuscripts.[247] Apparently, this part of rhetorical education was not considered worth copying.

However, in the marginal space of the ninth-century manuscript of Justinus' *Epitome* in **Leiden, VLQ 32**, we find traces of the study of oratory. Firstly, passages in the *Epitome* that concern orators are marked in the margins of different manuscripts with a gloss. A second argument for seeing the *Epitome* as a source for the study of oratory is the focus on *fabulae* within Justinus' work. Learning how to master a plot structure (*narratio*) was part of oratory, and studying stories (*fabulae*) taught the student how to present the sequence of events.[248] In **Leiden, VLQ 32**, the stories within the history are highlighted by means of marginal annotations and attention signs, pointing out examples to students.

The oratorical purpose of Justinus' *Epitome* must not be overstated. The evidence is slim and only present in one of the ninth-century manuscripts: the Leiden manuscript that circulated in the Auxerre-Fleury region, in the same intellectual milieu as Lupus of Ferrières. Perhaps the oratorical notes in this manuscript were made under influence of the abbot of Ferrières, of whom we know that he had an interest in oratory?[249] If scholars wished to study the art of performance and speech, it is perhaps more plausible that they used one of the miscellanies with excerpted letters of Sallust and other Roman authors, such as **Vatican, lat. 3864** and **Bern, cod. 357.**[250]

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[245] J. Contreni, 'The Pursuit of Knowledge in Carolingian Europe', in: R. Sullivan ed., *'The Gentle Voices of Teachers' Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age* (Ohio 1995) 106-141, 122.

[246] Lupus of Ferrières, *Letter* 119. For the translation of the letter, see Regenos, *The Letters of Lupus of Ferrières* 138-9.; Grotans, Reading in Medieval st. Gall, 89.

[247] In the Middle Ages, books six, seven and large parts of books eight, nine, ten and eleven, were missing. Books nine and ten concern teachings on speeches. J. Henderson ed., *Quintilian. The orator's education* (Harvard 2001)17-8, 22.

[248] R. Copeland and I. Sluiter eds., *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric. Language Arts and Literary Theory (AD 300-1475),* (Oxford 2009) 43.

[249] In letter 103, Lupus of Ferrières asked for Cicero's *De Oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutiones Oratoriae*. In letter 104, Lupus asked for the works of Sallust and the Verrine Orations by *Cicero.*

[250] see section: 2.2.2.

4.3 Sallust, Justinus and historiography

Carolingian historiographical writers used late antique sources rather than the historians of the first century BC to compose their own histories. However, the abundantly annotated historiographical manuscripts argue against the idea of an 'obvious Christian dislike for the pagan Roman past'.[251] This 'dislike' might have been present in the minds of the majority of the intellectual elite who wished to justify and glorify the Christian roots of the past, but it certainly was not 'obvious'. The works of the Roman historiographers were read and used without explicitly condemning the non-Christian elements in the texts. The abundant appearance of summarizing notes in the ninth-century manuscripts of Justinus – and in Sallust's manuscripts to a lesser extent – suggest that these historiographical works were used for their content too. In this section, I will explore the extent to which these texts were used as history books in the modern sense of the word: books that contain facts about the past.

4.3.1   Romans, Trojans and the Jews

According to Rosamond McKitterick, the Frankish interest in history focussed mainly on three peoples, the Trojans, the Romans, and the Jews.[252] The reason she gives, is that these were the people that the Carolingians saw as direct predecessors of their own society. In this section, I will explore this hypothesis by looking at the density of marginal annotations and the presence of attention signs in passages concerning these three peoples in the works of Sallust and Justinus' *Epitome.*

The *Epitome* deals with many peoples and empires, amongst others the Trojans, Romans and the Jews. In general, however, the annotations in the margins do not hint at a special preference for facts or stories that relate to these peoples. The marginal commentary summarizes all content, without making a difference. The selective implementation of the marginal commentary in **Paris, n.a.l. 1601** may suggest a preference towards Mediterranean peoples, but again, there is not an explicit stress on the Trojans or the Romans. In fact, the books in which the Roman Empire is described lack annotations all together. The passages on the Jews in book thirty-six were annotated, but probably not taken seriously, considering that the account Pompeius Trogus and Justinus give of the matter deviates considerably from the Bible.[253]

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[251] C. Gantner, 'The eighth-century papacy as cultural broker', in: C. Gantner, R. McKitterick, S. Meeder eds. *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge 2015) 245-261, 250-251.

[252] McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World,* 58-59.

[253] See section 3.7

The Carolingian attention signs found in the manuscripts of Justinus' *Epitome* may enlighten us further on the matter of a special interest in the Romans, Trojans, and Jews. The *nota*-signs in **Paris, n.a.l. 1601,** for example, almost always occur next to a passage concerning the Romans. In *De Coniuratione Catilinae* this is no surprise, as the conflict takes place in Rome and all protagonists are Roman. In *Bellum Jugurthinum,* however, more peoples and tribes are involved. Nevertheless, the annotator of the *nota*-signs decided to annotate only those passages in which Romans play a leading role.[254] One could still argue that this is a coincidence, because the Romans are the overall protagonists. An observation about the Justinus manuscript **Gieβen, H. 79** may be more convincing: in book thirty-one the annotator added *nota*-signs only to passages concerning the role of the Romans in the war against Hannibal.[255] Here, his *nota*-signs show a clear specific interest. The attention signs in **Leiden, VLQ 32** are less straightforward to interpret: the subjects they point out are too diverse to show a clear preference for the three peoples. In general, as far as the Carolingian annotators are concerned, there was no specific interest in Roman history within the texts present.

Both in *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and in the *Epitome* it is narrated that Rome had a Trojan origin.[256] The annotators of the two manuscripts of *De Coniuratione Catilinae* do notice the passage concerning the founding of Rome: in the margin, the catchphrase *origo Romae* is present in both manuscripts.[257] There are few summarizing catchphrases such as these in the margins of the two manuscripts, but this is not an argument in itself to state that this catchphrase is a genuine sign of interest in the Trojan origins of Rome. On the contrary, in **Paris, lat. 16025** a Carolingian annotator wrote *Aborigines* in the margin, indicating the people that co-founded Rome together with the Trojans, without naming the Trojans explicitly.[258] In the *Epitome,* the Trojan origin of Rome is mentioned in book thirty-one, and in the three manuscripts, the annotators responded to the passage in three different ways. The annotators of the manuscripts from the Fleury region stressed the relationship between the two peoples in the margin, whereas the annotator in **Gieβen, H. 79** only stated that the two peoples congratulate each other.[259] The mention in the margin that the Trojans

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[254] see appendix II. An exception is the *nota*-sign with passage Jug. 54.4

[255] Section 3.4

[256] Sallust, *De Coniuratione Catilinae* 6.1; Justinus, *Epitome* 31.8.1-4.

[257] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat.16025, 3ʳ; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16024, 2ʳ.

[258] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 3ʳ ·

[259] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 1601, 95ʳ: Ilienses Romanis victoribus congratulantur quasi **a se ortis ac nepotibus.**

were the predecessors of Rome indicates that the authors of the annotations in **Paris, n.a.l. 1601** and **Leiden, VLQ 32** thought it an important issue. The variants in the annotations may indicate that these notes were not part of a settled corpus of marginal notes, but that they may be spontaneous, individual readers' notes.

The hypothesis of Rosamund McKitterick that Carolingian scholars were mostly interested in Romans, Trojans, and Jews, can thus not be verified on the basis of the annotating practices in the ninth-century manuscripts of Sallust and Justinus. The only argument in favour of this hypothesis is, that in all manuscripts attention is given to the Trojan origins of Rome. When it comes to the people separately, however, the margins do not give evidence of explicit interest. This does not mean that the relationship between the Romans and Trojans, and the history of the Jews was not important to the Carolingian scholars. It only indicates that the works of Sallust and Justinus were not explicitly used to study the past of these three peoples.

4.3.2 *Translatio imperii* ?

In the Middle Ages, an important concept in the writing of history was that of *translatio imperii.* Reigns succeeded each other, allowing for only one king or emperor at the time.[260] In the *Epitome* this view is present too, presenting individual kings and empires as succeeding another. The many summarizing notes in the ninth-century manuscripts of the *Epitome* give readers the opportunity to use the text as an encyclopaedic work on the succession of reigns. In the tenth-century manuscript containing the *Historia Romana,* Justinus is used in this way, as it is the main source on the ancient kingdoms of the Assyrians, Scythians and the Amazons, to fill in the gaps of knowledge on ancient succession kingdoms.[261]

The list of Carolingian scholars who used the works of Sallust and Justinus to fill a gap in their historiographical knowledge of kingdoms past is rather slim. As we have seen in section 3.7, Hrabanus Maurus used the *Epitome* to gain knowledge on ancient kings, but he was by no means writing on the succession of empires. Other well-known Carolingian scholars who cited the work of Justinus are Lupus of Ferrières, and Regino of Prüm (840-915).[262] In one of his letters, Lupus was asked to

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Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 106ᵛ: Romanorum apud Ilios gratulatoria susceptio iure **antiquae originis et propinquitatis.**
Gieβen, Univeristätsbibliothek, H. 79, 135ᵛ: Gratulatio inter Iliensium et Romanorum.
[260] For an overview on the literature on this subject, see: M.T. Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History in the middle ages. The 'historia romana' and the manuscript Bamberg, hist. 3* (Leiden, Boston 2007) 232, n1
[261] Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History in the middle ages,* 237.
[262] For a more elaborate list medieval of scholars who cited Justinus, see: F. Rühl, *Die Verbreitung des Justinus im Mittelalter. Eine Literarhistorische untersuchung* (Leipzig 1871) 12ff

answer a question about comets. He turned to ancient sources for answers, since 'Holy Scriptures never mention them'.[263] So he turned to Virgil, Josephus and Pompeius Trogus, who all mention the portent function of comets.[264] Regino cited two passages: one on the size of the land of Scythia, and one on the language of the Parthians.[265] Like Hrabanus Maurus, Lupus and Regino did not write about the *translatio imperii*, but they used passages of Justinus to complement the topic discussed in their works. We must realise that this rather slim list of Carolingian scholars using Justinus for its factual knowledge must still be reduced, as Lupus of Ferrières may have copied his passage of Justinus from a grammar book rather than from the original *Epitome*.[266] This does not mean that the books by Justinus were not read or hardly known. Walahfrid Strabo and Einhard are also said to have used the book, but there are no direct quotations found in their works.[267] Moreover, in the *Vita Hludowici* by the Astronomer, for example, textual similarities between Justinus' text and the ninth-century *vita* suggest knowledge of the work, too.[268]

Explicit proof of a Carolingian usage of Sallust's texts for its factual knowledge is even less visible. The summarizing notes in the margins of the ninth-century witnesses are few, and the many citations by Carolingian or late-antique authors are mostly grammatical. Lupus of Ferrières cited a proverb from Sallust' s work, no historical events.[269] This was also done by other scholars, such as Ekkerhart of St. Gall, who quoted Sallust on the origin of Rome.[270] However, Richer of Reims (tenth century) was to be greatly inspired by the *Historia* of Sallust.[271]

The surviving works of Carolingian scholars do not show explicitly in what way the concept of *translatio imperii* in Justinus' work was used in their texts. The marginal annotations, however, do stress the *translatio imperii* in general, following the structure of Justinus' work.

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[263] Regenos, *The Letters of Lupus of Ferrières*, 23.

[264] Lupus of Ferrières, *Letter 20;* Justinus, *Epitome,* XXXVII.2.2-3

[265] Ruhl, *Die Verbreitung des Justinus im Mittelalter*, 12-13. Justinus, *Epitome,* II.2.3; XLI.2.3.

[266] See introduction

[267] McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian world*, 44. She does not say on which she based this statement.

[268] E. Trump ed., *Astronomus. Das Leben Kaiser Ludwigs*, MGH, SS rer. Germ. 64 (Hannover 1995) 325, 469, 477, 481, 525.

[269] Lupus of Ferrières, *Letter 93*.

[270] Smalley *Sallust in the Middle Ages*, 167; G.H. Pertz ed., *Ekkerhard, Chronicon* MGH Scriptores, VI, 50.

[271] McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian world*, 41.

4.4 Mirrors of Princes

> Histories of peoples are no impediment to those who wish to read useful works, for many wise people have imparted the past deeds of humankind in histories for the instruction of the living. Through history they handle a final reckoning back through seasons and years, and they investigate many indispensable matters through the succession of consuls and kings. (Isidore, Etymologies, I.xliii)[272]

In this description on the usefulness of history (*de utilitate historiae*), Isidore of Seville stressed that past deeds of kings and rulers could serve as 'instruction for the living'. In the ninth century, too, examples of good rulership were extracted from the written past. For example, Lupus of Ferrières encouraged Charles the Bald to read histories and take as his example the rulership of Trajan and Theodosius.[273] By means of historical role models, the Carolingians wanted to legitimize the contemporary values a ruler should express.[274] Especially at the Carolingian court, historical writings were primarily used to teach morals and politics, according to Janet Nelson.[275]

The focus on the behaviour and character of kings was expressed repeatedly in the prince's mirrors, in which kings and rulers were held up a mirror. This genre was already in existence in Antiquity and did not only explain righteous behaviour to kings, but also served as an example for society at large.[276] According to Hans Hubert Anton, whose work on Carolingian *Fürstenspiegel* is still considered leading on the subject, there was a '*Bildungsrenaissance*' in the mirrors of princes around 850.[277] The admonishing function of the mirrors of princes made way for the virtues and accomplishments of rulers. Moreover, authors like Lupus and Sedulius Scottus introduced antique texts as sources for exemplary behaviour.

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[272] S.A. Barney, W.J. Lewis and J.A. Beach eds., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville,* 67.

[273] Lupus of Ferrières, *Letter 93*. See also: Pohl, 'Creating cultural resources for Carolingian rule: historians of the Christian empire' 32-33.

[274] E. Goosman, 'Politics and penance: transformations in the Carolingian perception of the conversion of Carloman (747) in: C. Gantner, R. McKitterick, S. Meeder eds. *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge 2015), 51-67, 66.

[275] J. Nelson, 'History-writing at the courts of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald', in:A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter eds., *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna, München 1994) 435-442, 437.

[276] A. Dubreucq, 'Le prince et le peuple dans les miroirs des princes carolingiens', in: H.Oudard, J.Picard et J. Quaghebeur eds. *Le Prince, son people et le bien commun. De l'Antiquité tardive à la fin du Moyen Age* (Rennes 2013) 97-114, 97

M.Rouche: 'Miroirs des princes ou miroir du clergé', in : *Commitenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medoevo occidentale* 39 (Spoleto 1992)341-367, 342.

[277] H.H. Anton, *Fürstenspiegels und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit* (Bonn 1968), 355.

In the Merovingian age, the mirror of princes was mostly based on a priestly ideal.[278] From the eighth century onwards, a tradition of proverbs developed in which the king must be righteous (*iustus*) and peaceful (*pacificus*).[279] For the second half of the ninth century, Anton describes three mirrors of princes at length: those of Lupus of Ferrières, Sedulius Scottus, and Hincmar of Reims. The three authors stressed different virtues. Lupus of Ferrières focused on *humilitas* and *pietas*,[280] and *sapientia.*[281] Sedulius, who came from an Irish background, followed the ideal of the *rex pacificus* and *iustus.*[282] Hincmar of Reims stressed the function of the king as servant and deputy of God.[283]

In this section, I will discuss to what extent the Carolingian annotations on the works by Sallust and Justinus were influenced by the genre of *Fürstenspiegel*. Did the annotators of these manuscripts indeed focus on the behaviour and characters of kings and rulers, and, if so, do they follow the *Bildungsrenaissance*? Or are the ideals more in line with the Merovingian ideals?

4.4.1   Kings and rulers in the margin

The Carolingian annotators of the manuscripts on Sallust and Justinus showed their interest in kings and rulers in different ways; by means of marginal notes and through technical signs.

In **Paris, lat. 16025,** Carolingian annotators added names of rulers in the margin a few times. Especially in *Bellum Jugurthinum,* many different commanders are named. Some of those were given attention simply by adding their name in the margin. The names of these rulers, however, did not necessarily refer to examples of good leadership. Bomilcar, for example, was a 'faithless ruler', and Nabdalsa was a coward.[284] Both were caught in plotting against the king. In the densely annotated copy of Justinus' *Epitome,* **Leiden, VLQ 32,** Carolingian hands mentioned rulers in the margin, whose deeds are not explained in the text. Other rulers, that Justinus

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[278] Anton, *Fürstenspiegels und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, 55.
[279] Ibidem, 66.
[280] Ibidem, 253.
[281] Ibidem, 256.
[282] Ibidem, 273.
[283] Ibidem, 294.
[284] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 35ᵛ *Bomilcar* (Jug. 61.4); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 37ᵛ *Nabdalsa*, (Jug. 70.2)

classified as 'illustrious', are not given explicit attention to in the margins.[285] In the other witness of Sallust's texts, **Paris, lat. 16024**, there are no names of kings mentioned at all. It is therefore plausible that these names were added in the margins as catchphrases, to help the reader navigate through the text, rather than to remind him of the deeds of kings and rulers.

The attention signs present in the Sallust manuscript **Paris, lat. 16024** and the Justinus manuscript **Leiden, VLQ 32** may give more information on the subject. The *nota*-signs in **Paris, lat. 16024** mostly concern military strategy and moral behaviour, as discussed in section 2.4.3. The *nota*-signs point out some passages that treat the character of the ruler. For example, a *nota*-sign is placed next to the following passage in which the virtues of Marius, who became consul, are listed:

> *At illum iam antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat, ad quem capiendum praeter uetustatem familiae alia omnia abunde erant: industria, probitas, militiae magna scientia, animus belli ingens domi modicus, libidinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriae auidus.*[286]

> Even before this Marius had been driven by a mighty longing for the consulship, for achieving which he had in abundance every asset except an ancient lineage: namely, diligence, honesty, great military skill, and a spirit that was mighty in war, restrained in civilian life, immune to passion and the lure of riches, and greedy only for glory.[287]

The virtues displayed here do not necessarily coincide with the virtues addressed in the *Fürstenspiegel* described above. 'Greedy only for glory' stands in contrast with the ideal of *humilitas*, for example. On the other hand, 'restraint in civilian life' would fit in with the Christian moral values of *humilitas* and *pietas.* Restraint in rulership is given attention in other entries as well.[288] Other *nota*-signs that concern morality stress examples of bad behaviour, such as lewdness and gluttony, and vanity.[289] Perhaps these examples can be viewed as admonishing, as in some of the Merovingian mirrors for princes. However, we must be careful not to interpret the *nota*-signs according to our own liking. These entries do not always concern the

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[285] Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32, 38v. In the margins Telegonus, Europus and Caranus are named, without informing the reader about behavior or deeds. Perdiccas 'who was known both for his illustrious life and for his memorable final instructions', is not given any note in the margin. (*Epitome,* VII.2.1)

[286] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16024, 35r (Jug. 63.2)

[287] Translation by Ramsey: Ramsey, *Sallust. The war with Catiline. The War with Jugurtha*, 307.

[288] See appendix II Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum* 85.9, 85.34.

[289] See appendix II Sallust, *De Coniuratio Catilinae,* 13.3, 23.2, 37.5, *Bellum Jugurthinum* 3.4.

ruler; in some instances, the behaviour of soldiers or the common people is named, suggesting the annotator was not necessarily interested in the moral behaviour of rulers, but in morality in general.[290] Perhaps the annotators had a monastic audience in mind, who would also profit from lessons about restraint, for example, as much as a secular ruler would. The annotator of the *nota*-signs in **Paris, lat. 16024** had a clear interest in morality, connecting to the genre of *Fürstenspiegel* in the broad sense of the word: teaching lessons for his audience at large.

The other ninth-century witness of Sallust, **Paris, lat. 16025,** only shows interest in moral behaviour through the *chrismons* written by the γ-type hand.[291] Similar to the *nota*-signs present in **Paris, lat. 16024**, multiple subjects seem to have inspired *chrismon*-signs. The first sign occurs on folio 18ᵛ and is accompanied by the marginal note: *[trans]versos agit id est contrarios de bono in malo* ('transversos agit', this is the opposition/transition from good to bad). An interest in good and bad is further highlighted by two other *chrismon* signs, both containing a proverb.[292] The proverb 'It is preferable for a good man to be defeated than to triumph over a wrong in a wicked manner' preaches *honestas* and perhaps *humilitas,* but the evidence is less convincing than that of the *nota*-signs in **Paris, lat. 16024.**

In the manuscripts of Justinus' *Epitome* a similar image occurs. The attention signs in **Leiden, VLQ 32** show interest in the acts and character of kings and rulers. Both positive and negative virtues are stressed, alongside the - sometimes rather cruel - deeds of the kings.[293] General lessons on good and bad are not explicitly highlighted by annotation signs, for the simple reason that proverbs occur less often in the *Epitome.* The evidence is not convincing enough to assign an explicit interest in moral behaviour in this case. The annotator may have been interested in the deeds of kings and the act of war without searching for lessons that could be projected into contemporary society.

It is difficult to say in what way the annotators of the ninth-century manuscripts of Sallust and Justinus were influenced by the genre of the *Fürstenspiegel.* It certainly was not a general interest shared by more annotators. The interest in the behaviour and characters of kings and rulers and the stress on virtues and the deeds of kings in **Paris, lat. 16024** could be partially explained by the *Bildungsrenaissance* that Anton describes, but may also be a product of coincidence.

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[290]See appendix II Sallust, *De Coniuratio Catilinae,* 9.1, 12.4, 13.3, 37.5, *Bellum Jugurthinum* 3.4.
[291] See section 2.5.2.
[292]Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025, 29ᵛ (Jug. 42.4); ibidem, 41ᵛ (Jug. 85.23)
[293] See section 3.5.2

4.5 Military strategy and the behaviour of soldiers

In the Carolingian era warfare was a Christian endeavour as much as a military one.[294] It goes without saying that these Christian values are not expressed in the works of Justinus and Sallust. These Roman works, however, could still serve as a model, for some values were universally important in times of war. For example, army discipline was universally important for practical reasons, but in the case of the Carolingian armies, discipline was also marked out as important because it would please God.[295] For this period, there is no evidence that war was conducted in a particular way.[296] What we do have, is a handbook on military practice that was well known in the ninth century.

In the fifth or sixth century, Vegetius wrote *De Re Militari,* a military handbook in four parts, focusing on military strategy and the recruitment of soldiers.[297] In the ninth century, this work was well known, judging from the number of extant manuscripts. Also in the Auxerre-Fleury region, where most of the manuscripts discussed in this thesis were made, two copies of this text were produced that are still extant: **Vatican, BAV, pal. Lat. 1572** is associated with Lupus of Ferrières himself, and a complete witness, **Bern, Burgerbibliothek 280,** has been localized in Fleury.[298] In 856, the abbot of Fulda and scholar Hrabanus Maurus wrote a small work dedicated to king Lothar II, *De procinctu Romanae miliciae.[299]* He excerpted the work of Vegetius, using the parts that were useful in his day to lecture the king on war.[300]

In his *De Re Militari*, Vegetius acknowledged the importance of Roman texts in order to learn about military practice.[301] He used Sallust's work two times, citing from *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and presumably he quoted also from the *Historiae.[302]* In the margins of the discussed manuscripts, we can see an interest in military

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[294] For the religious rites attached to a Carolingian warfare, see: D. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War c. 300-1215* (Woodbridge 2003) 32-63.

[295] R. Stone, *Morality and masculinity in the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge 2012), 100.

[296] Ibidem,101.

[297] Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages*, 2.

[298] A Önnerfors ed., *Vegetius - Epitoma rei militaris*, (1995 Stuttgart) xi, xix-xxi.

[299] Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius,* 214.

[300] Ibidem, 214.

[301] Ibidem, 23, 2.

[302] Vegetius, *De Re Militari,* liber I, caput IIII: 'sicut ait Sallustius "Iam simul ac iuuentus belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usum militiae discebat."' (Cat. 7.4)

Vegetius, *De Re Militari,* liber I, caput IX: 'De exercitio Gnei Pompei Magni Sallustius memorat "cum alacribus saltu, cum velocibus cursu, cum validis vecte certabant"' (*Hist.* II.16)

strategy and in the moral of behaviour of the soldiers as well as the army leaders. At first glance, this interest seems peculiar, as the ninth-century readers of Justinus and Sallust lived in monastic communities, reading in the service of God.[303] The monastic community was not allowed to take part in military practice.[304] However, the discipline and asceticism that an army recruit needed to have, appealed to monks too.[305] Besides, one must not forget that some readers, like Lupus of Ferrières, were very influential courtiers, moving within the closest circle around the king as well as in the monastery. In the following two sections, I will discuss to what extent the annotations made in the manuscripts on Justinus and Sallust show an interest in the military aspects of the histories. The work of Vegetius will be our lead, because it was the best known work on military aspects in the Carolingian period. Christopher Allmand has studied the marginal annotations of a large number of manuscripts of this text throughout the Middle Ages.[306] Many of the most frequently annotated passages and sections of Vegetius work concern topics that were also highlighted in the margins of the ninth-century manuscripts of Sallust and Justinus. This may suggest that Carolingian scholars had a particular interest in military practice.

4.5.1   Learning about the practice of war

An important aspect of becoming a good soldier is training. Discipline and morale, as well as physical training were essential. Many manuscripts that Allmand studied, marked the passage in which Sallust is cited: 'As soon as young men were capable of enduring military service, they learned practical lessons in soldiering.'[307] In **Paris, lat. 16024** it is exactly this passage in *De Coniuratione Catilinae* that is given a *nota*-sign.[308] This may have been a coincidence, but, as will become clear, many of the *nota*-signs of **Paris, lat. 16024** suggest an interest in military practices.

Discipline and restraint was an important factor according to Vegetius, a value not only appreciated in the army, but also in monastic circles.[309] No less than four *nota*-signs in **Paris, lat. 16024** concern this virtue. [310] In Justinus' *Epitome*, too,

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[303] M. Mostert, 'The Tradition of Classical Texts in the Manuscripts of Fleury' in: C. Chavannes-Mazel and M. Smith eds., *Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: Production and Use* (Los Altos Hills, 1996) 28.

[304] Stone, *Morality and masculinity in the Carolingian Empire,* 69.

[305] Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius* 19

[306] Ibidem, 17-46

[307]Ramsey, *Sallust. The war with Catiline. The War with Jugurtha,* 31. (Cat. 7.4)

[308] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16024, 2ᵛ

[309] Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius,* 19.

[310] Appendix II, (Jug. 63.2, 85.9, 85.34, 100.4-5)

examples of discipline and restraint are given attention. In **Leiden, VLQ 32**, the restraint of Viriatus is noted.[311]

Another element that was important to Vegetius, is keeping up morale and the courage of the army.[312] Psychological factors played a significant role in war, and this was abundantly stressed by annotators of Vegetius throughout the Middle Ages.[313] The commander of the army was responsible for the well-being of his soldiers and needed to make sure the soldiers were not overcome by fear or cowardice.[314] Keeping up morale and enhancing courage was stressed by the annotator of the *nota*-signs in **Paris, lat 16024**, too. Giving attention to passages where the commander is giving a pep talk or taking the lead in a dangerous passage, the annotator of this Sallust manuscript stressed this practice.**[315]**

On the matter of fleeing, Vegetius was rather ambiguous. He stated that a legion ought not to flee, but giving the enemy an option to flee would reduce their will to fight till the last man.[316] Meanwhile, medieval annotators of Vegetius' text were very interested in how to organise a retreat, without implying that it had a negative connotation.[317] This is also noted by the annotator of **Paris, lat. 16024**, who stressed that the Numidians 'do not follow the king in flight, but disperse to wherever their inclination takes them', followed by a line stating that this is not a shameful act in their culture.[318] The same annotator also noted the passage in *De Coniuratione Catilinae* in which it was said that it was madness to turn your back on the enemy when in flight.[319] In the collection of fragments in **Paris, lat. 6256**, the theme of fleeing is evident too.

When it comes to battle strategies, Vegetius stresses the necessity of secrecy and the importance of being well informed, an element annotators of this text appreciated throughout the Middle Ages.[320] Again, the *nota*-signs in **Paris, lat. 16024** paid attention to passages concerning this topic: conspirators who needed to postpone their plans, because the plot had leaked out; a man whose bad character implied the unwillingness to keep secrets; and sly tactics involving secrecy.[321] Other annotators

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[311] Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32 131r; Justinus (Epi LXIIII.2.8)

[312] Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius,* 25, 18.

[313] Ibidem, 30.

[314] Ibidem, 35.

[315] Appendix II (Cat. 21.5) (Jug. 94.2)

[316] Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius,* 32, 38.

[317] Ibidem, 39.

[318] Appendix II, (Jug. 54.4)

[319] Appendix II, (Cat. 58.16)

[320] Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius* 35

[321] See appendix II; Sallust (Cat. 18.5-6; 23.2), (Jug. 93.4, 101.6)

too may have been interested in this issue. For example, an attention sign in **Leiden, VLQ 32** notes that the inhabitants of Spain valued secrecy very highly in case of war.[322]

A last element that Allmand discovered in his study of the marginal annotations in Vegetius' text is the interest in Roman military organisation, reflected by marginal keywords on technical vocabulary.[323] Some of the single-worded keywords present in the margins of **Paris, lat. 16024** indeed concern technical words, such as *gregarius* and other types of soldiers.[324]

The work of Vegetius was an important study for military practice throughout the Middle Ages. By comparing elements that medieval annotators have stressed in this work with the Carolingian annotations in Sallust and Justinus' work, it has become clear that especially one manuscript containing Sallust's work, **Paris, lat. 16024**, may have been annotated with an explicit interest in the arts of war.

4.6 **The annotators**

Having analysed different aspects of the marginalia present in the ninth-century manuscripts of Sallust and Justinus, it has become clear that the two texts represent two opposite sides of a spectrum of historiographical manuscripts. On the one hand, the works of Sallust were read as texts which could help one's education in the arts of grammar and rhetoric. On the other hand, annotations in the *Epitome* of Justinus characterize its reading in the early Middle Ages as driven by an interest in history in the modern sense of the word: information about the past, in particular the *translatio imperii.*

Interests in particular topics are best visible in the manuscripts of Sallust's work, especially in **Paris, lat. 16024,** due to the *nota*-signs present. My hypothesis is that this manuscript was in the private possession of the Carolingian annotator, who had the opportunity to 'personalize' the manuscript by annotating it according to his own liking. The manuscripts **Paris, lat. 16025** and **Leiden, VLQ 32** were more heavily glossed by different hands, and show less clear-cut interests by means of attention signs and marginal notes. The interests of the annotator of the attention sign in the Leiden manuscript are more diverse and more difficult to pin down. The diversity of hands and the type of annotations suggest a communal usage of this manuscript. There might be a relationship between the clear expression of interests and the

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[322] Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32 131r; Justinus (*Epi* XLIIII.2.3)

[323] Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius* 30-31

[324] For example, *gregarius, lixa, velites,* see section 2.4.4.

private use of a manuscript on the one hand, and the communal use and diverse interests on the other hand. More research needs to be done on the subject, but it is a plausible hypothesis judging from these two case studies.

The most important conclusion that can be drawn from this chapter, is that the annotators of the studied manuscripts are not the Carolingian courtiers that modern scholars have focussed on when determining Carolingian interests in history. There is no interest in mirrors of princes, nor in the Romans, the Trojans, and the Jews. The other way around, do the annotations show interest in *translatio imperii*, which is not visible in the texts of Carolingian authors. The annotations in manuscripts form a valuable source to adjust our understanding of using the past. Carolingian courtiers such as Lupus of Ferrières have blurred the sight on the identity of the readers of Roman history. The manuscripts themselves shed new light on the identity of the annotators, who were, I believe, monks studying these texts for their own benefit, without a preconceived instruction.

CONCLUSION

From the extensive study of the marginal practices in ninth-century manuscripts containing the works of Sallust and Justinus, three main conclusions can be drawn.

First, it is important to realize that Roman histiographical texts such as those of Sallust and Justinus did not have the same purpose as their late antique counterparts. The annotations show no signs of Christianizing the past or searching for identity, two qualities that were important for Carolingian writers to construct their own histories. The *Epitome* by Justinus in particular was used to fill in gaps of knowledge that could not be retrieved from sources with more authority, such as the Bible or late antique histories. Although Carolingian scholars other than Hrabanus Maurus have left few traces of using factual knowledge to fill in the blanks of history, the annotation practices and the presence of summarizing notes suggest that the readers of the work were perhaps more aquinted with the *Epitome*'s content than was previously thought. Moreover, the attention and *nota*-signs, as well as the notes on details of the texts of both authors, indicate that the events described were studied thoroughly. A focus on history in Sallust's work is less apparent in marginal annotations – *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum* rarely have catchphrases, summarizing notes or comments on events. So, it can be suggested that the Carolingian annotators may not have considered the two authors to belong to the same genre in the way the Roman historians had done themselves. It was not until the twelfth century that Sallust was quoted for the historical events in his work.[325]

The second conclusion is, that the main purpose of the discussed texts in the Carolingian period were clearly different. Sallust's works were read for grammatical exercise, whereas the marginal practices of Justinus' *Epitome* indicate a historiographical use. The Carolingian manuscripts containing fragments of both these two texts suggest the same difference. It is important to note that these primary functions were not necessarily a product of Carolingian thought. The marginal commentary in the manuscripts of Justinus' *Epitome* suggests that this way of annotating was already present in the eighth century, or perhaps even earlier. Similarly, the tradition of excerpting orations from the works of Sallust

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[325] *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, VIII, 194.

was done from Antiquity onwards. The regular occurance in late antique grammatical works, and the abundance of grammatical annotations in later medieval manuscripts, suggests that Sallust, was consistently used throughout the Middle Ages. This is an interesting aspect, as it puts the 'Carolingian revival' of classical texts into perspective. If the texts of Sallust as well as Justinus were read in a certain tradition, the texts may have been known more continuously than the extant manuscript material leads us to believe.

Finally, the marginal practices have shown that the perceived difference between the two texts is not the only element that can be distilled from the glosses. Genuine interests in the texts become visible too. Information on military practices and moral values are just two examples of the secondary purposes of the texts. In many cases, it is hard to reconstruct the precise interest of the annotator of attention signs or *nota*-signs in a manuscript, because the links between the stressed passages are ambiguous to modern readers. I have been careful in connecting the dots of the different attention signs, trying to connect them with other sources possibly showing the same interests. From this, we can conclude that the interests in historiographical texts like those of Sallust and Justinus are more diverse than modern scholarship suggests.

In the Introduction, I expressed the wish to break the impasse that scholarship on Carolingian reception of Roman history is currently in. I believe the study of marginal practices opens doors that give access to the incentives of annotators to read the text and consequently uncover - at least partially - the purposes and interests of Carolingian readers. It is worthwhile to continue this study to open more doors and rewrite the history of Carolingian historiography. Having only discussed the ninth-century manuscripts of two Roman historians, there is much to gain if other historiographical texts, like those of Ceasar or Livy, would be analysed in this way, too. And those who continue this research, please remember the wise words of a famous Roman historian: 'Ceterum ex aliis negotiis quae ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum.'[326]

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[326] Sallust (Jug. 4.1)

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APPENDIX I - MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Ninth-century manuscripts containing fragments or complete witnesses of the works of Sallust and/or Justinus. Note that most extant manuscript material originates in Northern France; the Auxerre-Fleury region.

Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Phill. 1885 and 1896, and St. Petersburg, State Library, Q.v.Class. no. 9 and Q.v.IV.5 (Verona Miscellany) :

Origin and date : Verona, 800-850

Size : 19,7/18.3 x 14 cm; 214 folia

State of preservation: Only quires four to thirty-six are extant

Content: Historical miscellany containing fragments of Justinus, Eutropius, Julius Ceasar, Isidore of Seville, Jordanes, Paul the Deacon, Jerome's commentary on Daniel; Eusebius *Chronicle;*

Marginalia: 'In the Justinus and Eutropius portions brief notes of the names of principal protagonists and events provide a short marginal guide to the contents of the text.' (McKitterick, 57)

Literature: McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World,* 52-59.; Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, p. 93.

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 357

Origin and date : Auxerre, 850-875

Size: 24,5 x 22,5 cm; 43 folia

State of preservation: This manuscript contains quires 14-17 of a large composite manuscript that is now: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 330, 347, 357, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7665 and Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 30.

Content: Different glossaries ; excerpts from Sallustius ; Priscianus ;Nonius Marcellus, *De compendiosa doctrina* ; Petronius Arbiter, *Satyricon* ; Remmius Favinus, *Carmen de ponderibus et mensuris.*

Excerpt: Orations and Letters from the *Coniuratio Catilinae* and the *Bellum Jugurthinum*

Marginalia: This manuscript does not contain much marginal activity, except several additions by an Auxerre scribe, perhaps Heiric of Auxerre. Furthermore, there are a few probationes, alternative readings and a few lacunae. On folio 42^{rv}, there are a lot of catchphrases.

Literature: Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts,* no. 579; Mostert, *The Library of Fleury. A provisional list of manuscripts* no. 167-8; Munk Olsen, *La réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Age* II, 317-8.

Gieβen, Universitätabibliothek, H 79

Origin and date : Reichenau, 850-875

Size : 30 x 23,5 cm; 173 folia

State of preservation: Complete, in good state.

Content: Justinus *Epitome*

Marginalia: The manuscript is annotated by different medieval hands. There is one type of Carolingian annotator, who inserted summarizing notes.

Literature: Munk Olsen, *La réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Age* I, 542.

Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLF 67 II

Origin and date : St. Gallen, ca. 9th/ 10th century

Size : 28,4 x 21,6 cm,

State of preservation: Composite manuscript

Content: Cicero, *oratio pro P. Sextio,* fragment; Justinus, *Epitome,* fragment; Sedulius Scotus, *commentarius in Prisciani institutiones grammatici*; Priscianus, several fragments; catalogus pontificum romanorum

Excerpt: The prologues of Justinus *Epitome*

Marginalia: There are no glosses present in the fragment of Justinus.

Literature : De Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini. Codices in Folio,* 130-131. Munk Olsen, *La réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Age* I, 544.

Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32

Origin and date : Fleury, 800-850

Size : 26,5 x 20 cm; 132 folia

State of preservation: Complete, the manuscript has suffered from waterdamage, causing the pages to curl up.

Content: Justinus *Epitome*

Marginalia: The manuscript is richly annotated by different contemporary hands. One of the hands is assigned to Heiric of Auxerre. The marginalia consist mostly of summarizing notes, and attention signs.

Literature: De Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini. Codices in Quarto*, 84; .Mostert, *The Library of Fleury. A provisional list of manuscripts,* no. 339; Munk Olsen, *La réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Age* I, 544.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6256

Origin and date : Western Francia, 825-850

Size: 16x14 cm, 56 folia

State of preservation: A quire is missing between folio sixteen and seventeen.

Content: f. 1r-16v Excerpts from Justinus, *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Historia*

f. 17r-23r Excerpts from Ceasar, *De Bello Gallico*

f. 23v-30v Excerpts from Sallust, *De Coniuratio Catilinae* and *Bellum Jughurtinum*

f. 30v-36v Excerpts from Hegessipus, translation of Flavius Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*

f. 36v-56v Excerpts from Josephus (in Latin translation)

Excerpt: Small excerpts of both the *Coniuratio Catilinae* and the *Bellum Jughurtinum* follow each other up in a seemingly random order, alternated with commentary of the author or composer of the text.

Marginalia: The margins completely filled, both in marginal and interlinear spaces, by a twelfth- or thirteenth-century annotator, who filled the margin 'rücksichtlos mit theologischen und grammatischen Notizen.' More research needs to be done on the exact contents of these marginal texts. The texts by Egesipius and Josephus contain a few contemporary explanatory notes.

Literature: Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, no. 4399; Munk Olsen, *La réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Age* I, 548.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16024

Origin and date : Soissons (?), 850-900

Size : 28,2 x 26,5 cm; 46 folia

State of preservation: Complete, the text is preceded by the last lines of a grammatical work, the *Ars Grammatica* by Marius Victorinus

Content: Sallust, *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum*

Marginalia: The manuscript is selectively annotated by one type of Carolingian hand. According to Bernhard Bischoff, the marginal glosses were made simultaneously with the main text.

Literature: Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, no. 4978; Mostert, *The Library of Fleury. A provisional list of manuscripts* no.1218; Munk Olsen, *La réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Age* II, 344.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16025

Origin and date : Auxerre(?), 825-850

Size : 26,2 x 22,5 cm; 47 folia

State of preservation: Complete, the manuscript suffered slightly from water damage, but the folia are easy readable

Content: Sallust, *De Coniuratione Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum*

Marginalia: The manuscript is abundantly annotated by different Carolingian hands, both interlinear and marginal annotations are present. Bischoff identified one of the hands with that of Heiric of Auxerre.

Literature: Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, no. 4979; Mostert, *The Library of Fleury. A provisional list of manuscripts* no. 1219; Munk Olsen, *La réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Age* II, 344-5

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 1601

Origin and date : Fleury, 825-850

Size : 27,3 x 25 cm; 118 folia

State of preservation: The manuscript is complete. One inserted leaf originates from the period 850-875.

Content: Justinus *Epitome*

Marginalia: This manuscript is annotated by one type of Carolingian hand, contemporary to the main text. The majority of the annotations concern summarizing notes.

Literature: Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts,* no. 5097. Mostert did not include this manuscript in his survey; Munk Olsen, *La réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Age* I, 549.

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, vat. lat. 3864 III

Origin and date : Corbie, 850-875

Size : 22,5 x 18,6 cm; 133 folia

State of preservation: This manuscript is in a good state and appears to be complete.

Content: f. 1r-75r Caesar *Bello Gallico*

f. 76r-108r G. Pliny *Epistolae*

109r-113r. Sallust *Coniuratio Catilinae – orationes*

113r-119v Sallust *Bellum Jughurtinum – orationes*

119v-124v Sallust *Historiae* excerpts

124v-127r Sallust *Coniuratio Caitlinae, Bellum Jughurtinum, Historiae - epistolae*

127r-133v Pseudo Sallust *Epistola ad Caesarem*

Excerpt: Orations and Letters from the *Coniuratio Catilinae* and the *Bellum Jugurthinum*

Marginalia : *nota*-signs, chresimon and explanatory notes by humanist and contemporary hands in the section of Ceasar. The letters by Pliny are only not regularly annotated by a late medieval and a humanist hand, the *nota*-signs and chresimon do not reoccur in this text. The texts by (pseudo-)Sallust are very sparsely annotated.

Literature: Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts,* no. 6892; Munk Olsen, *La réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Age* II, 357.

The problem with assigning interests through the means of *nota*-signs, is the difficulty to reconstruct which passage or word the signs originally referred to. It could be one word or an entire paragraph. For this reason, I have chosen to let the signs refer to a complete sentence or paragraph, in order to make the context understandable for readers. The English translation is by Ramsey.

De Coniuratio Catilinae

chapter	folio	Latin	English translation
7.4	2v	Iam primum iuventus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usum militiae discebat magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis quam in scortis atque conviviis lubidinem habebant.	First of all, as soon as young men were capable of enduring military service, they learned practical lessons in soldiering through toil on campaign, and they took more delight in handsome arms and war horses than in harlots and revelry
9.1	2v	Igitur domi militaeque boni mores colebantur; concordia maxima, minima avaritia erat; ius bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat.	Accordingly, good morals were cultivated at home and on campaign; there was the greatest harmony, the least avarice; right and decency prevailed among them, thanks not so much to laws as to nature.
12.4	3v	Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant neque victis quiquam praeter iniuriae licentiam eripiebant.	But those men adorned the shrines of the gods with piety, their own homes with glory, while from the vanquished they took nothing except the license to do harm
13.3	3v	Sed lubido stupri, ganeae ceterique cultus non minor incesserat: viri muliebria pati, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere; dormire prius, quam somni cupido esset; non famen aut sitim, neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed omnia luxu antecapere	But there had arisen an equally stong passion for lewdness, gluttony and other accompaniments of luxury; men played the woman, women offered their chastity for sale; the land and sea were scoured for everything to gratify their palates; they slept before they felt adesire for sleep;they did not await the onset of hunger or thirst, of cold or weariness, but all such things they anticipated with selfindulgence

18.5/6	4v	Cum hoc Catilina et Autronius circiter Nonas Decembris consilio communicato parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Ianuariis L.Cottam et L.Torquatum consules interficere, ipsi fascibus correptis Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere. Ea re cognita rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium caedis transtulerant.	About the fifth of december, Catiline and Autronius shared their plan with him and prepared to murder the consuls Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus on the Capitoline on the first of January, to seize the fasces for themselves and dispatch Piso with an army to govern the two Spanish provinces. Since knowledge of this plot leaked out, they had postponed their murderous design until the fifth of February.
20.4	5r	… nam idem velle atque idem nolle, es demum firma amicitia est.	for to have the same desires and aversions, precisely that constitutes solid friendship
21.5	5v	Postquam omnium animos alacris videt, cohortatus ut petitionem suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit	When he saw that the spirits of all were aroused, he dismissed the meeting, after urging them to make his candidacy their concern.
23.2	6r	Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat quam audacia; neque reticere quae audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare; prorsus neque dicere neque facere quiquam pensi habebat	This man was no less irresponsible than he was reckless; he had no concern at all about keeping secret what he had heard or concealing even his own misdeeds, nor, in short, for what he did or said.
25.5	6v	Verum ingenium eius haud absurdum: posse versus facere, iocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci; prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat.	Nevertheless, her intellect was by no means contemptible; she could compose verses, raise a laugh, use language that was modest, or tender, or wanton; in short, she possessed much wit and much charm
37.5	9r	Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxume praestabant, item alii per dedecora patrimoniis amissis, postremo omnes, quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, ii Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant.	To begin with, men who were especially conspicuous for their shamelessness and impudence, those too who had squandered their patrimony in discraceful living, finally all whom disgrace or crime had driven from their homes, such man had all flowed into Rome as into a ship's bigle
50.2	11v	Cethegus autem per nuntios familiam atque libertos suos, lectos et exercitatos, orabat, ut grege facto cum telis ad sese inrumperent.	Moreover, through messengers Cethegus exhorted his slaves and freedmen, picked and trained men, to be bold, to get a band together and force their way in to him with weapons

56.4	15v	Sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere, modo ad urbem, modo in Galliam vorsus castra movere, hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare. Sperabat propediem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta patravissent.	Now after Antonius began to draw near with his army, Catiline marched through the mountains, moved his camp now toward the City and now in the direction of Gaul; he did not give the enemy an opportunity for battle; he was hoping shortly to have a large force, if his confederates in Rome accomplished their undertakings.
58.16	16r	Nam in fuga salutem sperare, cum arma, quibus corpus tegitur, ab hostibus avorteris, ea vero dementia est.	For to hope for safety in flight when you have turned away from the enemy the arms which protect your body, such conduct is surely madness.

Bellum Jugurthinum

3.4	17v	Frustra autem niti nequem aliud se fatigando nisi odium quaerere extremae dementiae est; nisi forte quem inhonesta et perniciosa libido tenet potentiae paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.	Moreover, to struggle in vain and to gain nothing by wearisome exertion except hatred is the height of insanity - unless, by chance, one is possessed by a dishonorable and pernicious pasion to put one's honor and personal freedom at the service of a few powerful men
4.3	18r	Atque ego credo fore qui, quia decrevi procul a re publica aetatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant, certe quibus maxima industria videtur salutare plebem et conviviis gratiam quaerere.	I suppose, too, that since I have resolved to pass my life aloof from public affairs, ther will be those who will apply to this arduous and useful employement of mine the term idleness, certainly those who think it is the height of industriousness to court the common people and curry favor by means of banquets
22.2	24r	Quorum Iugurtha accepta oratione respondit sibi neque maius quiquam neque carius auctoritate senatus esse. Ab adulescentia ita se enisum, ut ab optimo quoque probaretur; virtute, non malitia P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse; ob easdem artis a Micipsa, non penuria liberorum in regnum adoptatum esse.	When Jugurtha heard their message, he replied that nothing was more important or more dear to his heart than the will of the senate; that from youth up, he had striven to win the approval of all the best men; that it was by merit, and not by wickedness that he had found favor with the great Publius Scipio; that it was for the same qualities that Micipsa had made him an heir to a part of his kingdom, not because the king lacked children.

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37.2/3	**28r**	P. Lucullus et L. Annius tribuni plebis resistentibus collegis continuare magistratum nitebantur, quae dissensio totius anni comitia impediebat. Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro praetore in castris relictum supra diximus	The plebeian tribunes Publius Lucullus and Licius Annius, were striving to prolong their term of office in spite of the opposition of their colleagues, and this wrangling blocked the elections of the wole year. Because of the delay, Aulus, who, as I stated above, had been left as commander in the camp in the place of the consul, came to hope for either finishing the war or obtaining a bribe from the king because of the fear the army ispired in him.
53.8	**32v**	Igitur pro metu repente gaudium mutatur: milites alius alium laeti appellant, acta edocent atque audiunt, sua quisque fortia facta ad caelum fert. Quippe res humanae ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet, aduersae res etiam bonos detrectant.	Thereupon, in place of fear there was a sudden change to joy; the delighted soldiers called out to one another; they told and heard about what had happened; each man praised his own valiant deeds to the sky. For so it is with human affais: in time of victory, even cowards may brag, whereas a defeat detracts from the esteem of even the brave.
54.4	**33r**	Id ea gratia eveniebat, quod praeter regios equites nemo omnium Numida ex fuga regem sequitur. Quo cuiusque animus fert, eo discedunt, neque id flagitium militiae ducitur: ita se mores habent.	The reason why this happened is because except for the king's horsemen composing his bodyguard, not a single Numidian follows his king in flight, but all disperse to whereever their inclination takes them; and this is not considered shameful when on military service. such are their ways.
55.4	**33r**	Ita, quo clarior erat, eo magis anxius erat, neque post insidias Iugurthae effuso exercitu praedari; ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu praesidium agitabant; exercitus partem ipse, relicuos Marius ducebat.	Hence the greater his fame, the more uneasy he was; after Jugurtha's ambush he no longer ravaged the country with his army spread out; when he required grain or fodder, a number of cohorts stood on guard along with all the cavalry; he personally led part of the army and Marius the rest.

63.2	35r	At illum iam antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat, ad quem capiendum praeter uetustatem familiae alia omnia abunde erant: industria, probitas, militiae magna scientia, animus belli ingens domi modicus, libidinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriae auidus.	Even before this Marius had been driven by a mighty longing for the consulship, for achieving which he had in abundance every asset except an eancient lineage: namely, diligence, honesty, great military skill, and a spirit that was mighty in war, restrained in civilian life, immune to passion and the lure of riches, and greedy only for glory
63.5	35v	Deinde ab eo magistratu alium, post alium sibi peperit, semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore quam gerebat dignus haberetur.	Then from that beginning, he gained for himself one political office after another, and he conducted himself in exercising powering in such a way that he was regarded worthy of a higher position than that which he was holding
75.9	38r	Ceterum milites religione pluvia magis usi, eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati sese dis inmortalibus curae esse	But from religious motives, the soldiers availed themselves more of the rain water, and that resource added greatly to their spirits; for they thought thatthey were an object of care in the eyes of the immortal gods
85.9	40r	Illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulauere; mihi, qui omnem aetatem in optimis artibus egi, bene facere iam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit.	To exercise restraint in office is difficult for those who from interested motives have merely pretended to be virtuous; as for me, I have spent my entire life in the best practices, and good conduct has become second nature asa result of habit
85.26/27	40v	… non placuit reticere, ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me quidem ex animi mei sententia nulla oratio laedere potest: quippe vera necesse est bene praedicent, falsa vita moresque mei superant.	I have decided not to keep silent so that no one will misinterpret reticence on my part as a guilty conscience. For, according to what I feel in my heart, no speech can injure me. Naturally the truth has to be told to my credit; my past life and character refute any falsehoods
85.34	41r	His ego praeceptis milites hortabor, neque illos arte colam, me opulenter, neque gloriam meam, laborem illorum faciam.	With such guiding principles as these, I shall encourage my soldiers, I shall not treat them stingily and myself lavishly, nor convert their toil into my personal glory

93.4	43r	Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paulum modo prona, deinde inflexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert. Cuius ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus in castelli planitiem pervenit, quod cuncti Numidae intenti proeliantibus aderant.	By chance, a great oak tree had taken root there among the rocks, havin g grown horizontally for a short distance, it then turned and soared to a great height, in the direction nature encourages all plants to grow. Supporting himself now with the tree branches, now with projecting rocks, the Ligurian reached the level ground of the fortress because the the Numidians as a whole were intent upon and physically engaged in the fighting that was taking place
94.2	43v	Interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu; ubi paulo asperior ascensus erat singulos prae se inermos mittere, deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi: quae dubia nisui videbantur potissimus temptare ac saepius eadem ascendens descendensque, dein statim digrediens, ceteris audaciam addere.	Sometimes he hoisted up with his hand those whom the unusual nature of the route alarmed; where the ascent was a little too rough, he sent men ahead one at a time unarmed and then followed himself, bringing their arms. He was first to test spots that appeared to offer uncertain support, and by reoeatedly climbing up and back down the same way, and then at once stepping aside, he bolstered the courage of the rest.
100.2	45r	Sulla cum equitatu apud dextimos, in sinistra parte Manlius cum funditoribus et sagittariis, praeterea cohortis Ligurum curabat. Primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locauerat.	Sulla, with the cavalry, was the officer in charge of the troops on the right; on the left it was Aulus Manlius, with the slingers and archers, as well as cohorts of Ligurians. In front and in the rear Marius had stationed the tribunes with the light-armed companies.
100.3	45r	Perfugae, minime cari et regionum scientissimi, hostium iter explorabant. Simul consul quasi nullo imposito omnia prouidere, apud omnis adesse, laudare et increpare merentis.	Deserters, expendable and the most knowledgable of the region, reconnoitered the enemy's line of march. At the same time, the consul looked out for everything, just as if no one else had been assigned the duty, he was present everywhere, he praised and blamed the men according to their deserts

100.4/5   **45r**   ...praeterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circumire, non tam diffidentia futurum quae imperauisset, quam uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labor volentibus esset. Et sane Marius illoque aliisque temporibus Iugurthini belli pudore magis quam malo exercitum coercebat.

In addition, he stationed others on the ramparts above the palisade, he personally inspected the sentries not so much out of a lack of confidence that his orders would be executed but to make the soldiers willing to endure labor of which their commander did his full share. Certainly Marius at that time, and at other times during the Jugurthine war, restrained his army more by appealing to their sense of shame than by punishment.

101.6   **46r**   Tum Marius apud primos agebat, quod ibi Iugurtha cum plurimis erat. Dein Numida cognito Bocchi adventu clam cum paucis ad pedites conuertit. Ibi Latine--nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat--exclamat nostros frustra pugnare, paulo ante Marium sua manu interfectum, simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostentans, quem in pugna satis impigre occiso pedite nostro cruentauerat.

Marius at the time was busy at the front line because Jugurtha was there with most of his forces. Then the Numidian, on learning of Bocchus arrival, secretly shifted position with a few followers to join his ally's infantry. There, he cried out in Latin (forhe had learned to speak it at Numantia) that our men were fighting in vain, that he had klled Marius with his own hand shortly before.

The problem with assigning interests through the means of chrismon signs, is the difficulty to reconstruct which passage or word the signs originally referred to. It could be one word or an entire paragraph. For this reason, I have chosen to let the signs refer to a complete sentence or paragraph, in order to make the context understandable for readers. The English translation is by Ramsey.

Chapter	Folio	Latin	English translation
6 .3	18v	Quae etiam mediocris uiros spe praedae transuersos agit, ad hoc studia Numidarum in Iugurtham adcensa, ex quibus, si talem uirum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur anxius erat.	He was greedy for power and eager to gratify the heart's desire; besides, his won advanced years and the youthfulness of his sons presented an opening which could drive even average men from the straight and narrow out of hope for spoils; on top of this, there was the Numidians' passionate support for Jugurtha from which, he worried, some rebellion or war might erupt, if he killed such a man by treachery.
42.3	29v	Sed bono vinci satius est quam malo more iniuriam uincere	But it preferable for a good man to be defeated than to triumph over a wrong in a wicked manner.
46.1	30v	Interea Iugurtha, ubi quae Metellus agebat ex nuntiis accepit, simul de innocentia eius certior Roma factus, diffidere suis rebus ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est.	Meanwhile, when Jugurtha learned through messengers of Metellus'activities, an at the same time having been informed from Rome concerning his incorruptibility, he began to lose confidence in his cause abd for the first time attempted to arrange a genuine surrender.
48.1	31v	…ceterum re bellum asperrumum erat, urbs maxima alienate, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium temptati, coactus rerum necessitudine statui armis certare	…but in reality he was faced with the bitterest warfare, a major city removed from his control, his territory reconnoitered by the enemy, and the loyalty of his subjects tampered with – he decided to put arms to the test, forced as he was to do so by the necessity of circumstances.
54.5	33r	Igitur Metellus ubi videt regis etiam tum animum ferocem esse, bellum renovari, quod nisi	And so Metellus saw that the king's spirit was intrepid even then, that a war was being renewed which could not be waged

		exillius lubidine geri non posset, praeterea inicum certamen sibi cum hostibus…	except in keeping with the whim of Jugurtha, and that in addition the struggle with the enemy was an unequal one from his point of view, since the Numidians were defeated at a smaller cost than his own men won victory
57.4	34r	Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare, alii succedere ac murum modo subfodere modo scalis adgredi, cupere proelium in manibus facere	Each of the romans fought according to his temperament, some at long range with sling bullets or stone,s others advanced and now undermined the wall, now applied scaling ladders, eager to come to grips with the battle.
68.2	37r	Legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et quam plurimus potest Numidas equites partier cum occasu solis expeditos educit et postera die ciciter hora tertia pervenit in quondam planitiem locis Paulo superioribus circumventam Ibi milites…	Precisely at sundown, he led out the legion with which he was wintering and as many Numidian cavalrymen as he could master, all lightly equipped; an on the following day, at about the third hour, he reached a plain surrounded on all sides by somewhat higher ground. [He told his soldiers to endure patiently the remaining toil provided they could exact punishment on behalf of their brave but unhappy fellow citizens.
69.1	37r	…ubi neque agros vastari et eos qui primi aderant Numidas equites vident, rursum Iugurtham arbitrate cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt	Later, seeing that their fields were not being laid waste and that the horsemen who were the first to come into view were Numidians, they thought it was Jugurtha instead and went out to meet him with great jubilation
	39v	*The annotator names the signs chrismon and frontis*	
85.23	41v	Et profecto ita se res habet: maiorum Gloria posteris quasi lumen est, neque bona neque mala eorum in occult patitur	By recounting the brave deeds of those men, they imagine themselves more glorious. But is just the reverse: For the more glorious the life of their ancestors was, the more shameful is the idleness of these men

APPENDIX IV MARGINAL COMMENTARY

Three ninth-century manuscripts containing all fourty-four books of Justinus'*Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus' *Historiae* contain similar glosses. In this edition, the mutual glosses are extracted and combined to form a marginal commentary of the text. In the edition below, the marginal commentary is extracted from the first eleven books of the *Epitome*.

Only those entries are inserted, that occur in at least two of the three annotated ninth-century manuscripts. There are five complete ninth-century witnesses of the *Epitome* but as two of them (A and S) do not contain contemporary marginalia, only manuscripts G, L and P will be included in the edition:

> Gieβen, Universitätsbibliothek, H 79 (G)
>
> Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 32 (L)
>
> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 1601 (P)

It is impossible to reconstruct a stemma for the three manuscripts. Therefore, I have chosen to implement the variants in this edition that are closest to the edition of the main text, and if that is not possible, I have chosen to follow the variant that occurs in the majority of manuscripts.

Moreover, the lemmata are based on the edition of Otto Seel.[327] Most marginal annotations concern not one word or a phrase, but a set of phrases or even an entire paragraph. In this edition, complete passages are referred to, as it is important to understand the context in which lemmata are present.

Liber I

I.1.9.   POSTREMUM BELLUM ILLI FUIT CUM **ZOROASTRE**, REGE BACTRIANORUM, QUI PRIMUS DICITUR ARTES MAGICAS INVENISSE ET MUNDI PRINCIPIA SIDERUMQUE MOTUS DILIGENTISSIME SPECTASSE.
Zoroastres primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse *GLP*

I.2.9.   SED ET INDIS BELLUM INTULIT, QUOS PRAETER **ILLAM ET ALEXANDRUM MAGNUM NEMO INTRAVIT.**
Indos Semiramis et Alexander soli ingressi *GLP*
Semiramis] Samiramis *G*

I.2.13   **IMPERIUM ASSYRII**, QUI POSTEA SYRI DICTI SUNT, MILLE TRECENTIS ANNIS TENUERE.
Imperium Assyriorum mille trecentis annis fuit *GLP*
mille] in *G* ; trecentis] ccc *P*

I.3.5.   VICTUS IN REGIAM SE RECEPIT, UBI EXTRUCTA INCENSAQUE PYRA ET SE ET DIVITIAS SUAS IN INCENDIUM MITTIT HOC SOLO IMITATUS VIRUM.
Exitus Sardanapalli ubi se incendit *GP*

I.4.2   HIC PER SOMNIUM VIDIT EX NATURALIBUS FILIAE, QUAM UNICAM HABEBAT, VITEM ENATAM CUIUS PALMITE OMNIS ASIA OBUMBRARETUR

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[327] O. Seel, *M. Iuniani Iustini. EPitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pomei Trogi* (Stuttgart 1972).

Somnium Astyagis de Cyro rege nepote *GP*

Cyro] Cizoro *G*

I.6.10-16 Quod ubi Astyages audivit … Medos reverti ipse noluit.

Pugna Astyagis contra Cyrum *GP*

Contra] adversum *G*

I.6.13-14 Pulsataque cum Persarum acies paulatim cederet, **matres et uxores eorum** … uxorum vellent refugere

Factum dictumque Persarum mulierum adversum aciem cedentem suorum *GP*

I.6.16-17 In eo proelio Astyages capitur… regnaverunt annis cccl

Capto Astiage a Cyro nepote finis imperii Medorum. Regnauerit annis cccl *GP*

Cyro nepote] nepote Cyro *G* ; regnaverit] qui regnaverit *G*

I.7.8 Haec clementia non minus victori quam victo utilis fuit

Indulgentissimus victor Cyrus in Croesum *GP*

I.9.1. Huic successit filius Cambyses

Cyro Cambises filius successit *GP*

I.10.7. Per nocte deinde equum … futurum quod evenit

Factum pro Dareo custodis equi eiusdem *GP*

Factum] Bactum *G* ; eiusdem] equidem *G*

Liber II

II.1.5-8 Scytharum gens antiquissima semper habita, quamquam inter **Scythas et Aegyptios** dui **contentio de generis** vetustate fuerit

Contentio originis Scytarum et Aegyptiorum *GP*

II.3.17 **His igitur Asia per mille quingentos annos vectigalis fuit.**

Scytis mille quingentis annis Asia uectigalis fuit *GP*

Quingentis] d *P*

II.4.4-11. Horum uxores cum … **unde dictae Amazones**

Origo Amazonum *LGP*

unde dictae Amazones unde dictae Amazones *LP*

II.6.1-2 operaque Atheniensium effectu … ad suma crevere.

Origo Atheniensium *LP*

II.6.19-21 Atheniensibus eo tempore … offerentis bello liberantur.

De morte Codri *GLP*

morte[mors *L*

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II.8.2-10. Qᴜᴀ ʀᴇ ᴄᴏɢɴɪᴛᴀ ᴅᴜx Aᴛʜᴇɴɪᴇɴꜱɪᴜᴍ **Pɪꜱɪꜱᴛʀᴀᴛᴜꜱ** ... ᴀɴɴᴏꜱ XXXIII ʀᴇɢɴᴀᴠɪᴛ

Factum Pisistrati *GLP*

Factum Pisistrati] Pisistrati factum *L*

II.9.8-13. Iɢɪᴛᴜʀ Aᴛʜᴇɴɪᴇɴꜱᴇꜱ ᴀᴜᴅɪᴛᴏ Dᴀʀɪɪ … ᴍᴜʟᴛᴀᴇ ᴄᴀᴘᴛᴀᴇ ꜱᴜɴᴛ

Atheniensium dux Miltiades adversus Darium *GLP*

Miltiades] Meltiades *G* ; adversus] adversum *GL* ; Darium] Dareum *G*

II.9.16-18 Cynegiri quoque, militis … morsu navem detinuit

Factum Cinegiri navem tenentis *GLP*

Cinegiri] Cinegeri *G* , Cynigeri *L*

II.9.20-21 Dᴜᴄᴇɴᴛᴀ ᴍɪʟɪᴀ Pᴇʀꜱᴀᴇ ... ᴜʟᴛᴏʀɪʙᴜꜱ ᴘᴏᴇɴᴀꜱ ʀᴇᴘᴇᴛᴇɴᴛɪʙᴜꜱ

Obitus Darii. Hyppias tirannus cum ducentis milibus Persarum periit *GLP*

Dari] Darei *G* ; milibus] cc *P*

II.10.8-10 Iᴛᴀ ᴇᴛꜱɪ ɪɴ …ᴄᴀᴜꜱᴀ Xᴇʀxᴇɴ ᴘʀᴀᴇᴘᴏꜱᴜɪᴛ

Certamen inter Darii filios de successionem paterni regni *GLP*

Darii] Darei *G*, Dariis *P* ; de successionem paterni] *om. L,* paterni *om. P*

II.10.13-17. Quod ubi primum… consilium scibentis invenit

Qualiter Spartanis tabellas demaratus miserit *GLP*

tabellas] tabella *L*

II.11.19 Xᴇʀxᴇꜱ ᴅᴜᴏʙᴜꜱ ᴠᴜʟɴᴇʀɪʙᴜꜱ ᴛᴇʀʀᴇꜱᴛʀɪ ᴘʀᴏᴇʟɪᴏ ᴀᴄᴄᴇᴘᴛɪꜱ ᴇxᴘᴇʀɪʀɪ ᴍᴀʀɪꜱ ꜰᴏʀᴛᴜɴᴀᴍ ꜱᴛᴀᴛᴜɪᴛ

Uulneratus Xerxes *GLP*

Uulneratis *L*

II.12.1 Sᴇᴅ Aᴛʜᴇɴɪᴇɴꜱɪᴜᴍ ᴅᴜx Tʜᴇᴍɪꜱᴛᴏᴄʟᴇꜱ … ɪɴ ᴘᴀʀᴛᴇꜱ ꜱᴜᴀꜱ ꜱᴛᴀᴛᴜɪᴛ

factum Thermistocles *GLP*

factum Thermistocles] Thermistocles factum *P*; *Thermistocles*] Termistoclis *L*

II.12.13. Aᴅᴠᴇɴᴛᴀɴᴛᴇ ɪɢɪᴛᴜʀ Xᴇʀxᴇ ᴄᴏɴꜱᴜʟᴇɴᴛɪʙᴜꜱ Dᴇʟᴘʜɪꜱ ᴏʀᴀᴄᴜʟᴜᴍ ʀᴇꜱᴘᴏɴꜱᴜᴍ ꜰᴜᴇʀᴀᴛ, ꜱᴀʟᴜᴛᴇᴍ ᴍᴜʀɪꜱ ʟɪɢɴᴇɪꜱ ᴛᴜᴇʀᴇɴᴛᴜʀ

Responsum de muris ligneis *GLP*

Responsum ; responsim *P*, responsium *L*

II.13.7-11 Iʟʟᴇ ᴘᴇʀᴄᴜʟꜱᴜꜱ ɴᴜɴᴛɪᴏ ... ᴇᴛɪᴀᴍ ꜰᴀᴍᴇꜱ ᴀᴄᴄᴇꜱꜱᴇʀᴀᴛ.

Fuga Xerxes *GLP*

II.14.5-6 Nᴀᴍ ᴠɪᴄᴛᴜꜱ Mᴀʀᴅᴏɴɪᴜꜱ… ʀᴇɢᴀʟɪꜱ ᴏᴘᴜʟᴇɴᴛɪᴀᴇ ᴄᴀᴘᴛᴀ

Uictus Mardonius quem Xerxes reliquerat

Uictus Mardonius quem Xerxes reliquerat] Mardoins dux Xerxis uincitur *L*

Liber III

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III.1.2   QUIPPE ARTABANUS, PRAEFECTUS EIUS ... **TRUCIDATOQUE REGE**

Xerxes domi sua ab Artabano perfecto suo occiditur *GLP*

Domi] domo *P*; sua] sue *G, om. P*; perfecto suo] *om. P*

III.1.8.   ITAQUE CUM INTER CETEROS … AC NUDATUM GLADIO TRAICIT.

Qualiter Artaxerxes occiderit Artabanum *LP*

occiderit Artabanum] Artabanum occiderit *P*

III.2.5   NAMQUE LYCURGUS CUM FRATRI SUP POLYDECTAE SPARTANORUM REGI, SUCCESSISSET REGNUMQUE SIBI VINDICARE POTUISSET.

Qualiter Lygurgus regnum patris filio restituit *LP*

III.3.11-12. DEIN UT AETERNITATEM…DISSOLVENDIS LEGIBUS ARBITRARENTUR

De iure iurando Spartanorum et exitu Lygurgi *GLP*

III.5.9   TYRTAEUS, QUI COMPOSITA CARMINA EXERCITUI PRO CONTIONE RECITAVIT IN QUIBUS HORTAMENTA VIRTUTIS

De Tirteo poeta suadente bella carminibus *GP*

Poeta] poete *G*; bella] bello *G*

III.6. 12 PERICLEN SOETATAE VIRTUTIS VIRUM ET SOPHOCLEN SCRIPTOREM TRAGOEDIARUM

De Peride et Sophocle *GLP*

Sophocle] Sofocle P

Liber IV

IV.1.1 SICILIAM FUERUNT ANGUSTIS QUONDAM FAUCIBUS ITALIAE ADHAESISSE DIREPTAMQUE

De situ Sicilie *GLP*

Sicilie] Sicilia *P*

IV.1.7   PROXIMUM ITALIAE **PROMUNTORIUM REGIUM** DICITUR

Quare oppidum Regium dicetur *GLP*

Oppidum Regium dicetur] Regium ciuitas dicetur *L;b*Dicetur] didatur *G,* dicatur *P*

IV.2.1.   SICILIAE PRIMO TRINACRIAE NOMEN FUIT, POSTEA SICANIA COGNOMINATA EST.

De Sicilia *LP*

IV.2.5.   REGNI MAIESTATEM ADMINISTRARI PER SERUUM

Per seruum tutelam regni administratam *LP*

IV.3.1-3. MEDIO TEMPORE, CUM… LIBERIS PRAEDAM RELIQUISSENT

Quid Reginis post auxiliarios suos euenerit *LP*

Auxiliarios] auxiliares *P*

Liber V

V.1.1-2 ET DUX EIUS ALCIBIADES ABSENS….**IN EXILIUM ELIDEM PROFECTUS EST**.

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De exilio Alcibiadis *GLP*

V.2.1. ALCIBIADES QUOQUE MOTUM ADVERSUS PATRIAM BELLUM
De Alcibiade cum Lacedemoniis contra patriam dimicante *GLP*
Dimicante] dimicantem *L*

V.3.2. AD QUEM CUM LEGATI ATHENIENSIUM VENISSENT, POLLICETUR HIS **AMICITIAM** REGIS, SI RES PUBLICA A POPULO TRANSLATA AD SENATUM FORET
Quibus conditionibus Alcibiades cum Atheniensibus amicitiam reparauerit *GLP*
Conditionibus] factionibus *L*

V.4.3. INTERIECTIS QUOQUE DIEBUS, CUM BELLUM LACEDAEMONII A MARI IN TERRAM TRANSTULISSENT, ITERATO UICUNTUR
Alcibiades pro Atheniensibus Lacedemonios uincit *GLP*

V.4.7.   ATQUE ITA PRISCA NAVALI GLORIA VINDICTA … **ATHENAS REUERTITUR**
Qualiter in patriam uictor Alcibiades reuertitur *GLP*
Revertitur] excipitur *G*

V.5.4-8. ET TANTA DESPERATIO… VOLUNTARIUM EXILIUM PROFIISCISCITUR
Conon Alcibiadi succedit *GLP*
Conon Alcibiadi] Alcibiadi Conon *L*

V.6.10 CUM DUX CONON…CYPRIUM CONCEDIT EUAGORAM
Dux Atheniensium Conon uictus Ciprium recedit *GLP*
Conon] Con *L*; Ciprium] verum *L*

V.7.6-12 IN FORO DEINDE …POSSENT MOENIA EXTRUERE
Clades et desperatio Atheniensium *GLP*
Desperatio] desperatorum *L*

V.8.13-14 QUEM CUM PROFECTUM … DORMIEBAT, CREMATES EST.
Mors Alcibiades *LP*

V.9.9. LYSIAS, SYRACYSANUS ORATOR
Licias Saracusanus orator *LP*
Saracusanus] Syracusani *L*

V.10.6-8. PAUSANIAS REX MITTITUR …BELLUM ATHENIENSIBUS INFERUNT
Pausanias Lacedemoniorum rex clemens in Atenienses *GLP*

Liber VI

VI.2.12-13 ITAQUE CONON DIU … PERSARUM ADORARE NOLLET
Conon regem Persarum adorare noluit LP

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VI.3.10-11 SED QUANTO MAIUS PROELIUM FUIT, TANTO ET CLARIOR VICTORIA CONONIS

      Ab Atheniense Conone Lacedemonii uicti *GLP*

      Atheniense] Atheniensi *L*

VI.5.8   SED CONON VASTATIS HOSTIUM TERRIES ATHENAS PERGIT

      Conon Athenas redit *GLP*

VI.6.1.   DUM HAEC GERUNTUR … CIVITATIBUS LIBERTATEM SUAQUE OMNIA RESTITUIT

      Artaxerxes Greciae libertatem dedit *GLP*

      Libertatem] pacem *GL*

VI.6.5   QUOD EODEM TEMPORE URBS ROMANA A GALLIS CAPTA EST

      Quando a Gallis Roma capta est *LP*

VI.6.10 HOC EST ENIM SIGNUM APUD GRAECOS VICTORIAE TRADITAE

      Quod apud Grecos fuerit signum traditae uictoriae *GLP*

      Traditae] *om. L*

VI.8.1-13 POST PAUCOS DEINDE DIES EPAMINONDA DECEDIT…GRATULABUNDUS PATRIAE EXSPIRAVIT

      de exitu Epamidondae *GP*

Liber VII

VII.1.10 URBE EDESSAM OB MEMORIAM MUNERIS AEGAEAS, POPULUM AEGEADAS VOCAVIT

      De urbe Edissa dicta *GLP*

VII.1.11-12 PULSO DEINDE MIDA ... INCREMENTORUM FUNDAMENTA CONSTITUIT

      de regibus Macedoniae *GLP*

VII.2.8. QUI PROELIO PULSI REGE SUO IN CUNIS PROLATO ET PONE ACIEM POSITO ACRIUS CERTAMEN REPETIVERE

      De regis filio in cunis post aciem posito *GLP*

      Cunis] cune *G*; post] ante *L (typical for i-family)*; aciem posito] acie posita *G*

VII.4.5. QUI EX EURYDICE TRES FILIOS SUSTULIT, ALEXANDRUM, PERDICCAM ET PHILIPPUM

      PHILIPPUM Amintas pater Philippi *GLP*

      Pater] frater *G*

      ALEXANDRO TRADITO (VII.4.8) Alexander frater Philippi *GLP*

      Frater] pater *L*

VII.5.6. FRATER QUOQUE EIUS PEDICCA PARI INSIDIARUM FRAUDE DECIPITUR

      Perdicca frater Alexandri et Philippi *GLP*

      Perdicca] Prodicca *G*

VII.5.9 ITAQUE PHILIPPUS DUI NON REGEM, SED TUTOREM PUPILLI EGIT

      Philippus tutor in regno fratris filii conpulsus a populo regnum suscipit

A populo] ap popullo *P*; *Philippus - suscipit]* Philippus prius tutor fratris regnantis post conpulsus regnum suscepit *L*

VII.6.5. QUORUM VICTORIA ET MILITUM TREPIDOS ANIMOS FIRMARET ET CONTEMPTUM SIBI HOSTIUM DEMERET
Philippus in Athenienses victos clemens fuit *GLP*
Fuit] *om. P*

VII.6.11 QUIBUS REBUS FELICITER PROVENIENTIBUS OLYMPIADAM, NEOPTOLEMI, REGIS MOLOSSORUM, FILIAM, UXORIS DUCIT
Unde Olimpiades uxor Philippi *GLP*
Unde] fuerit *ad. L*

VII.6.14 IN PRAETEREUNTEM DE MURIS SAGITTA IACTA DEXTRUM OCULUM REGIS EFFODIT
De oculo Philippi effosso *GP*

Liber VIII

VIII.5.1. TUNC PRIMUM PHOCENSES CAPTOS SE FRAUDE PHILIPPI ANIMADVERTENTES TREPIDI AD ARMA CONFUGIUNT
de fraude Philippis Thermopilas occupantis *GP*
Thermopilas] Termopilos *P*

VIII.6.4-6. UXORIS OLYMPIADES FRATREM … AD STUPRI CONSUETUDINEM PERPULIT
De stupri Philippi in Alexandrum uxoris fratrem *GLP*

Liber IX

IX.4.9 UT OMNES SEAUCTORES FATERENTUR MELIUSQUE CUM RE PUBLICA ACTUM
de auctoritate Thebanorum *GP*

IX.7.13-14. PER PARRICIDIUM FESTINAVERAT. NOVISSIME GLADIUM ILLUM

festinauerat nouissime gladium[328] *GP*
festinaverat] destinaverat *L*

IX.8.11-15. HUIC ALEXANDER FILIUS … SED IN SUOS SAEVIEBAT
Comparatio morum Philippi et Alexandri *GP*

Liber X

X.1.1 ARTAXERXI, REGI PERSARUM, EX PAELICIBUS CENTUM QUINDECIM FILII FUERE
Artaxerxes ex pelicibus cxv filios habuit *GLP*
Artaxerxes] Artaxerxi *G*

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[328] In the manuscripts these words were missing in the main text: a lacuna is being solved. In *L* this lacuna also occurs but is not solved.

X.2.7.   POST HAEC ARTAXERXES MORBO DOLORE CONTRACTO DECEDIT
Obitus Artaxerxis *GLP*
Artaxerxis] Artaxerxes *G*

Liber XI

XI.2.7   In cuius apparatu ... corruptum Demosthenem oratorem extisse
de redempto demostene oratore
redempto] *om. P*, de rempto *G*

XI.4.7-8. ITAQUE URBS DIRUITUR... INIMICORUM ODIO EXTENDITUR
Thebanorum ciuitas ab Alexandro destructa *GP*
Destructa] distructa *G*

XI.4.10-12. QUAM REM ITA GRAVITER ... PERSARUM VIRIBUS ACCESSERE
Athenienses retinentes oratores, duces in exilium pro Alexandri uoluntate miserunt *GP*
retinentes] retentis *G*; oratores] oratoribus *G*; duces] ducis *G*

XI.6.11. IN ACIE PERSARUM SEXCENTA MILIA MILITUM FUERE, QUAE NON MINUS ARTE ALEXANDRI QUAM VIRTUTE MACEDONUM SUPERATA TERGA VERTERUNT.
dc miliam militum in acie Darii contra Alexandrum fuerit
miliam] *om. P*

XI.7.5.   GORDIUS CUM IN HIS REGIONIBUS BUBUS CONDUCTIS ARARET, AVES EUM OMNIS GENERIS CIRCUMVOLARE COEPERUNT
de Gordio *GLP*
de Gordio] Gordia urbs ubi L

XI.8.8.   ACCEPTO IGITUR POCULO EPISTULAS MEDICO TRADIDIT ATQUE ITA INTER BIBENDUM OCULOS IN VULTUM LEGENTIS INTENDIT.
de medico Alexandri in simulatio huic per epistolas *GLP*
in simulatio huic per epistolis] om. *L*; per] pro *P*; epistolas] epistolis *P*

XI.9.9   POST HAEC PROELIUM INGENTIBUS ANIMIS COMMITITUR. IN EO UTERQUE REX UULNERATUR
Utrique reges Alexander et Darius in bello uulneratur *GP*
uulneratur] uulnerat *P*

XI.11.13 REVERSUS AB HAMMONE ALEXANDEAM CONDIDIT ET COLONIAM MACEDONUM CAPUT ESSE AEGYPTI IUBET.
Alexander Alexandriam condidit *GLP*

XI.12.6   IT ITINERE NUNTIATUR … HUMANITATIS CAUSA FECISSE
Alexander mortuae uxoris Darii funus exequis honorauit *GLP*
Darii] add. et ex *G* ; exequis] om. *L* ; Alexander-honorauit] Darii funus ab Alexandro honoratio *L*

XI.15.5-7 DARIUM MULTIS QUIDEM… PROPINQUOSQUE SORTITUS SIT

      Ordo inuenti et morientis Darii *GLP*

      inventi et morientis Darii] inuentus Darius moriens *L*

XI.15.14-15 QUAE UBI ALEXANDRO … TUMULIS INFERRI IUSSIT

      Darii ab Alexandro funus honoratum

      honoratum] honoratio *L*

The original manuscript contains much larger fragments of both authors. I have only transcribed a few folia of both Sallust and Justinus. Contemporary interlinear annotations – plausibly from the scribe of the main text - are indicated in the footnotes with the abbreviation 'int. marg.' (interlinear marginal note). Please note that there are more of these annotations in the fragment of Justinus than in the excerpts of Sallust.

Paris, lat. 6256 23v-26v

De libro Sallustii

Salustius in catilinario. Loca amoena uoluptaria facile in otio feroces[329] militum animos molliuerant. Ibi primum insueuit[330] exercitus populi romani amare potare, signa, tabulas pictas, uasca celata mirari; (Cat. 11.6) **Ganeas loca occulta meretricibus apta. Unde et ganeo dicitur libidinosus.** Salustius catilinario. Sed non minor libido stupri, ganeae, ceterique cultus, incesserat uiro[331] muliebria pati, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; (Cat. 13.3)[332] **Toreuma qr.**

Tabulas signa toreumata emunt, nova diruunt: alia edificant; (Cat. 20.12) **Refert, id est prestat.** Si in tanto omnium metu solus cesar[333] non timet eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis timere ; (Cat. 52.16) **Iuxta pro equaliter.** Ex omni copia Catilinae neque in proelio neque in fuga quisquam ciuis ingenuus uiuus captulem. Ita cuncti suae hostiumque uite iuxta pepercerant. (Cat. 61.5-7) **Item.** Quibus contra naturam corpus uoluptati, anima oneri fuit eorum ego uita mortemque iuxta existimo. (Cat. 2.8) **Item.** illa fuit litteris grecis atque latinis iuxta atque doctissime eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum ; (Jug. 95.3) **Grassor, a graessu sudictum. Unde grassor, est quasi saepius gradior, id est pleno gressu ambulo. Id est dicitur etiam seuire quae mos est, seuientium pleno gradu sepius uerti. Sed grassari pro gradi, id est ire, Salustius ita dicit**. Imperator uitae mortalium animus est. qui ubi ad gloriam uirtutis uia grassatur ; Abunde pollens potensque et clarus est. (Jug. 1.3) **Voluptas, saepius prouitio ponitur, quo appetitus delectationis corporis non moderamur, unde et uoluptarium dicitur ut Salustius** : Loca amoenia uoluptaria facile in otio feroces

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[329] i.e. ferocis

[330] int. mar. assueuit

[331] i.e. uiri

[332] The annotator of Paris, lat. 16024 gave this passage a *nota*-sign.

[333] 'cesar' ins.

militum animos molliverat ; (Cat. 11.6) **Subigo cogo.** Unde litterae Adherbalis in senatu. Non mea culpa saepe ad uos oratum mitto populi consules. Sed uis Iugurte subigit. (Jug, 24.1) **Perperam praue** neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor uti a malitis ciuis uestros perperam, quam recte fecisse; Sed ne ignoscendo malis, bonos perditum eatis; (Jug. 31.27) **Pessum do, deiicio.** Que res plerumque magnas civitates pessum dedit. dum alteri alteros uincere quouis modo et uictos acerbius ulcisci uolunt; (Jug. 42.4) **Cum et tum, pro primo et postea sunt enim aduerbia ordinis et cum, est, uelut reddituum. tum autem uelut subiunctiuum;** Metellus in Numidiam proficiscitur; magna spe ciuium. Cum propter artes bonas, tum maxime, quod aduersum diuitias inuictum animum gerebat; (Jug. 43.5) **Supplica pro supplicationibus ponebant antiqui**. Masinissa legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis mittit, qui ipsi liberisque uitam peterent ; (Jug. 46.2) **Item.** Senatus ob ea feliciter acta, dis suplicia decernere; (Jug. 55.2) **Fore, et esse in presenti et futurum esse significat. Similiter ad fore ; Item iuxta pro aequaliter**. Doctus sum hiemem et estatem iuxta pati, (Jug. 85.33) **id est aequaliter,** Marius dicebat ; Perculsus **permotus**. Metellus certior fit Numidiam Mario datam. (Jug. 82.2)

Paris, lat. 6256, f. 1r-3v

De libro epitomatu Iustini super Trogu Pompeium
Regina Samiris neque immaturo filio ausa tradere imperium, nec ipsa palam tractare tot ac tantis gentibus uix patient uni uiro nedum[334] feminae parituris, simulat se pro uxore Nini filium, pro femina puerum; (I.2.1) Fines imperii tueri magis quam proferre[335] mos erat. Intra suam cuique patriam regna fonebantur;[336] (I.1.3) Ibi fortuna prioris proelii perculsum[337] iam Croesi exercitum nullo negotio[338] fundit. (I.7.5) Septem tantum conscii fuere huius coniurationis. Qui ex continenti[339] ne dato in penitentiam spatio res per quemcumque narraretur, occultato sub ueste ferro ad regiam[340] pergunt; (I.9.19) Custos equi Darii, ait Dario. Si ea res uictoriam moraretur, nihil negotii[341] super esse; (I.10.6) Constatuitur Zophirus dux, omnium suffragio;[342] (I.10.21) Nullum scelus apud Scytas furto grauius. Quippe sine tecti munimento

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[334] int. mar: nequaquam
[335] int. mar: extendere
[336] i.e. finebantur
[337] int. mar: impulsum metu
[338] int. mar: labora
[339] int. mar: excontineo statim
[340] int. mar: aulam
[341] int. mar: laboris
[342] int. mar : fauore id est consensu

pecora et Armenta alimenta habentibus, quid inter silluas (sic) superesset si furari licet ? aurum et argentum non per[343] inde ac reliqui[344] mortales appetunt ; (II.2.6-7) Nunc quoniam ad bella Atheniensium uentum est, quae non modo ultra spem gerendi uerum etiam ultra gesti fidem peracta sunt, operaque Atheniensiumque effectu maiora quam uoto[345] fuere paucis orbis origo repetenda est. Et quia non ut ceterae asordidis initiis ad summa creuere, soli enim praeter quam incremento etiam origine gloriantur. Quippe non aduenae neque passim collecta populi colluuies origine urbi dedit, sed eodem innati solo quod incolunt et quae illis sedes, eadem origo est ; (II.6.1-4) Huius temporibus aquarum illuies[346] maiorem partem populorum Greciae absumsit ; (II.6.10) Erant inter Athenienses et Dorenses simultatium[347] ueceres offensae; (II.6.16) Legitur itaque Solon uir iusitiae in signis, qui uelut nouam ciuitatem legibus conderet. Qui tanto temperament inter plebem senatumque egit cum si quid pro altero ordine tulisset alteri displiciturum uideretur ut ab utrisque parem gratiam traheret; (II.7.4-5) Post multas clades capital[348] esse apud Athenienses coepit, si quis legem de uindicanda insula tulisset;[349] (II.7.8) Huius uirtute cum admonita ciuitas libertatis esset, tandem Ippias regno pulsus in exilium agitur; (II.9.6) Tantaque feditas morientium fuit, ut uiae cadaueribus implerent alitesque et bestiae inlecebris[350] sollicitatae exercitu sequerentur; (II.13.12) Themisthocles ut uidit spei urbis inuideri, non existimans abrupte[351] agendum, respondit legatis ituros Lacedemonem qui de ea re pariter cum illis consulant ; (II.15.4) Aut si hoc parum tutum extat, uos commisso proelio ite cesim[352] inhibete[353] re mos, et a bello discedite ; (II.12.7) Probato consilio coniuges liberosque cum preciosissimis rebus abditis insulis redicta urbe demandant ;[354] (II.12.16) Atque utinam reliquis mortalibus similis moderatio abstinentiaque alieni foret. Profecto non tantum bellorum per omnia secula terris omnibus continuaretur, neque plus hominum ferrum et arma quam naturalis fatorum conditio raperet ; (II.2.11-13) Cuius introitus in Grecia quam terribilis tam turpis[355] ac fedus[356] discessus fuit ; (II.11.1) Quodsi civitates quae iam

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[343] int. mar : ita

[344] int. mar: ut

[345] int. mar: voluntate

[346] int. mar: inundatio

[347] int. mar: odiorum

[348] int. mar : sententia capitalis

[349] int. mar: fecisset

[350] int: mar : blandimento escarum

[351] int. mar: praecipitanter inconsiderate

[352] int. mar: feriendo non pungendo

[353] int. mar: prohibete

[354] int. mar: commendant

[355] int. mar : actu dispiciend

[113]

seruire uellent dissipentur, maiore labore ei singulas conloetandas[357] [358] (II.12.20) Ubi cum solutum pontem hibernis tempestatibus offendisset,[359] piscatoria scapha trepidus traiecit[360] (II.13.9) Sed apud Scithas duo regii iuuenes Ylynos[361] et Scolopitus per factionem optimatum domo pulsi ingentem iuuentutem secum traxere, et in Cappadociae ora iuxta amnem Thermodomta consederunt, subiectosque Thermiscyrios campos occupauere ; (II.4.1-2)

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[356] i.e. foedus

[357] In the edition of Seel, 'conloetandas' is replaced by 'consectandas': Seel, *M. Iuniani Iustini. Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi,* 34.

[358] int. mar : simul occidendas et uenit a loeco loecas

[359] int. mar: xerxes

[360] int. mar : navigavit

[361] According to Seel, the variant 'Ylynos' ('Plynos' in the edition) only occurs in the τ family of manuscripts, of which the ninth-century copies of Justinus are also part. Seel, *M. Iuniani Iustini. Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi,* 20.