

## THE CIRCULATION OF THE *SCHOLIA VALLICELLIANA* TO ISIDORE

Summary: This study brings together the evidence for the circulation of an important monument of early medieval scholarship, the *Scholia Vallicelliana* to Isidore, which Claudia Villa brilliantly attributed to Paul the Deacon in 1984. Starting from the Vallicelliana manuscript itself, we proceed to bring together the disparate published scholarship on other traces of the text, most of which are linked to southern Italy and Monte Cassino itself – a fact which supports the attribution to Paul. We then adduce a new piece of evidence: an interpolated passage in a manuscript of Vindicianus' *Gynaecia*, produced in Bavaria around 1200. This interpolation may give us evidence for the *Scholia*'s circulation north of Alps, or alternatively, might suggest that the interpolated text of Vindicianus was originally produced at Monte Cassino. In either case, however, this new find gives us some evidence that the text had an impact in Northern Europe.

Résumé: Cette étude examine la circulation d'un monument important de l'érudition médiévale, les *Scholia Vallicelliana* à Isidore, que Claudia Villa a brillamment attribuée à Paul le Diacre en 1984. En partant du manuscrit Vallicelliana lui-même, nous rassemblons des références disparates publiées sur d'autres traces du texte, dont la plupart sont liées à l'Italie du Sud et au Monte Cassino lui-même – un fait qui soutient l'attribution à Paul. Nous présentons ensuite une nouvelle preuve: un passage interpolé dans un manuscrit de la *Gynaecia* de Vindicianus, produit en Bavière vers 1200. Cette interpolation peut suggérer que les *Scholia* se sont diffusés au nord des Alpes, ou que le texte interpolé de Vindicianus a été initialement produit à Monte Cassino. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, cependant, cette nouvelle découverte montre que le texte eut un impact en Europe du Nord.

In 1913, A. E. Anspach announced the discovery of some *scholia* to the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville in a portion of a manuscript in Rome (*Biblioteca Vallicelliana* A 18), a copy of one written for Grauso, who was the bishop of Ceneda (modern Vittorio Veneto) around the year 1000<sup>1</sup>. These *Scholia* contained new *testimonia* to the work of Sex. Pompeius Festus, the Roman lexicographer whose *De verborum significatu* is only fragmentarily

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\* We would like to thank Evina Steinova for supplying us with an image of the Vallicelliana MS, Erik Kwakkel for lending us his palaeographic expertise, Vera Fravventura for generously supplying a copy of her study we cite below, Chris Wickham for answering queries about Ceneda, Philipp Nothaft for advice on matters chronological, and the anonymous reviewers of this journal who made many helpful suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> ANSPACH, Review of LINDSAY, *Sexti Pompeii Festi de Verborum Significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli Epitome*, in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 34, 48, 29th November 1913, p. 3040-3043.

preserved, largely in an epitome made by Paul the Deacon<sup>2</sup>. Three years later, W. M. Lindsay published a selection in *Classical Quarterly*, and a full edition by J. Whatmough followed, appearing in *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* in 1926<sup>3</sup>. In their use of Festus, sometimes the *Scholia* matched Paul's *Epitome*, sometimes they matched Festus himself, and sometimes they attributed material to Festus of which we have no other trace<sup>4</sup>. Besides, they contained a remarkable amount of material from other authors, much of it of a very recondite kind. This ought to have made the *Scholia* of central interest to scholars of both Classical and Medieval Latin literature, but they were rather neglected in the decades after Whatmough's edition. In 1984, however, Claudia Villa made a brilliant advance in the study of the *Scholia*, by showing that they derived from Paul the Deacon himself<sup>5</sup>.

The discovery and the attribution of the *Scholia* rank as one of the great achievements of twentieth-century philology, and scholarship is only just beginning to appreciate their impact on many different areas of study. Yet despite the increasing interest in early-medieval *scholia* and glosses in the twentieth and especially twenty-first centuries, no other copy of the *Scholia* has been found. In this study, we will draw together for the first time all of the disparate evidence that we have for the circulation of the *Scholia Vallicelliana*, from the ninth century to the twelfth and will then introduce one new piece of evidence<sup>6</sup>. Taken together, these suggest that, despite the lack of manuscripts, there is evidence for a surprisingly robust circulation of the *Scholia* in southern Italy. This tends to further confirm Villa's attribution of the collection to Paul the Deacon.

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<sup>2</sup> See, conveniently, P. K. MARSHALL, « *Sex Pompeius Festus* » in L. D. REYNOLDS (ed.), *Texts and transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, Oxford, 1983, p. 162-164.

<sup>3</sup> LINDSAY, « *New Evidence for the Text of Festus* », in *The Classical Quarterly*, 10, 1916, p. 106-115 ; WHATMOUGH, « *Scholia in Isidori Etymologias Vallicelliana* », in *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 2, 1925 [published 1926], p. 57-75 and 134-169.

<sup>4</sup> See LINDSAY, « *New Evidence* ».

<sup>5</sup> VILLA, « *Uno schedario di Paolo Diacono: Festo e Grauso di Ceneda* », in *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 27, 1984, p. 56-80. See further on the *scholia*, S. LANCIOTTI, « *Tra Festo e Paolo* », in P. CHIESA (ed.), *Paolo Diacono: Uno scrittore fra tradizione longobarda e rinnovamento carolingio. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Cividale del Friuli, 6-9 maggio 1999*, Udine, 2000, p. 237-250 (tracing possible connections with Anglo-Saxon glossaries) and P. LENDINARA, « *Gli Scholia Vallicelliana e i primi glossari anglosassoni* » in the same volume, p. 251-278 (examining the way in which Paul used Festus). On Paul and Isidore, see C. HEATH, « *Hispania et Italia: Paul the Deacon, Isidore, and the Lombards* », in A. T. FEAR and J. WOOD (ed.), *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages: Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge*, Amsterdam, 2016, p. 159-176, though he omits the *scholia*.

<sup>6</sup> Other surveys can be found in M. PETOLETTI, « *Le migrazioni dei testi classici nell'alto medioevo. Il ruolo dell'Italia settentrionale* », in *Le migrazioni nell'Alto Medioevo: Spoleto, 5-11 aprile 2018*, Spoleto, 2019, p. 551-580, at p. 572 and especially V. FRAVVENTURA, « *Varianti redazionali nella tradizione manoscritta del "De rerum naturis" di Rabano Mauro: il gruppo γ* », in L. CASTALDI et al. (ed.) *Critica del testo e critica letteraria*, Florence, 2020, p. 25-58.

We begin with the manuscript itself. There is in the literature a good deal of uncertainty about the date, nature, and provenance of *Vallicelliana* A 18, uncertainty that appears to have percolated over the decades in footnotes and parenthetical comments. Here we will delineate the issues at stake and outline the areas of uncertainty with greater clarity.

*Vallicelliana* A 18 is made up of several different MSS, of varying dates : the portion with which we are concerned here is f. 1-134, which contains the text of Isidore and, in the same hand, the extensive annotations thereon. On f. 131v of the manuscript, in the same hand as the rest of the text, is the subscription : « Vir Beatissimus Domnus Grauso Episcopus suis quae fecit temporibus ». One Grauso was bishop of Ceneda under Otto III, per a charter of July 1001 (a lease to the doge of Venice)<sup>7</sup>. The date is sometimes given as 1002, but that must be a slip since Otto was dead by July 1002<sup>8</sup>. A predecessor is attested in 997 and a successor in 1021, which gives us termini for his episcopate<sup>9</sup>. We might also note the annotation to Isidore, *Etym.* 9.5.21, which mentions the birth of identical twins in Ceneda<sup>10</sup>.

So, the manuscript has something to do with Grauso, but is it his (*i.e.* written for or even by him) or a copy of his text ? When first brought to scholarly attention, the general view was that it was a copy, made somewhat later than the lifetime of Grauso<sup>11</sup>. The reasons advanced for this were that the Abbé Liebaert judged the decoration of a central Italian type and that the hand, especially the abbreviations, support a date later than 1000. The question appears to have attracted no further attention until the work of Pirri who suggested that the manuscript was to be dated s. XI-XII and might have been written at the abbey of St. Euticius near Nursia, a monastery that contributed a good deal to the *Vallicelliana*<sup>12</sup>. The evidence for this consisted largely of the appearance of the *Etymologies* in a twelfth-century catalogue from the monastery, an admiring reference to the quality of a manuscript of Isidore's works (unspecified) in a list of donations made by a later abbot to the *Vallicelliana*, and the mild resemblance of its writing to other MSS certainly from St. Euticius. The suggestion attracted

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<sup>7</sup> This charter is printed in F. UGHELLI, *Italia sacra sive de episcopi Italiae et Insularum Adjacentium*. Tomus Quintus, second edition, Venice, 1720, coll. 179-180, but a superior text can be found in R. CESSI, *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al mille*, 2 vols., Padua, 1942, vol. 2, p. 185-187.

<sup>8</sup> e.g. V. BOTTEON, *Un documento prezioso riguardo alle origini del Vescovado di Ceneda – e la serie dei vescovi cenedesi corretta e documentata. Illustrazione critico-storica*, Conegliano, 1907, p. 148 ; VILLA, « *Uno schedario* », p. 57 and n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> BOTTEON, *Un documento*, p. 147-149.

<sup>10</sup> WHATMOUGH, « *Scholia* », p. 139.

<sup>11</sup> LINDSAY, « *New Evidence* », p. 115 ; WHATMOUGH, « *Scholia* », p. 59.

<sup>12</sup> P. PIRRI, *L'abbazia di Sant'Eutizio in Val Castoriana presso Norcia e le chiese dipendenti* (Studia Anselmiana XLV), Rome, 1960, 352-353.

both tepid support and implicit rejection<sup>13</sup>. In her first path-breaking article, Villa took no firm view on the question of provenance (though she noted Pirri's opinion<sup>14</sup>), but did assign the MS a date in s. XII<sup>15</sup>. A few years later, she was more definitive about St. Euticius as the provenance, but moved the MS to s. XI<sup>16</sup>. In all of this, what can be said with any degree of certainty is that the manuscript is written in an Italian Caroline minuscule of the first half of the twelfth century, perhaps 1100-1125<sup>17</sup>. Given that, it must be a copy of Grauso's manuscript. That it was in a monastery at some stage is guaranteed by a partially erased ownership inscription on f. 134v reading « Iste liber est monasterii... », but (absent further evidence) there is no compelling reason to think that that monastery was St. Euticius.

So far then, the manuscript gives us two pieces of information about the *Scholia*'s circulation : that by ca. 1000 it was available in the backwaters of northern Italy and that a century later it was copied, possibly in central Italy. To go beyond this, we need to look at how material from the *Scholia* was re-used in other works. In 2012, Veronika von Büren showed that material found in the *Scholia* was also present in a Cava manuscript of the *Etymologies* of mid-eighth-century date, closely associated with Monte Cassino, perhaps even produced under Paul's instruction<sup>18</sup>. We have further evidence that the *Scholia* continued to be available in southern Italy, since at least one entry from the *Scholia*, that on Apulia, also appears in *Vaticanus lat.* 1469, a south-Italian glossary collection of the eleventh century (167r)<sup>19</sup>.

Apulia. A perditione nomen accepit. Apolia enim Grece perditio dicitur, quia ibi sol calore nimio virentia quaeque perdit. Gignit animal lepori simile quod per cata antifrasin prosperum dicitur. Quodcumque animal tetigerit preter hominem ilico moritur. Hoc et subitellus dicitur vel quod subito perimit vel quia celer est. Fertur etiam tres pedes habere, nam quartus brevis est, et usque ad terram non pertingit.

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<sup>13</sup> In favour: P. S. MARTINI, « *La produzione libraria negli scriptoria delle abbazie di Farfa e di S. Eutizio* », in *Atti del 9° congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo. Spoleto, 27 settembre-2 ottobre 1982*, Spoleto, 1983, p. 581-607, at p. 589 and n. 22. Against: L. AVITABILE, « *[Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana] A 18* », in A. PETRUCCI (ed.), « *Censimento dei codici dei secoli X-XII* », in *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series 11, 1970, p. 1018.

<sup>14</sup> VILLA, « *Uno schedario* », p. 80, n. 76.

<sup>15</sup> VILLA, « *Uno schedario* », p. 57.

<sup>16</sup> VILLA, « *I programmi scolastici* », in *Dall'eremo al cenobio. La civiltà monastica in Italia dalle origini all'età di Dante*, Milan, 1987, p. 292-320, at p. 294.

<sup>17</sup> WHATMOUGH, « *Scholia* », offers a plate between p. 134-135. We are grateful to Eric Kwakkel for lending us his expertise on this point – he pointed out a resemblance to *London, British Library, Harley 4719*. In general on twelfth-century scripts, and the criteria by which they may be dated, see E. KWAKKEL, « *Biting, Kissing and the Treatment of Feet: The Transitional Script of the Long Twelfth Century* », in KWAKKEL, R. MCKITTERICK, and R. THOMSON (ed.), *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Manuscript*, Leiden, 2012, p. 79-125.

<sup>18</sup> V. VON BÜREN, « *Les Étymologies de Paul Diacre? Le Manuscrit Cava de Tirreni, 2 (XXIII) et le Liber Glossarum* », in *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 53, 2012, p. 1-36.

<sup>19</sup> A connection spotted by J. W. PIRIE, « *New Evidence for the Text of Placidus* », in *Archivum Latiniatis Medii Aevi*, 2, 1925 [published 1926], p. 185-190, at p. 190. The transcription is ours, correcting from the MS a couple of very trivial slips in Pirie.

Compare *Schol. Vallicelliana ad Etym.* 15.4.18 (f. 167ra)<sup>20</sup> :

Apulia. A perditione nomen accepit. ἀπολία enim Graece perditio dicitur; eo quod ibi sol calore nimio perdit uirentia quaeque. Sed et sol Ap[p]ollo ab hac perditione uocatus est. Apulia gignit animal lepori simile quod prospere cata antifrasin dicitur; quodcumque enim animal tetigerit preter hominem ilico moritur. Hoc et subitellus dicitur, uel quia subito perimit, uel quia celer est. Nam nimium currit; fertur etiam tres pedes habere cum quibus currit. Nam quartus brevis est, et usque ad terram non pertingens.

Another extract is found in the vademecum of Lawrence of Amalfi, who died in the middle of the eleventh century (*Bibliotheca Marciana MS Z. 497*), once again integrated with Isidore<sup>21</sup>. We can thus conclude that the *Scholia* were in some (limited) circulation in northern and central Italy from the tenth to the twelfth century, and in southern Italy from the middle of the ninth century to the eleventh<sup>22</sup>.

There is possible further evidence for circulation at Monte Cassino. If one opens Hrabanus Maurus' *De universo* in the *Patrologia Latina* and turns to the chapter *De diis gentium*, one finds the following passage<sup>23</sup> :

Herculem credebant deum virtutis: dicitur autem Hercoles Graece, quasi heris cleos, id est, litis gloriosus, ab heris, id est, lis, et cleos, gloria: vel quasi herocleos, quod Latine virorum fortium famam dicimus. Fuit autem (ut scribit Sextus Pompeius) agricola: ideoque Anchei regis stabulum stercoribus purgasse refertur, quia proprie agriculturalum est stercorare agros.

Erwin Panofsky, who first drew attention to this passage, noted that it was not found in any manuscripts of Hrabanus, nor was it paralleled in Isidore, which was his source<sup>24</sup>. However, in an eleventh-century illustrated manuscript of Hrabanus from Monte Cassino (*Monte Cassino MS 131*), as well as in a number of later related manuscripts, one could find the following passage<sup>25</sup> :

Erculem credebant deum virtutis. Dicitur Ercules grece Eracles quasi eron cleos, quod Latine virorum fortium famam dicimus. Fuit autem, ut scribit Festus Pompeius,

<sup>20</sup> WHATMOUGH, « *Scholia* », p. 154

<sup>21</sup> See FRAVVENTURA, « *Varianti* », p. 37.

<sup>22</sup> The scholia may well have been available longer in Northern Italy : C. CODOÑER MERINO has suggested that there may be a few incorporated glosses from the *Scholia* in a fourteenth-century North Italian manuscript of Isidore, now *London, British Library, Egerton 2835* ; see « *Transmisión y recepción de las 'Etimologías'* », in J. MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, Ó. DE LA CRUZ PALMA, and C. FERRERO HERNÁNDEZ (ed.), *Estudios de Latín Medieval Hispánico: Actas del V Congreso Hispánico de Latín Medieval, Barcelona, 7-10 de septiembre de 2009*, Florence, 2012, p. 5-26, at p. 11.

<sup>23</sup> *PATROLOGIA LATINA* vol. 111, col. 430c.

<sup>24</sup> E. PANOFSKY, « *Hercules Agricola: A Further Complication in the Problem of the Illustrated Hrabanus Manuscripts* », in D. FRASER and H. HIBBARD (ed.), *Essays Presented to Rudolf Wittkower on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, 2 vols. London, 1967, vol. 2, p. 20-28.

<sup>25</sup> Text from PANOFSKY, « *Hercules Agricola* », p. 24, correcting the typographic error « fanan ».

agricola ideoque Augei regis stabulum stercorebus purgasse refertur, quia proprie agricolarum est stercore agros.

This is identical to the scholion on *Etym.* 8.11.50<sup>26</sup> :

Herculem credebant deum virtutis; dicitur autem Hercules Graece Heracles quasi eron cleos, quod Latine virorum fortium famam dicimus. Fuit autem, ut scribit Festus Pompeius, agricola ideoque Augei gregis stabulum stercorebus purgavisse refertur, quia proprie agricolarum est stercore agros.

Panofsky has already pointed this connection out, but he wanted the material in the *Scholia* to go back to Hrabanus himself. Working before Villa, Panofsky believed that the *Scholia* were actually written by Grauso, an undistinguished figure not active in a major intellectual centre. Given, however, the other evidence we have for south Italian circulation of this text, it is likely that this passage was interpolated into the text of Hrabanus at Monte Cassino from the *Scholia*, a fact further confirmed by the explicit citation of Festus<sup>27</sup>.

So far, Hrabanus aside, all of our evidence is Italian, limited to just a couple of areas. New evidence, however, complicates this picture. *Codex latinus monacensis* 4622 is a composite manuscript put together at Benediktbeuern in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. One codicological unit (f. 35r-80v), containing medical texts, was written in Bavaria around 1200. On f. 40r-45r, it contains a version of Vindicianus' *Gynaecia* first printed by Josef Schipper in 1921<sup>28</sup>. This version is marked by numerous interpolations from Isidore<sup>29</sup>. On f. 43v, in the chapter *de semine*, one comes across the following text :

Sic de Theodosias [*sic*] imperatore factum est qui de Traiani imperatoris stirpe fuit et post plurimos annos eidem imperatoris simillimus fuit.

This is obviously slightly confused, but cannot but be a reflection of the scholion on *Etym.* 11.1.102 (f. 68r)<sup>30</sup> :

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<sup>26</sup> WHATMOUGH, « *Scholia* », p. 135.

<sup>27</sup> PANOFSKY, « *Hercules Agricola* », p. 26, n. 31. VILLA, « *Uno schedario* », p. 58-62, answered Panofsky's claim by asserting that Hrabanus could have used an Isidore manuscript with scholia from Paul, and attempts to further support this with two passages from Walahfrid Strabo, Hrabanus' disciple, which appear distantly related to the *Scholia*, a position recently vigorously supported by FRAVVENTURA, « *Varianti* ». Given, however, the narrow slice of the manuscript tradition in which the cognate material emerges, and its early association with Monte Cassino, where we have every reason to believe the *Scholia* were in circulation, it seems more likely to have entered Hrabanus' text there.

<sup>28</sup> J. SCHIPPER, *Ein neuer Text der Gynaecia des Vindician aus einer Münchener Handschrift des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Cod. lat. 4622, Blatt 40 - 45), Erlangen, 1921. On Vindicianus, see now K. D. FISCHER, « *Vindicianus* » in J. BERGER, J. FONTAINE, and P. SCHMIDT (ed.), *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike*, Bd. 6: *Die Literatur im Zeitalter des Theodosius (374-430 n.Chr.)*, 1. Teil: *Fachprosa, Dichtung, Kunstprosa*, Munich, 2020, § 607.1

<sup>29</sup> See L. CILLIERS, « *Vindicianus's Gynaecia: Text and Translation of the Codex Monacensis (Clm 4622)* », in *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 15, 2005, p. 153-236, at p. 158-159.

<sup>30</sup> WHATMOUGH, « *Scholia* », p. 140.

Constat aliquotiens longo interuallo latentem in seminibus uim quandoque erumpere, sicut de Theodosio imperatore factum est, qui de Traiani imperatoris stirpe post plurimos annos progenitus eidem simillimus fuit.

In the manuscript of Vindicianus, this comes directly following a passage from Isidore (11.1.145)<sup>31</sup>. This can mean one of two things : either the *Scholia Vallicelliana* did indeed circulate north of the Alps in the twelfth century<sup>32</sup>, or the Munich version of Vindicianus itself has a (south-) Italian origin. Vindicianus' treatise was known at Monte Cassino, and the version in the Munich manuscript is indeed related to that in *Monte Cassino MS 97*<sup>33</sup>.

Whichever solution one adopts, it is clear that the *Scholia Vallicelliana* had a much greater impact on medieval scholarship, particularly, but not exclusively, in Italy, than the fact of its survival in single manuscript would suggest. That makes the question of whether in the untold myriads of Isidore manuscripts another integral (or indeed fuller) copy of Paul's elucidations still survives all the more urgent. Students of Isidore, and of early-mediaeval *scholia* in general, should be on their guard.

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<sup>31</sup> CILLIERS, « *Vindicianus's Gynaecia* », p. 159 credits K. D. Fischer for pointing out that *Clm* 4622 is interpolated from the so-called *Epitome de Caesaribus* attributed to Aurelius Victor (48.1 and 48.8). This is almost certainly correct, ultimately, since this scholion in the *Schol. Vall.* probably does derive from the *Epitome*, a text closely associated with Paul (see J. A. STOVER and G. WOULDHUYSEN, « *Jordanes and the date of the Epitome de Caesaribus* », *Histos* 15, 2021, p. 150-188).

<sup>32</sup> This would be the conclusion if the arguments of FRAVVENTURA, « *Varianti* », that Hrabanus Maurus himself had access to Paul's exegetical materials on Isidore and indeed had some role in the formation of the *Scholia* as we have them in the *Vallicelliana* manuscript, were accepted.

<sup>33</sup> CILLIERS, « *Vindicianus's Gynaecia* », p. 155-6 ; see in general E. KWAKKEL and F. NEWTON, *Medicine at Monte Cassino: Constantine the African and the oldest manuscript of his Pantegni*, Turnhout, 2019.