Let the life-giving partner with its heavenly radiance
Forsake the muddy dwelling and darkness of the flesh.
Earthly flesh to earth, the fiery mind to fire,
Let each part return to its own kind.
My mind, safe in the knowledge of its merits, does not fear
To leave the dark confines of the hateful body.
After its departure from the flesh it will be transported to the heavens above
To be reinstated in the number of its own constellation.
It is joyous and blessed to die. Why does Rome deny it,
Or why begrudge me the Elysian fields?
After sloughing off the burden of the flesh, I will return
To the stars to which I belong, enjoying then a life of greater liberty.
I will look out for the affairs of Latium and I will be concerned for the city,
And I will make it the object of my special care."
- His arguments and perplexing words disturb the Romans -
  They want to prove by some artifice that they had not given what they had.
- "It does not behove nor has it behoved the upright and
  Holy senate to talk with argumentative cleverness.
An enthymeme pours forth, then an inductio; a Varus
  Tosses words to and fro through convoluted intricacies -
I do not know what great thing he is secretly trying to prove -
  And he gradually ties me up in logical reasoning.
But clever sophists do not have such words
As to shift me from my purpose.
Pollio perorates, and gilds the face of his words,
  Bringing up the big guns of his eloquent breast.
He persuades, he adorns, he acts and puts on the orator,
  Artfully he modulates his rhythms and varies his turns of speech.
But there is not such beauty or charm in any embroidered words
  As to overturn my vows and prevent me from dying.
Camillus, as rough in tongue as in attire
  Was pleasing to the gods with his country ways.
Non pictis nugas rigidi placuere Catones;
Sermo patens illis et sine veste fuit.
Agresti Latio monstravit Græcia blandum,
830
Græcia perplexum, Græcia grande loqui.
O gravis illa dies qua simplex et rude verum
Sorduit, et ficti plus placuere soni!
Æquor inaccessas utinam fecisset Athenas!
Non foret eloquii Roma nitore nocens.
Cuive quibusve dabit si nostras ipsius ibit
Tam leve despectum Romula turba preces,
Qui suus, illorum dominus, Latique jacentis
Captivas aquilas victor ab hoste tuli,
840
Æternique probri maculas et crimina torsi,
Rursus et induitur Roma decere suo?
Si nihil Ausonios exorans purpura tangit
Personæque meæ gratia surda perit,
At mecum faciunt legum decreta meisque
Consensum votis littera præbet onus.
Ex olim meus est orator Justinianus;
Viventis causam mortua lingua facit.
Non auctore levi neque verbo paupere nitor;
Arbiter in toto maximus orbe fuit:
« Dux populi, victor, munus quæris habeto. »
850
Dux ego, victor ego, munera quæro, date.
Si, quia muneribus vestri fungatur honoris,
Rex ideo vester desinit esse suus,
Pono citus trabeam, vestrum citus exuo regem,
Liber et explicitus ad mea vota meus. »

832 picti; 835 Quisve; 840 decore [colore]; 844 anus; 847 actore gravi; 849 querit; 851 Sed.
The stern old Catos were not amused by painted trifles -
   Speech for them was frank and unadorned.
To rustic Latium Greece taught the smooth,
   Greece taught the devious, Greece taught the highflown way of talking.
O how sad the day when the plain and simple truth
   Was despised, and artful talk became more pleasing.
Would that the sea had made Athens inaccessible,
   Then Rome would not have been guilty of glittering eloquence.
To what and to whom will the Roman crowd give,
   If it treats my prayers with such slighting contempt?
I, who, their lord, and the conqueror who took back
   From the enemy the captured standards of defeated Rome,
And wiped away the stain and shame of eternal dishonour,
   So that Rome is again clothed in her glory.
If the kingship entreatings touches the Ausonians not at all
   And favour fails me, deaf to the part I played,
Yet the decrees of the laws are on my side
   And the letter of the law offers the weight of consensus to my prayers.
There is a spokesman from the past for me - Justinian:
   A dead tongue pleads the cause of the living.
I rest my case on no lightweight authority or trivial remark -
   He was the greatest judge in the whole world.
"Leader of the people, conqueror, take what gift you seek."
   I am the leader, I the conqueror, I ask gifts, give them.
If, because he is occupied with the public offices your favour bestowed on him,
   Your king for that reason ceases to be his own man,
Forthwith I lay down the king's robe, forthwith I divest your king,
   Free, my own man and unimpeded from my desires."
Additional lines in Berlin theol. lat. oct. 94.
Dixerat; hinc serpit murmur, tonat inde tumultus,
    Scinditur in varias turbida Roma vices.
Ipse caput, dextram, corpus, diademate, sceptro
    Purpureis privat rex, sine rege manens.
At pater in medio linguam sibi poscit, inaurat
    Castigata fides, vita probata loqui.

860
    Pater
Patres, qui bella frænatis in oüa, quorum
    Cervicosa pedi colla subacta jacent;
Quorum discreta ratio, mens provida, quorum
    Dens sale conditur, et sine dente sales,
Advigilare viri votis; non danda requirit,
    Quæ repetenda petit, impetret absque tamen.
    Patricida.
Me nisi pro merito donent, nisi vota secundent,
    Si concessa mihi, si data turpe negent,
Fortes e merita plangent virtute, dabuntque
    Qui bello dederant pectora terga fugæ.

870
    Pater.
Te nisi pro merito servent, nisi vota restringant,
    Ni non danda tibi, jure neganda, negent,
Desperata ruet virtus, tædebit ephebos
    Quod veniant meritis præmia surda suis.
    Judices.
Vel damni votum, vel damna suæ probitatis
    Quis sapienter amat? Quis patienter habet?
Munera pro meritis pensentur, nec probitatem
    Improbet, aut reprobos approbet ipse dator.
Sed peccata cruce, sed fortes laude, sed isti,

880
    Sed dentur meritis consona quæque suis.
Additional lines:
He had spoken: then a murmur arises which grows to a roar,
Rome in disorder is torn into conflicting factions.
The king takes the diadem from his own forehead, the sceptres
He lays down and the kingly robe, divesting himself of the kingship.
But from amongst the crowd the father demands the floor: his proven loyalty
And upright life shine in his speech.
Father
Fathers, who turn wars into peace, to whose foot
Stubborn necks lie submissive,
Whose intelligence is discerning and mind far-seeing, whose bite
Is seasoned with wit and whose witticisms are without rancour,
Guard against the desires of this man: he asks things that should not be given,
What he asks should be asked again - but let it be decided without.
Patricida
Unless they grant my prayers on account of my merit, unless they favour my prayers,
If they basely deny what has been granted and given to me,
Brave men will complain about valour not getting its rewards,
And they who gave their breasts to war will give their backs to flight.
Father
Unless they serve you according to your merit, unless they restrain your wishes,
If they do not deny things that should not have been given, things forbidden by law,
Virtue will fall to the ground helpless, young men will be disgusted
Because gratitude grows deaf to their merits.
Judges
Who wisely loves or patiently accepts
A vow of death or the loss of his righteousness?
Let rewards be allocated on account of merits, and do not let the giver himself
Reject goodness or approve of false people.
But let sins to the cross be given, brave deeds to praise,
Let there be given to each of these whatever is suited to his own merits.
Commentary to Text and Translation

At line

1 Dick 1967 p. 237 notes Lucan's concept of the felices as earmarked for disaster because they are under the vacillating tutelage of a capricious power, Fortuna. Cf. Mathematicus 1.55. Matthew of Vendôme in his Ars Versificatoria gave proverbs as one way of beginning a work and listed several including three on the subject of the essential incompleteness of human felicity (Faral 1924 p. 114 transl. Galyon 1980 pp. 29-32). John of Garland in the Parisiana Poetria details the art of making up proverbs (ed. and transl. Lawler 1974 pp. 10-19) and how to use them in starting a work (ibid. pp. 52-67). The extant arts of poetry are a generation or two later than the Mathematicus - precept follows practice. D'Alverny 1965 p. 34, while agreeing that there are obvious relations between Alan of Lille's De Planctu and Matthew of Vendôme's Ars Versificatoria, also queries the idea of the priority of the latter, both texts having been written about a generation after Bernard Silvester's poems.

3-4 Gervaise of Melkley quotes these lines as an example of the rhetorical colour aggregatio in which things are piled up with no conjunction between (Ars Versificatoria ed. Graebener 1965 p. 37 ll.19).

5 Faral 1920 p. 256, in presenting Serlo of Wilton's exemplary poem containing 16 lines in this mode, says this figure of speech where corresponding grammatical terms are grouped together was "all the rage" in the twelfth century. For an even more prolonged example see the Latin version of the Chanson de Roland ed. G. Paris 1882.

7 Cf. De nato Ethiope 1.7 «Nupta sibi non stirpe minor, prestancior ore» (Vernet 1946 p. 258).

22 The necessity for husband and wife to be well-matched was a matter of concern to twelfth century poets. The Draco Normannicus for example (ed. Howlett 1885), written by Stephen of Rouen perhaps a decade or two after the Mathematicus, carefully balances the fame and character of the Count of Anjou and the widowed empress he married (Bk I Ch VI ll. 221-226) ending: «Moribus et vitae sanguis concordat et aetas;In paribus pariter par honor atque genus». Gervaise of Melkley (ed. Graebener 1965 p. 64 ll.18-23) quotes Mathematicus 21-22 as an equality («aequalitas») of the 3rd kind, i.e. because of «uniformis variatio», and censures this particular example because the proba-probo differs from the other pairs (which use different words) thereby
lacking «uniformitas dissimilitudinis». Note the significant difference in the Migne edition (PL 171.1365C) which could not have provided Gervaise with the grounds for his stricture.

The commentary on Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis* attributed to Bernard Silvester discusses three sorts of *mathematicus*, the *haruspex* and the *augur* as well as the *genechliaticus* who forecasts by the stars (f 12 rb 46 - f 12 va 18 ed. Westra, 1979). In antiquity «*mathematicus*» seems restricted to astrologers (there are several poems denigrating the practice, such as Horace *Odes* I, XI) but the actual use of the word «*mathematicus*» appears to be post-Augustan, as in Tacitus H. 1. 22 «*Mathematici, genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur*»; or the example from Juvenal given in the Martianus Capella commentary mentioned above at f 12 rb 50-51: «*Nemo mathematicus genium indampnatus habebit*» (*Satires*, 6.562). This line quoted out of context, at it is in the *De Nuptiis* commentary, cannot carry the sense it does in Juvenal, and since the commentator proceeds to elaborate its non-contextual meaning one wonders whether he had it from a *florilegium*. Boeft 1970, p. 11 notes Calcidius' "positive appreciation" of the practice of casting horoscopes. See Seznec 1953 pp. 40-56 on the continuity of varying degrees of acceptance of astrology from Zeno through the middle ages.

The *De Nuptiis* commentary attributed to Bernard Silvester has a long discussion of the three Fates (the *Parcae*) and their allotted tasks (f 8 ra 48 - f 8 rb 33 ed. Westra 1979) and later discusses the power of faith to alter the destinies the *Parcae* are spinning (f 8 vb 16-21). The preface to the *Experimentarius* discusses in an ostensibly more Christian fashion the power of prayer to divert the course of fate (ed. Burnett, 1977 p. 123). Von den Steinen (1966, p. 376) notes that for a thousand years Christianity had avoided even the words *fatum* and *fortuna*, having rejected the concepts, but that they were coming back into vogue in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in spite of the resistance to them of powerful theologians and churchmen. Calcidius had given a detailed description of the three *Parcae* including a most improbable association with a tripartite World Soul (ed. Waszink 1962 pp. 182-183 § CXLIV, and transl. and commented Boeft 1970 pp. 9-13) - it is interesting that Atropos and Clotho are dealt with summarily by Calcidius compared with Lachesis, the only one with substantial mention in the *Mathematicus*.
The technique of casting a horoscope in the twelfth century, which differs very little from twentieth century techniques, is detailed in the Liber Hermetis Mercurii Triplicis de VI rerum principiis (ed. Silverstein 1955 pp. 297-302), one of many similar works of the time.

«Punctum» can mean a small interval of time, sometimes precisely measured, sometimes more general. Laistner 1941 quotes Bede as giving the punctum as 1/12 of a degree of a 360° circle, and itself divisible into 40 momenta each of these representing 60 ostenta. Other terms used both in precise and general ways were «minutum» and «atom». A sample of the kind of treatise dealing with the divisions of time is found in Rabanus Maurus De Computo (ed. Stephens 1979 pp. 215-227). Boutry (1938 p. 734) quotes four lines found in a manuscript amongst poems by Hildebert, Marbod, Serlo of Bayeux and Geoffrey of Winchester: «Viginti ter tresque dies, horasque quater ter,|Puncta duo, momenta novem septemque minuta|Si denis athomis coniungas atque novenis,|Fit spatium quo se complet lunatio quaerque» which may - if it is not satirical - represent some current system of dividing time.

«Puncta gradusque» may be a technical term used in astrology relating either to times or to distances on the chart, but in the absence of precise information I have translated the words literally and left the meaning open. The word «punctum» does not appear in the directions for casting horoscopes given in the Liber Hermetis Mercurii Triplicis de VI rerum principiis (ed. Silverstein 1955 pp. 297-302), though «gradus» occurs again and again, as well as in other texts of the time, with the meaning of "degree". These terms do not indicate any specific knowledge of the science or art of astrology on the part of the Mathematicus poet, nor is there evidence elsewhere in the writings attributed to Bernard Silvester that he had such knowledge. Any oracle or prophecy would have sufficed, but the astrologer remains true to the original Declamatio, provides the poetic stimulus for the starry philosophical connexions later in the poem and has a relationship as one of Virgil's titles with the hidden meaning of the poem. See Vol. II Ch. III. See also note on hora at l. 228. There was nothing unusual about using astrology for forecasting future happenings - the birth of the hero in Dolopathos is also foretold by the Court astrologers (transl. Gilleland 1981 intro. p. viii).

Ancient heroes were commonly used as types. The Zurich manuscript edited by Werner (1905) has, for example, a 2-line epigram: «Forma refert Paridem, manus Hectora, sensus Ulixem; His tribus ille tribus non tult esse minor» (poem no. 164, p. 78). Here Hector is used rather than Achilles, but Ulysses
is again the type for cleverness as in Mathematicus l. 53. Note also the juxtaposition of Paris and Achilles at Aeneid VI 57-58.

57-58 Gervaise of Melkley quotes this couplet as given in Migne ending with «suum» rather than Hauréau's «suo». The «suum» is an important part of his argument, for he presents the couplet as an example of interpositio, saying Bernardus chose the three words «patrem», «occidet» and «suum» with one parenthesis between «patrem» and «occidet» and another between «occidet» and «suum» (Ars versificatoria ed. Graebener 1965 p. 80 l. 24).


60 This is in contradistinction to the usual utterances of oracles which commonly have hidden meanings. Boeft (1970 pp. 67-72) translates and comments on Calcidius' remarks about the ambiguity of oracles and freewill; he also discusses the different technical and ordinary meanings of the terms ambiguus and dubius and the uses Calcidius made of the words. See the subsequent use of these words in the Mathematicus at l. 212 and particularly l. 224: «Ambagem dubia sentio vocis, ait».

61 The distinction between «sidera» and «stellae» is carefully spelt out by Macrobius in his Commentary on Cicero's Somnium Scipionis (transl. Stahl 1952 p. 147) as well as the Greek «aster» and «astron». In general «sidera» relates to the stars in the constellations and «stellae» to the planets (also called «planetae» e.g. at Mathematicus l. 45). Stahl also notes (p. 147 fn 41) a twelfth century version given by Honorius of Autun in his De imagine mundi I. XXXIX (Migne P L 172.142). The Mathematicus (l. 639) also uses the word «aster» borrowed from the Greek for a single star and the Latin version of astron, astrum, for a constellation (l. 44). I have, when it seemed recherché to make specific references to planets and constellations, accepted English usage that allows the word "star", particularly in the plural, to stand for either or both. An analysis of all the star words in the poem would reveal with what precision or laxity the poet was using the terms from time to time.


76 The idea of the bipartite soul expounded in Plato's Timaeus (in Calcidius' transl. 41A-D (ed. Waszink 35.7-36.13)) is also taken up in the De Nuptiis commentary (ed. Westra, 1979) at f 13 rb 51-53 «Anima enim nostra, cum sit tantum potentialis, duas partes id est duas potencias habet, mentem scilicet et sensualitatem». 
There is little information on infanticide in the middle ages, as might be
expected since it was a crime punishable by death under Roman law from 318
A.D. (Coleman 1974 p. 327). The practice of abandoning unwanted
offspring at the doors of churches seems to have replaced the ancient practice
of exposure (ibid.). It was not only the Church that fought against infanticide
- the philosopher Musonius from the later (Roman) period of Stoicism already
had advanced views on infant exposure (Brady 1958 p. 4). Infant exposure
is conspicuously lacking amongst the motifs of the thirteenth century Gesta
Romanorum by comparison with the declamations which form the jumping-
off point for some of the Gesta stories. The most notable example in the
Gesta is the tale of Gregory (who later became Pope), child of a brother-sister
union, who was cast adrift wrapped in precious cloths and supplied with
enough gold to enable the finder to bring him up in a princely style - the aim
of the exercise would hardly appear to be to procure the child's death.
Dronke (1974 p. 130 fn 2) quotes the essay by Arturo Graf 'La credenza
nella fatalità' in his Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo (2nd ed.
Torino 1925) pp 205-32 (still according to Dronke the finest general study of
Gregorius, Judas type legends) as saying that the mother's saving of the
child, whether inadvertently or deliberately out of pity, is an extremely
common feature in the medieval legends of the "fated" child.

Cf. Simon Aurea Capra's expanded version of his Trojan War poem l. 22
(Boutemy 1946-47 p. 269) «Et parat in pignus impius esse pius» in a similar
context where Priam orders the death of the baby Paris because of a dream.

The almost indecent haste of this couplet logically betokens either an
acceptance of inability to thwart the course of fate or hope in the possibility of
acceding to the part of the forecast that answers the couple's wish and
foresalling the foretold consequences. That the poet refrains from
elaborating such questions may indicate that he intends it as a paradigm for
normal human behaviour, frequently irrational in such circumstances. The
generative act is listed amongst the Stoic Confatalia, (Long 1971 p. 183 and
p. 196 fn 33) which include all free human acts, and it is specifically stated
that it is not determined outside of a man's own volition that he will become a
father. Boeft (1970 pp. 34-35) translates and comments on Calcidius'
discussion of the case of Laios, who did not refrain from begetting Oedipus
though warned by Apollo, and also details the use of this example by the
Stoics and subsequently by Alexander of Aphrodisias. The immediate if not
immaculate conception of Patricida might on the other hand belong in a
tradition where heroes are conceived by a visitation from a god at some precise point in time - or might parody such a tradition. Cf. De Nato Ethiope 1.23 «Implet eam, Gravidata tumet ...» (Vernet 1946 p. 259).

The imago Dei so prevalent at the time in theological exegesis (see e.g. its trinitarian elaboration in the De Nuptiis commentary (ed. Westra 1979) f 13 va ll. 36-43) has been transformed into a more abstract imago deitatis, giving the proper secular distancing while enhancing the aesthetic appeal. See Javelet 1967 for the theology of the imago Dei in the twelfth century.

Cf. Simon Aurea Capra's expanded version of his Trojan War poem which starts with Priam trying to kill Paris as a child because of a dream, but the child smiled and softened the slaves' hearts and they hid him «sub foliis» where a shepherd found him and brought him up (Boutemy 1946-7 p. 269).

Bynum (1982 pp. 110-169) gives many twelfth century examples of the mother image as nurturing, including (p. 117) the shift with Bernard of Clairvaux from the erotic imagery of the breasts in the Song of Songs to emphasis on their nourishing function.

Von den Steinen (1966 p. 377) describes the name as "apotropaic", an idea which Dronke (1974 p. 130) repeats. Yet this does not resolve the strangeness of the idea.

According to Plato, the soul becomes irrational on entering the body (amens in the Latin translation of Calcidius (ed. Waszink 1962 p. 40 l.6)) but settles down with time and can, with the aid of learning and moderation, arrive at a serene untroubled state (ll. 6-14). See also the commentary of Calcidius on this (pp. 224-227). Colish (1985) in discussing the Stoic doctrine of the spermatikoi logos says: "These logos contain within themselves the germs of everything they are to become. They account for normal, unexceptional growth and development, as in the case of the human embryo which contains its soul as a seminal reason, to blossom forth as reason itself once the child is born." (Vol. I p. 32.) Wetherbee (1972 p. 154) takes the sense or inference from this line as "the lineaments of mature perfection appear."

This is the well-known literary topos of the old mind in the young body detailed by Curtius 1953 pp. 98-101. It occurs again at l. 557.

This combination of sowing (sementis) and materia recurs at l. 336 in the context of woman having within her the sowing and materia of evil. Imaginative metaphors using sowing and seeds are common from antiquity, not only from the well-known Stoic usage in the logos spermatokoi but as used for example by Plato in the Timaeus (42 D or pp. 37-38 of Waszink's
edition of Calcidius' translation) in the beautiful description of God sowing the souls he has created in the moon, sun, earth and other heavenly bodies. The *De Nuptiis* commentary (ed. Westra, 1979) defines the philosophical concept of seed at length, citing Gregory and Plato (f 2 v b 2-22), and again more briefly as *naturales potencias* at f 21 vb 36, in both cases relating the *semina* to the *elementa*. This relationship is elaborated by Hermann of Carinthia in his *De Essentiiis* (ed. Burnett, 1982 pp. 10-14) where the *semina* are seen as basic units in generation; and Marius in his treatise on the elements discusses their importance in continuous creation (Dales 1972 p. 204). Spanneut 1973 p. 184 relates the Stoic *logoi spermatikoi* to the *causa seminales* of Thierry of Chartres' *De sex dierum operibus* - the seeds and sowing metaphors that feel somewhat strange to a twentieth century mind seem to have been commonplace of the twelfth century. The vernacular tradition was also busy with seeds and sowing. Chrétien de Troyes thinks of himself as sowing a poem: "*Crestiens semme et fait semence!*D'un romans que il encomence ..." (Perceval ll. 7-8, quoted from Bloch 1983 p. 199).

119 The reason for an indicative *fuit* amongst a string of subjunctives is unclear - this poet does not seem to resort to such things just to fit the metre - unless it is an abbreviation for *fuerit*.

119-120 This refers to the hierarchical ordering of the four elements, earth, air, fire and water, and the order in which they were held to "displace" each other, a paradigm widely related since antiquity and also found in Taoist philosophy. Cf. *Aeneid* VI 121-122 on the alternating deaths of Castor and Pollux.

125 It would seem more reasonable to speak of seven planets, as was usual at the time - those also known as the "wandering stars" (the *vagos planetas* of I. 45): Mars, Venus, Earth, Neptune and Jupiter as well as the sun and moon. Yet the *septena* grammatically goes with *astra*. Another reading would give the *planetae* in apposition with *astra* (assuming loose usage of the latter word) and the distances involved as those between the planets.

128 This line which may seem as "gratuitous" as Wetherbee finds the introduction of Castor and Pollux into the *De Nuptiis* commentary (see the introduction to his translation of the *Cosmographia* 1973 p. 24) may be a sly dig at the wearisome accumulation of information being purveyed as education amongst certain schools of the time, but it may also serve to place Patricida in the line of heroes modelled on Hercules, who had himself relieved Atlas of his starry burden. This feat of Hercules has been popular with poets since antiquity, and reverberates down to A.E. Housman's *Epitaph on an army of
mercenaries: "Their shoulders held the sky suspended". (See for example Ovid Fasti I 565-8; Seneca Hercules Oetaeus 1905-8; Galinsky 1972 p. 193 finds the story again in Raoul Le Fèvre's fifteenth-century Recueil des hystoires de Troyes). It may also be of interest that this is the twelfth line of Patricida's learning and the twelfth labour of Hercules. Patricida so far outshines the model that he has already reached this twelfth labour in his youth! See line 143 and note thereto for Patricida's excelling Hercules. It will be noted that the reason Hercules was holding up the sky for Atlas was so that Atlas could get the golden apples of the Hesperides for Hercules (one of the imposed labours). The tradition that relates the golden apples to learning is given in the Aeneid commentary (ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p. 58 II. 14-18) commenting on Virgil's Aeneid VI 136-137. Fulgentius in the introduction to his Expositio Virgilianae Continentiae says «Esto ergo contentus, mi domine, leviort fasciculo quem tibi Hesperidum florulentis decerpsimus hortulis; aurea enim mala si expetis, esto Euristeus alio fortiori qui at Alcides suam pro nihilо reputet vitam» (ed. Helm 1898 p. 84). Whitbread 1971 p. 120 translates "Be satisfied then, my Master, with the very slight posy which I have gathered for you from the flowery gardens of the Hesperides; if you are looking for golden apples, be a Eurystheus to some stronger man who will risk his life like Alcides." (i.e Hercules.) Fulgentius later discusses the symbolism of the golden bough as learning and golden apples as eloquence (ed. Helm 1898 pp. 96-97, transl. Whitbread 1971 p. 129).

Cf. Cosmographia II.XIV.73 (ed. Dronke 1978): «Quicquid Aristotiles divino pectore sensis». Though the breast belongs to a different person, the "divine" epithet remains with Aristotle, an interesting pointer in mid-twelfth century poems, particularly since Plato gets no such recognition.

If the seven arts mentioned here are supposed to relate to the disciplines enumerated in the preceding lines, their ordering fits badly with the commonly accepted order of the seven liberal arts where the trivium of language arts (grammar, dialectic and rhetoric) is followed by the quadrivium, supposedly more related to res than to verba, of arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. Amongst the language arts, only rhetoric is specifically mentioned here (l. 129), though grammar is alluded to in the next line, and if we see Aristotle's Categories, the "old logic", in the «naturas generum» of l. 131 as representing dialectic we have the trivium, but following rather than preceding the "higher" learnings and not in their usual order. The trivium
also follows the mention of Hercules, a paradigm for learning, but more especially related to the language arts (Galinsky 1972 pp. 185-230, esp. pp. 193-4). See also the Aeneid commentary (ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p. 71 ll. 25-27): «Videns vero Hercules laborem suum cassum, ydram comburit, id est videns sapiens studium suum parum utile, vivacissimo igne mentis ignorantium dissolvit cum fervore inquirendi eam investigat et splendore cognoscendi illustrat.» The story of Patricida's education actually follows more closely the seven divisions of philosophy given by Isidore of Seville and repeated by Aldhelm and again in the ninth century (Laistner 1941 p. 268), also by the early eighth century commentator on Donatus known as the Anonymous ad Cuimnanum (Law 1982 p. 88). This list gives the usual four of the quadrivium then astrology, mechanics and medicine. The Mathematicus list is however more complex giving its first four lines (117-120), perhaps significantly, to cosmology. Couplets on arithmetic (121-2) and music (123-4) are then followed by single lines on astronomy (125) geometry (126) and astrology (127). Then comes the reference to weary Hercules, followed by the lines on the trivium and medicine. The arrangement is specific to this poem and interesting even if it is poetically rather than systematically determined. (Quite apart from the fact that 10 disciplines are listed rather than seven, which, if the poet is sufficiently interested in numbers to match Aeneid VI line for line at specific points, might suggest that the mention of seven liberal arts is unrelated to the preceding list of subjects.) In particular this list of disciplines has no specific connexion with the elaborate scheme of the divisions of knowledge in the De Nuptiis commentary (ed. Westra 1979 f 5 va and vb 18 ff) which tries to incorporate several earlier arrangements that are not really compatible, and which also seems to be the basis for remarks in the Aeneid commentary (ed. Jones and Jones, 1977 pp. 35-36) as well as precisely the same scheme as that found in the Ysagoge in Thelogiam (ed. Landgraf 1934 p. 73) f 10 v (except that Poesis which stands alone in the De Nuptiis commentary is divided into Satira, Comedia, Tragedia in the Ysagoge; the Sapientia Practica divisions Solitaria, Privata and Communis are matched by an added set: Ethica, Echonomica and Politica; and the 8 divisions of Mechanica are reduced to 5 by deleting Armata, Magica and Medicina). For the background to various schemes for divisions see Dahan 1980 pp. 176-178 and in more detail Mariétan 1901, and now Wagner 1983. In both Latin and vernacular texts of the time the education and early prowess of the hero is as much a topos as his...
wondrous birth. Cf. Rank 1914 p. 61 for common elements in hero myths. The lists of disciplines vary widely, again perhaps for poetic rather than systematic reasons. The old French Roman d'Alexandre for example stresses astronomy and includes chess, hunting and courtesy (cited by Jaeger 1985 p. 220. Hunting is included as one of the mechanical arts in the De Nuptiis commentary (ed. Westra 1979 f 5 va - vb, 18 ff)). Paradoxically, hagiography can provide information on lay education in the descriptions of the childhood and youth of the saintly hero (Riché 1962 pp. 177-178).

137-142 These lines join with the preceding lines to round out the education of the "perfect prince" and reflect a genre dating back to the Latin panegyrists, detailed by Born 1934 and further in his introduction to Erasmus: The Education of a Christian Prince (1936). Born includes many examples of the genre, both in antiquity and in the middle ages. He says that before the twelfth century little attention was given in these specula principis to education in its strictest sense. The manual for princes that stressed moral and social behaviour and the arts of governing continued into the thirteenth century (witness inter alia Robert of Blois' L'enseignement des princes (ed. Fox 1950)) beside those that gave more attention to the scholarly curriculum. The Erasmus text itself that Born edits has little to say on education, being more centrally fixed in the earlier tradition - it is a manual of statecraft and government. Like the Mathematicus poet, Erasmus deplores youthful idleness and indulgence in sensual pleasures, even quoting Homer to prove that a good prince should never be without something to do (p. 246). There is however one item on which the Mathematicus differs from the medieval specula principis - they say the prince should be opposed to aggressive warfare (Erasmus ed. Born 1936 p. 127) whereas the Mathematicus takes the attitude more akin to that of antiquity when war was, if not glorified as an honourable and manly sport, at least accepted like slavery as one of the social institutions of mankind. Another early text which combines scholarly and princely curricula is Dolopathos ed. Hilka 1913 transl. Gilleland 1981. The place of Virgil in this story from about 1200 A.D. gives it interest for Mathematicus studies. The Roman d'Alexandre also has the hero (a child prodigy who learnt more in seven or eight years than other children in a hundred) instructed in both scholarly and princely arts (ed. La Du 1937 pp. 4-7). See also MacKay 1955 pp. 186-187 on the golden bough (which the Sibyl introduces at Aenedi VI 137) and its identification by Servius with the
Pythagorean letter, symbolising the choice of lives. The symbolism is worked out at l. 636 where Aeneas dedicates the bough.

143-4 Cf. Anderson 1928 p. 53 in discussing Silius Italicus' portrait of Alexander: "It was a rhetorical necessity that a writer of a Suriis should make out his hero to be superior to the heroes of former times to whom he compared him." See the topos again at Mathematics II. 703-4.

146 Ausonian "occurs often in Virgil for 'Italian' both for variety and from antiquarian interest (the Ausones were the indigenous people of Campania)" (Austin in his commentary on Virgil's Aeneid VI p. 137). In Virgil however it is not associated with "imperium", which usually has Roman rather than Italian connotations. So its use here might seem anachronistic. (See Virgil Aeneid III 171; IV 237; VI 346 and 807). Its subsequent usage in the Mathematicus (ll. 154 and 174) is more in keeping with Virgilian usage, and there may be a specific reason for its use again at l. 841, where it is soon followed by the reference to Justinian (l. 845), a strange juxtaposition, or perhaps it relates to the echo of Camillus that Cousin finds at l. 854 (see note at l. 854). The Mathematicus uses several other names for the Romans such as quirites and gens Romulea, but not quite as many as Silius Italicus for whom Duff lists 31 variants (Punica Loeb intro. p. XIV).

149 Lachesis, the only one of the three Fates, the Parcae, mentioned individually in the Mathematicus, was the middle one who drew out the thread of life spun by Clotho and cut off by Atropos. Virgil does not mention them individually either, but does refer to them collectively at Eclogues 4.47. Lachesis is mentioned several times in the Mathematicus (e.g. l. 299 as tristis Lachesis; l. 640 dura Lachesis). The Parcae collectively are also frequently mentioned (e.g. l. 40, l. 635).

150 Dick 1967 p. 238 cites Lucan's Caesar as an earlier example of one whom Fortuna "strives to set above the whole world" (citing l 309-11; IV.256; V.582, 593, 668, 677; VI.141 and VII 734 and 796). Dick (p. 237) also notes the association of Fortuna and felicitas (as mentioned in the note to l. 1 above) - the widespread medieval iconography of Fortune's wheel should alert the reader to the likely consequence of being raised up by Fortune, though the combination with Lachesis and Jupiter is unusual.

152 I have accepted Thorndike's translation here, though the line can be construed with the sibi as a classical usage: "They gave themselves this way of ordering fate " or "The fates gave themselves this way of ruling". For Rome,
Carthage and the *lustrum* cf. the *De Nuptiis* Commentary ed. Westra 1979 f 6 rb, 18-25.

155 *Quirites*, being originally the name for the Sabines who came from the town of Cures, is reflected in the several subsequent references to the Sabines (l. 304 and note), both to enhance the idea of the simple integrity and fidelity of early times, and to add an antiquarian patina. Secondly, when the Romans adopted the name they used it of themselves in their civil capacity, while using the name *Romani* when speaking of themselves in their civil and military capacity - it is therefore interesting to find that it is the citizens (along with the senate) who are countering Hannibal. Since there is also a king, the picture here seems to reflect a time before the Republic.

156 The senators throughout the poem are given the more archaic title «*patres conscripti*» or simply «*patres*». «*Senatus Romanus*» had actually become the name of the College of Cardinals at Rome by the twelfth century (Kantorowicz 1958, p. 139). The political coup of 1144 which attempted to relieve the papacy of its secular power set up a government in Rome modelled on antique lines and including a secular *senatus Romanus*. See Otto of Freising ed. Waitz 1978 pp. 44-47 and 133-134, also Frugoni 1954 pp. 41-78. Otto's terminology and that in a letter of 1149 which he reproduces have affinities with the antiquarian usages of the *Mathematicus*.

158 For the use of hidden valleys in battle strategy see Lucan *De Bello Civili IV* 157-160: «*Attollunt campo geminae iuga saxea rupes/Valle cava media; tellus hinc ardua celsos/Continuat colles, tuae quos inter opacol/Anfractu latuere vice ...*» and for the cunning use of such valleys by Hannibal, see Silius Italicus *Punica V* 42-43 «*Namque sub angustas artato limite fauces/In fraudem ducebat iter ...*».

164 Alba - the city of Alba Longa traditionally founded by Ascanius, otherwise known as Julius, the son of Aeneas. Its legendary kings were supposed to have ruled for some centuries from its founding until the founding of Rome by Romulus. (Cf. *Aeneid I* 270-276). Hence the old nobility. Mentioned again at l. 652 with the Fabians (see note) a few lines before «*sanguis Juleus*».

168 See Austin in his commentary on *Aeneid VI*. 825 (p. 254) regarding the importance of the Roman standards - their loss at Carrhae he considers to have been "deeply traumatic" - and for Virgil's substitution of them for gold in the story of the recovery of the Roman gold by Camillus. Patricida refers to
standards again in l. 838, the Aquila being the principal standard of an entire legion while the signa are the standards of the invididual cohorts.

171 Cf. Lucan De Bello Civili IV 167. Duff translates «prævenit hostem» as "outstripped the enemy".

175-6 This is the couplet quoted by John of Salisbury in the Policraticus III 8 (ed. C.C.I. Webb I 1909 p. 194) a manuscript of which was annotated by a contemporary scribe with the words «Bernardus Silvestris» (quoted from Vernet 1946 p. 254). Walther 1966 Vol. 4 p. 616 lists only the John of Salisbury quotation for this proverb. Cf. a similar proverb at ll. 543-4.

212 See note at l. 60 re dubius and ambiguus. If my hypothesis of a hidden allegory in the Mathematicus is accepted (see Vol. II Ch. III of this thesis), the poet can here also be offering clues to an initiated elite who are expected to find the hidden sense.

214 It was a Roman commonplace that a man who deserved well of the state should be deified. Anderson 1928 pp. 29-58 discusses many examples from Romulus to Augustus. Galinsky 1972 p. 162 points to the idea in Cicero's Somnium Scipionis (known to the middle ages with Macrobius' commentary) and in the apotheosis of Scipio via a triumphal procession leading to heaven at the end of the Punic of Silius Italicus. Dronke 1974 p. 120 quotes from the De Nuptiis commentary "...Martianus, revealing the deification of human nature (i.e. Philologia’s ascent to the heavenly realm)..." (Humane nature deificationem pandens... ed. Westra 1979 f 1 rb 47). The relation between the philosophical concept of the divinity of the human soul and the apotheosis of heroes is interesting in juxtaposition with doctrines of the soul's serial reincarnation until final purification allows its permanent return to its own star.

228 See note at l. 771-4. The juxtaposition of the favourable star with the protection of Fortuna in the next line should arouse suspicion in the wary, given the warning at l. 149 of raising Patricida to the heights and the moral of the intervening story (pointed at ll. 181-2) regarding the Carthaginians' victory followed by defeat. The use of «hora» here may have precise astrological meaning but the possible range of meanings in the context is large, (Cf. footnote at l. 46 on punctum and gradus). In the absence of any clear indication that the poet is using a technical term I have elected to translate non-technically. Thorndike 1923 Vol. II p. 107 on the other hand translates sideris hora boni as "favourable horoscope".

70
Urbis et orbis, a commonplace since antiquity to denote Rome and her empire, was subsequently Christianised to indicate the world dominion of the Church centred at Rome. Kantorowicz 1958 p. 74 discusses this kosmokrator image in imperial acclamations. An epitaph on Pope Eugene († 1153) uses it ingeniously: «Urbis et orbis honor sed tam dolor urbis et orbis . . .» (Mozley 1942 p. 53). It also occurs in an epitaph of Simon Aurea Capra's noted by Rigg 1981 p. 496: «Hic iacet ille Petrus pater et decus urbis et orbis». The phrase is repeated several times in the Mathematicus (e.g. at l. 421). It might also be remembered that world dominion had already been ascribed by the Greeks to various heroes, the first of whom was Hercules (Anderson, 1928 p. 9), the second Alexander. Cf. also ll. 251-2.

This may be more literal that it appears. See the note at l. 214 for the Roman practice of deifying heroes.

Ogilvie 1965 pp. 698-9 commenting on Livy V.32.8-9 on the trial of Camillus mentions Diodorus' suggestion that the trial was for a triumph with white horses rather than peculatus. The use of white horses was also credited to Romulus, and he and Camillus alone enjoyed the honour until Julius Caesar used four white horses for his triumph (Ogilvie pp. 679-680 commenting on Livy 5.23) thus staking a claim to be heir to Romulus and Camillus. See also the comments of Ogilvie on Livy V 48-50 (pp. 736-7) regarding the story of Camillus' return from exile to defeat the Gauls who had captured Rome. In turning a Roman defeat into a Roman victory (as Livy portrays it) Camillus is a figura for Patricida. He is mentioned in the Mathematicus as an example of the old Roman rustic virtues (l. 825). The Aeneid commentary, on VI.825 (regarded at this point by its most recent editors (Jones and Jones 1977 p. 126) as an inferior addition by a later continuator) reverts to the peculatus theory: «...propter spolia inegaliter militibus divisa». Tibullus I.VII ll. 7-8 gives a triumph with white horses to Messalla (his patron) in a poem that has interesting associations with the Mathematicus not only because of its mention of the Loire (l. 12) but because of the fact that it begins in prophecy: «Hunc cecinere diem Parcae fatalia nentes/Stamina, non ulli dissoluenda deo».

The Roman custom was for a triumphing general to lay his laurels in the lap of the seated image of Jupiter in the Capitoline temple. Cf. Silius Italicus Punicus (ed. Duff 1961) XV 118-20: «Sed dabo, qui vestrum sevo nunc Marte fatigat/Imperium, superare manu laurumque superbam/In gremio Iovis excisis deponere Poenis» and Duff's note thereto.
The *mater amica* of the Mary litanies seems to have been secularised by the *Mathematicus* poet. Cf. the poem attributed to Peter Abelard by Cousin 1849 I p. 330: "Lux orientalis,/Et amica Dei specialis ..." or that quoted by Hauréau 1892 p. 320 from BN 15161 (a fourteenth century manuscript but with twelfth century material): "Mater amica Dei, fuga mortis, origo diei ...". Though the language of courtly love was used in religious works to relate Christ and Mary (Cf. Secor 1985 for the Provençal *Planctus Mariae*) as well as the imagery of the *Song of Songs* (Deroy 1976) it is unlikely that connotations of Oedipal incest should be read into this line. See Wattenbach 1893 pp. 521-522 for a profane love litany based on the Mary litanies in Rheims 1275, a twelfth century manuscript related to some of the *Mathematicus* manuscripts.

An ambivalent attitude to astrological prediction is apparent here - if the mother needed to be converted to a belief in astrology, why did she consult an astrologer in the first place? Again it seems the poet is taking into account the normal human capacity for logical inconsistency (cf. note to l. 84). However the next two lines indicate a conversion to a total belief, whose logical consequences and the danger they presented to her husband must be faced.

An alternative reading could have the mother's breast which had been gladdened by Patricida's successes reclaimed by the father.

See note on Lachesis and the *Parcae* at l. 149.

See Virgil *Georgics* 2.167, 532 for the conventional picture of the ancient Sabines. The connotations are of ancient simplicity of life and virtue, including married fidelity. Cf. the juxtaposition with Thais, the typical prostitute, in the contemporary *Altercatio Ganymede et Helena* (ed. Lenzen 1973 p. 147) stanza 52 l.211: "Subito de Thaide facta es Sabina". Livy makes the rape of the Sabine women a central feature of his history of the incorporation of the Sabines by Rome (Ogilvie 1965 pp. 64-70 commenting on Livy I.9-13), and the faithfulness of the Sabine women to their Roman husbands though they had been taken by force became legendary.

An echo of the astrologer's rhetoric at l. 57 when speaking to the mother, but now turned from *topos* to action.

Does this have significance in the light of the unfinished creations of such works as the *Cosmographia*, which ends with the physical creation of man, before soul and body have been united (though the author promised in the preface to include this)? And what relation has it with the lack of narrative closure in the *Mathematicus* itself and the apparently fragmentary states of both the *Aeneid* and *De Nuptiis* commentaries? Are they all ending once a
certain level of self-knowledge is achieved, and are they open-ended because the soul can only fully know itself when finally united with God through death? See further note to l. 854, and cf. Bruns 1980.


325-346 Note the anti-female tirade put in the mouth of a woman. Similarly in the correspondence between Abelard and Eloise, it is Eloise who elaborates the drawbacks of female nature in attempting to divert Abelard from marriage. The anti-marriage tract *De coniuge non ducenda* (found in Oxford Bodleian Add. A 44 (Wilmart 1941-3 pp. 51-52) attributed to Walter Mapes and ed. Rigg 1986) which denigrated women in an effort to elevate celibacy had such a wide circulation (some 60 manuscripts being known) that it is sometimes forgotten that it was only one of many such treatments of the theme. Hildebert of Lavardin for example, looking for three vices to celebrate, chooses love of women, avarice and ambition, in that order (Poem no. 50 ed. Scott 1969 pp. 40-43). The inferiority of women was already spelled out in Plato's *Timaeus* (42B) but merely in terms of a lower level of creation than man, not railing at women's evil and vicious natures.

325-6 Not in BN 5129 (i.e. not in PL 171.1371D).

332 Cf. Cicero *De Inv.* II.1.3 «... nihil simplici in genere omnibus ex partibus perfectum natura expolivit».

333-336 See note at l. 117 *re semina*. Cf. *Cosmographia* (ed. Dronke 1978) II.XII.33-36 on the universe carrying throughout its being the seeds of its continued existence, but not so man: «Tota per esse suum, perfectaque viribus orbis semina continuat».

337-8 See note at l. 304 where the Sabines are introduced as an example of old-fashioned simplicity and virtue. Cf. note at l. 511 on golden age *topos*. But note in this particular instance the stand taken against dialectic, which became a fashionable pursuit in the twelfth century, a fashion attracting much critical comment. See Ferruolo 1985 Chs. IV and V.

338 Cf. note at l. 832 on ancient simplicity associated with unadorned speech of early Rome, before the "corrupting" influence of the Greek language arts made itself felt. Note also the Stoic emphasis on speaking the simple truth (cf. Arnold 1911 pp. 148-150). See also notes at ll. 413-6 and 503-4.

Cf. Juvenal *Satires* VI ll. 164-5 on Sabine maidens a prodigy as rare on earth as a black swan: «...*Sabina, rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cyno».

Cf. Virgil *Aeneid* VI 616-7 listing the torments of the damned includes: «... *radiisque rotarum/districti pendent».


Tartarus: the region of the underworld where the guilty were punished, ruled over by Rhadamanthus.

Numa: Numa Pompilius, the next ruler of Rome after Romulus, and famous for his (legendary) organisation of Roman religious institutions (see Ogilvie 1965 pp. 88-105 commenting on Livy I.18-21). The *Aeneid* commentary notes Numa's Sabine origin (ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p. 124 ll. 21-22): «*Numa Pompilius regnavit sed de Sabinis natus. Sacra quia primus docuit Romanos sacrificia deorum*. «Sceptra» is frequently used poetically in the plural, so there may be no more recondite allusion here such as to twin sceptres, though why specifically «*senis Numae*» is not immediately apparent, unless from some association such as Servius' tale that Numa was white-haired *a prima aetas* (quoted from Austin 1977 p. 249 commenting on *Aeneid* VI 809). Numa is mentioned again at l. 724 as the epitome of the sacred, as Lucretia (l. 723) of chastity. «Sceptra» is also plural at l. 237, where it is followed (l. 238) by «...*regimen urbis et orbis*» which could explain the plural.

Quoted by Gervaise of Melkley as an example of *interpositio*. Graebener's edition of Gervaise (p. 81 ll. 4-5 ) leaves out the word *dolor*, but this makes the line metrically impossible. Either there is a typographical error in the edition, or a simple copying error in the manuscript - it seems unlikely that Gervaise would accept an improperly constructed line. Gervaise quotes these lines in the same breath (both as examples of *interpositio*) as he quotes the astrologer's hesitation over revealing the same information (see ll. 57-58 and note thereto) - a nice touch, and perhaps indicating that he knew the whole poem, not just *florilegia* extracts.

Cf. *Cosmographia* (ed. Dronke 1978) I.IV.171-2. There were several different divisions of the globe into different numbers of climatic regions. Isidore III.XLII.4 gives seven: «*Sunt et alia septem climata caeli, quasi...*"
Gervaise of Melkley quotes as an example of *conduplicatio* (a type of *reiteratio* in which "under stress of anger or indignation" phrases starting with the same words are repeated, but he reverses the order of the last two couplets.

Not in BN 5129 (not in PL171.1372D).

Migne's «tenere» suits the scansion better than Hauréau's «regere».

For some thoughts on the relationship between prayer, contemplation and acceptance according to Stoic philosophy, see Arnold 1911 p. 236. The father's speech which follows (ll. 407-450) is not only a resounding exploration of and tribute to the Stoic doctrine of acceptance, but, first with a beautiful simile (ll. 423-426), and later with a fine turn of rhetoric (ll. 437-438), announces the Stoic doctrine of immortality residing in one's offspring (cf. Colakis 1985 pp. 150-151 and p. 154). This doctrine is closely related to Stoic cosmology in which concepts of periodic regeneration play a central role and seeds recur in a variety of metaphorical contexts. If there is a case to be made for the father and son as representatives of different doctrinal positions, it is not difficult to see the Old Stoa in the father, especially in this speech. By comparison, the position of the son is not so clearly aligned. See also Rist 1978 pp. 259-272 on the related Stoic concept of detachment.

The importance attached to family honour by the Romans is reflected here.

Cf. (pseudo) Hildebert *De querimonia et conflictu carnis et spiritus seu animae* (PL 171.992C): «Chara comes, depone metum, desiste querilis».

Theology at the time was concerned with the question of intention. Abelard had elaborated the doctrine of pure intent in his ethics (the *Scito te ipsum* ed. Luscombe 1971); and the proliferation of *Cur Deus homo* tracts and poems testifies to the interest. See Evans 1980 for further discussion. Prior to Christianity, Stoic ethics had focussed its concern on the internal disposition of the person to the exclusion of external forces, and the Christian ethic was compatible with this position.

This reflects the Stoic predilection for simple unadorned speech epitomised by the well-known remark attributed to Cato: «*res tene; verba sequentur*». Cf. notes at l. 338, ll. 503-4 and l. 832. Note however the difference between
the plain and unadorned truth of the Stoics and the unliterary *sermo humilis* of the Christians (discussed by Klopfch 1966 pp. 11-12).

Juvenal *Satires VI* 434-456 culminates against too-clever talk by women. Reverberations of this passage may also be discerned at *Mathematicus* II. 339-40 (cf. Juvenal *Satires VI* 443) and in the speech of Patricida denouncing the abuses of rhetoric (*Mathematicus* II. 810-834). See also the *Aeneid* commentary (ed. Jones and Jones 1977, p. 43 ll. 9-10): «Intelligentia enim rhetoricon colorum ornatum non querit cum naturalem habeat pulcritudinem».

Penelope is usually a figure of wisely rather than motherly devotion - she may be used here in the more general sense of devotion to family.

See note at l. 328 on *urbis et orbis*.

Cf. l. 392. Hauréau's edition gives «sceptra regere» in both instances, which may indicate an idiom. The Migne edition gives the simpler «tenere» at l. 392 and «tegens» at l. 430. Without consulting manuscripts it is not possible to know whether these variations are due to medieval scribes or modern editors. But cf. l. 516 which uses the more obvious «tenere» twice.

The Phlegrean plain was the site of the battle of the Titans (giants) against Saturn. They were defeated by the thunderbolts of Saturn's son Jupiter. According to Virgil (*Aeneid VIII* 319-20) Saturn thereafter came to Rome in the time of King Evander fleeing from Jupiter who had usurped him. Patricida's father draws a parallel between himself and Saturn, but embraces rather than flees the death his son will inflict on him. Hatinguais 1960 p. 425 discusses William of Conches' reading of the battle of the giants as symbolising those who attempt to put worldly goods above their immortal souls (symbolised by the gods). The *Aeneid* commentary (ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p. 80 ll. 8-20) gives a similar interpretation. The name Phlegreus also has a double connexion with Hercules, being the name of a centaur (fighting the centaurs being one of the twelve labours), and also from the fact that Hercules fought on the side of the gods against the giants. There are several allusions to this battle in Seneca's *Hercules Furens* (transl. Miller 1960 pp. 41 and 85).

Cf. *Aeneid VI* 684-694 - the touching cameo in which Virgil paints the feelings of Aeneas' father Anchises when his son arrives to visit him in the underworld. Cf. also the attempt of Aeneas (695-702) to embrace his father's shade with the actual father-son embrace in the *Mathematicus* (II. 525-530).
Elysium, first mentioned in the *Aeneid* briefly at V.733 as the abode for the virtuous after death is described in detail at VI.637-678. This description is a preliminary to the meeting of Aeneas and his father Anchises in the underworld. Aeneas is then led up a hill to look over the ridge to the meadow where Anchises is - in the *Mathematicus* it is the parents who climb the hill to greet their son.

Pluto was referred to as Stygian Jove (Lewis and Short p. 1770).

The Palatine was one of the seven hills of Rome, the first to be built on, King Evander choosing it for a citadel (Cf. note at ll. 433-436). It has many associations with both republican and imperial institutions. The Tarpeian rock from which criminals were hurled to their death (a punishment allocated to a convicted woman in one of the elder Seneca's declamations (*Contr. I.3*), who survived the ordeal and used the fact as proof of innocence to plead immunity from further prosecution) was not on the Palatine hill but on the Capitoline. Hence the word *palatinus* seems to be used here in its transferred meaning of "palatial" or "imperial" (though Hauréau but not Migne capitalizes the "p"). The citadel on the Capitoline hill was called the Tarpeian *arx* but here we have the word *culmen* associated with Tarpeian, and with *arx* the word *palatinus*. The name of the Tarpeian rock derives from a Roman maiden who opened the citadel to the Sabines. In combination with earlier references it appears that a conscious attempt is being made to call up not only pagan Rome but the hallowed days of legend and the early republic that were venerated by the writers of the later republic and the empire. It is possible to question whether the poet knew (or cared) that the Tarpeian rock was not associated with the Palatine but the Capitoline. If it could be construed that he has made a simple error of geography here, it can also be construed that his naming of Justinian as "the censor" instead of Cato at ll. 509-510 is a similar simple error of history. This lack of fairly elementary knowledge of ancient Rome contrasts markedly with his recondite allusions in other areas - to Phlegrea at ll. 433-436 for example. Is myth or the *fabula vana* of the poets more important to him than geographical details? Note in this connexion the perspicaceous study by MacKay 1955 on three levels of meaning in *Aeneid VI*. MacKay, who finds *inter alia* that the inconsistency in Virgil's picture of life after death is "real and designed" (p. 188), suggests:

"If we can identify the strands of symbolism, we may be able to see why inconsistent details are allowed to exist in parallel developments that could not be made homogeneous without damage to the separate strands." Something
of this nature may be operating here, also in the unexplained recognition of mother by son at l. 463.

This is the first indication in the poem that Patricida and his mother ever saw each other after she had sent him away to be reared, apparently in early infancy (l. 101). When she hears of his prowess (ll. 263-4) there is no indication that it was other than by hearsay. If a connexion is allowed at other than a superficial level between Patricida and Oedipus, his recognition of his mother at this point needs to be taken into account (see Vol. II Ch. V). The Gregorius legend of the *Gesta Romanorum* and Hartman von Aue's poem, an obvious re-enactment of the Oedipus theme, allows in some of its manifestations for recognition of son by mother, but not of mother by son.

Cf. John 2.1-11, the story of the wedding at Cana where the mother of Jesus assumes a similar right to her son's compliance with her wishes. The miraculous changing of water into wine assumes a certain importance because of its position as Christ's first miracle, and performed at his mother's behest in spite of his protestations: "My hour is not yet come". The twelfth century manuscript St. Omer 115 contains a short poem on the subject (Boutemy, 1943 p. 25). A couplet is worth quoting both for its exemplification of the figure in which corresponding grammatical terms are grouped together (cf. note to l. 5) and as a fine example of *abbreviatio* (being a resumé of John 2.1-10): «*Convivae, mater, Christus, puer, architriclinus/Dum siciunt, orat, ubet, haurit, pocula laudat*».

Given the hidden allegory of the *Mathematicus* (see Vol. II Ch. III), this seems to be yet another announcement of the thesis, time honoured since at least Boethius, that there were levels of understanding available only to an elect.

Eliade 1965 pp. 124-125 lists ancient examples of ages ranging from gold to iron with various metals between. The first golden age early became associated with the virtues of the simple life, the country versus the city, and was taken up in this connexion by the Stoics, especially Posidonius (Arnold 1911 pp. 194-5). The motif became persistent in literature in a range of guises, from Seneca's long eulogy on the comparative virtues of the peaceful country life (*Hercules Furens* ll. 139-177) to the brief but beautifully cadenced beginning of the *Vie de St. Alexis*: «*Bons fut li secles al tens ancienur*» (*Alexius* ed. Odenkirchen 1978 p. 92). It will be noted that both the *Alexis* and the *Mathematicus* are urban poems, showing no interest in nature whatsoever, the return to the golden age in the *Mathematicus* being based on a
purification of the nature of man, and in particular on a return to simple and straightforward speech. (Cf. notes at l. 338, ll. 413-416 and l. 832).

Quite apart from golden age mythology, the word "iron" had been used poetically by the Greeks to mean "harsh" since an early age. See Hesiod Works and days l. 202 for example. For Dante's use of cyclic time and the four ages in Inferno XIV, 94-120, see Johnston 1940 pp. 261-263. Baldry 1952 traces the relationship of ages and metals in ancient literature from Hesiod.

505-6 Cf. Alan of Lille Anticlaudianus (ed. Bossuat 1955) I.59-60: «Quid prelarga manus Nature possit et in quo! Gracius effundat dotes, exponit in isto ...». In the Cosmographia (ed. Dronke 1978) we also find a prelarga dextera (I.III.52) in close proximity to a line very similar to Mathematicus 505: «Donat et in solo munere cuncta semel.» (Cosmographia I.III.56), but on this occasion it is only the prelarga dextera of Titus. Peter Riga's Passio Sanctae Agnetis which Hauréau edited with the Mathematicus repeats the motif: «Tot dotes in eam nature gratia fudit! Quod quasi mendicans post sua dona fuit.» (ed. Hauréau 1895 p. 42 ll. 11-12).

505-508 Cf. Cicero De Inv. II.1.3. «...tamquam ceteris non sit habitura quod largiatur, si uni cuncta concesserit ...».

509-510 It was of course Cato not Justinian who was called the censor. Possible explanations are that the apparent error is real, or that the title gratuitously allocated to Cato the elder as a recognition of his stern views, especially on morals, has been transferred to Justinian equally gratuitously for the same reason - a learned jeu d'esprit on the poet's part. Justinian is mentioned again at ll. 845-9 as a voice from the past, the greatest judge in the whole world, and author of the law that gives a conqueror any reward he chooses to name. This "law" was known many centuries before Justinian, going back at least to classical Greece, and had long been a great favourite with the authors of declamations (Russell 1983 pp. 24-25). The Catos are mentioned again at ll. 827-8 for uprightness and open and unadorned speech. These later references conform more closely to the usual traditions.

511-512 Though hankering for a past golden age, authors from many ages see their own age as the acme of achievement. Wilson 1985 shows how authors of the post-Augustan age of Roman letters saw their age as golden in its own right (Ch. I passim (pp. 9-52) esp. p. 25 and p. 40). (Cf. also note to l. 144 on the necessity for heroes to surpass heroes of former times.) The poetic writers of the twelfth century while revering the great poets of antiquity
pointed to areas in which the *moderni* had found superior ways of doing things. See for example Matthew of Vendôme *Ars Versificatoria* transl. Galeyon 1980 p. 101.

513-514 Missing from BN 5129 (PL171.1375A). Most of the difference between this single manuscript edition and Hauréau's based on four manuscripts seems to consist of the removal (or addition) of material for no reason other than *amplificatio* (or *abbreviatio*), but this couplet could have been removed (or added) because of its expression of belief in astrology. Cf. Juvenal *Satires VI* 554-591, beginning: «*Chaldeis set maior erat fiducia...*» (Still more trusted are the Chaldeans) (not by Juvenal but by the women against whom he inveighs). There may be something behind the fact that this couplet and the four lines where India and Phrygia are mentioned are missing from BN 5129. (See note at 733-736 on India and Phrygia.)

519-520 In the light of subsequent events, a fine example of irony.

522 Does the repeated *iste* recall by contrast the repeated *ille* of the *filius ille tuus* of II. 381-9?

525-530 Cf. *Aeneid VI* 695-702 for the abortive attempt of Aeneas to embrace his father's shade.

541-542 The father now faces his own death at his son's hands - a *volte-face* ironically compounded by his (intentional) guilt in ordering his child's life destroyed.

543-4 Cf. the proverb at II. 175-6.

547-548 Cf. note at II. 137-142 on the *speculum principis* theme.

551-564 This eulogy reproduces the portrait of the Stoic sage - one possible interpretation of II. 559-60 would connect them with the Stoic position on free will within an ordered universe, but I am uncertain about this and have not translated it so.

557 Again the *topos* of the old mind in the young body. Cf. I. 114.

561-4 Technical legal language here, and again at II. 843-4.

569-570 The *prelarga manus* of nature (II. 505-6) is superseded now by both hands of Jupiter himself.

571-2 Not in BN 5129 (PL171.1376A).

573 Cf. II. 1-2, the proverb here echoed, which specifically states the essentially limited nature of human felicity, bound by the inherent (natural) laws that govern the species.

577-590 As the father has previously absolved the mother from guilt (II. 407-418) - declining to forgive in a case where he saw no crime - he now absolves his son in advance. Cf. II. 747-750 where Patricida similarly acquits the Romans
of any responsibility for his death. One of the areas where Stoic philosophy is weakest is in dealing with the problem of evil in the world. The speeches of the father to his wife and later to his son show up this weakness, perhaps the greatest failing of the Stoics, whose thinking on moral and ethical questions was otherwise so advanced. Cf. Schaefer 1964 pp. 164-186. The confession of guilt by father to son in this speech parallels the confession by mother to father at ll. 321-396. The only guiltless party is the son, who must commit a crime to preserve his innocence. It would be interesting to study these aspects of the poem *vis-à-vis* the contemporary sacramental interest in sin, repentance and confessional theology (Payen 1967).

593-4 Quoted by Gervaise of Melkley (ed. Graebner 1965 p. 30 ll. 6-7) as an example of *praecisio* of the second kind, i.e. *interposita sumptio*.

599-602 Cf. Arnold 1911 p. 311 on Stoic insistence on the necessity for the sage to take his proper place in public life.

603-610 Cf. *Aeneid* I 709-719 where Cupid in the form of Ascanius offers himself alternately to the embraces of Aeneas and Dido, arousing in the latter a less innocent passion.

607 The violence of «*distrahitur*» foreshadows the violent raging of Patricida's mind (ll. 611-646) to which fortune's turning wheel is juxtaposed, recalling the «*districti*» stretched on the wheel in Virgil's hell (*Aeneid* VI 617). For the notions used by Virgil to arrive at his picture of hell, see Highet 1972 pp. 244-246, and for Dante's appropriation of wheels and rolling stones see Silverstein 1932 pp. 63-65.

611-632 The moral awakening of Patricida can be compared with the fable of the *Choice of Hercules* attributed to the sophist Prodicus in the first century B.C. and subsequently used by Roman poets. Silius Italicus for example reproduces the theme, putting the young Scipio in the place of Hercules (*Punica* XV 18-128, ed. Duff 1961). Witt (1983, preface) credits Petrarch with "reintroducing into Western Europe" what he calls this "long-forgotten episode in the ancient cycle of myths surrounding the demigod" and quotes Panofsky as identifying Salutati as responsible for reviving the story (*ibid.*). On the face of it, it would seem strange that the middle ages, so interested in debates, as well as vice and virtue, should neglect such valuable material, and one wonders if it might be found somewhere, suitably transformed. Galinsky 1972 p. 102 sees the *Choice of Hercules* not as a simple choice between vice and virtue but as representing the awakening of consciousness of a freedom of choice between good and evil. The *Mathematicus* carries the
moral choice to a higher poetic level in immediately presenting Patricida with
the full force of his personal responsibility in a situation where his power to
act requires great moral courage to perceive. The poetic strength of the
passage is achieved by the juxtaposition of the wheel of fortune imagery with
the turmoil of the young man who is presented with every excuse for ignoring
his potential for action - a private hell compared with the description of hell in
the Aeneid (VI 566-627). The complex doctrine of the Stoics in which
freewill is held in conjunction with a determined cosmos, creating a certain
tension or tonos even if the paradox is soluble, seems to be reflected here.
Thus the Stoic Epictetus turned the anaké of Hercules, his submission to
"necessity" imposed by the gods, into an active seeking after labours
(Galinsky 1972 pp. 147-148; see also Murray 1946 pp. 123-125); and long
before him the literature on Hercules had sent him through the world seeking
fresh labours after completing those imposed on him. The myth seems to
foreshadow this doctrine of Stoic philosophy and to be reflected in this part of
the poem. The Aeneid commentary (ed. Jones and Jones, 1977 p. 113)
commenting on Aeneid VI 616 quotes from a certain person («quidam»):
«Glorior elatus; descendo minorificatus!Imus in axe teror; rursus ad axe
feror». These are very similar to the first two lines given as Hildebert's in PL
171.1283 and another variant in PL 171.1429D-1430A but not included by
Scott in his edition of Hildebert (1969). Thus the commentator has used the
simple Virgilian image of the torture of the wheel to discourse on the wheel of
Fortune. The Mathematicus conflates the two. Patricida's reflection in
these lines is the beginning of that self-awareness or moral awakening that
culminates in his ability to escape Fortune's wheel. The final resolution
comes in the last lines of the poem in a gesture that, as Dronke (1974 p. 137)
has perceptively pointed out, can be best understood in Boethian terms.
References to fortune occur frequently throughout the Mathematicus, often in
situations where the degree of personification is open to interpretation. A
study of the manuscripts might indicate the level of abstraction intended at
various points. See also Rychner 1977 p. 74 on the monologues of the hero
in the Vie de Saint Alexis.

639 & 643 The poet conflates the doctrine of the primal fire as the basic principle of
the universe, for which Heraclitus is famous and which Zeno, from Heraclitan
or other sources, elaborated as a fundamental principle of Stoic cosmogeny
(Hahm 1977 p. 80; Arnold 1911 pp. 35-36, p. 70 and pp. 194-5), with
Platonic theories in which the creation of souls is closely linked with the

82
earlier starry creation, the same material being used and each soul being numbered for one individual star (Timaeus 41E; p. 36 of Waszink's ed. of Plato Latinus, 1962). Cf. Dales 1978 p. 184 for the importance of fire as a secondary cause of ongoing creation in Thierry of Chartres. Compare the ignea sidera of l. 643 with Cosmographia (ed. Dronke 1978) I.IV.13 «ignes sidereos», and with Cosmographia II.III.10: «Ether omnisque compago siderea non elementale est compositum, sed ab elementis numero quinum, ordine primum, genere divinum, natura invariabile». Wetherbee discusses some of the many variants of primal fire and ether theories in the note to his translation of this passage (Wetherbee 1973 p. 157 n. 8). Cf. Mathematicus II. 783-808. For the various words used for stars see the note at l. 61. Lines 639-644 are the best known lines in the Mathematicus, being quoted by all modern commentators and held to be crucial, announcing Patricida's decision to take responsibility of and for his own life, but the significance given to the lines by the different commentators varies, depending whether they believe the poet to be pro- or anti-astrology. (Thorndike 1923 Vol. II pp. 108-9 summarises earlier positions on this question and Dronke 1974 pp. 141-143 brings the picture up to 1974).

Wetherbee in his introduction to his translation of the Cosmographia (1973 p. 32) notes the essential place in Macrobius' Somnium Scipionis commentary (transl. Stahl 1952 2.17.14 p. 153) as in the Mathematicus of the spark of pure reason, the particle of the divine mind, retained by the soul in spite of the contamination of the earthly body. We find a similar statement by Silius Italicus when he retells Prodicus' Choice of Hercules with Scipio substituted for Hercules (Punica XV 71-72): «Cui ratio et magna caelestia semina mentis/Munere sunt concessa deum ...». The De Nuptiis commentary (ed. Westra, 1979) f 13 ra 43 - f 13 va 18 discusses at length whether the human soul comes from the parents with the body, or from the divine essence, or is created from nothing; quoting such authorities as Macrobius, Jerome, Augustine and Plato's Timaeus. See also Mathematicus II. 783 -808 and notes. See Colish 1985 I pp. 320-321 for Stoic relationships amongst fire, mind and seeds.

Burnett 1977 p. 84 quotes from the Liber trium iudicum of the first half of the twelfth century (for date see p. 66): «... nec hominem propter stellas, sed stellas propter homines fabricavit». Godfrey of St. Victor in his Microcosmus (ed. Delhaye 1951 Vol. I p. 90) has a variation which also dispenses with angels as the reason for creation of the physical universe: «...
neque propter angelum factus est hic mundus visibilis ... sed propter hominem ... ». The De Nuptiis commentary (ed. Westra 1979 f 1 vb 20-21 discussing types of musica assumes man to be superior to the world: «Sicut enim homo maior est mundo qui propter eum factus est, et musica humana maior mundana». Thus many testify to man's dominion. In the Mathematicus there is the specific question as to whether, and if so in what way, an individual man's destiny is star-related.

646

Cf. Watson in Long 1971 p. 228 for Cicero's position on the privileged status of men, who share reason with God. See also Colish 1985 I p. 318 on Servius when commenting on Virgil's Georgics 4.219 confusedly thinking that Stoic doctrine gave animals as well as men a share in the divine nature. Godfrey of St. Victor, in the same paragraph of the Microcosmus (ed. Delhaye 1951 I p. 89) where he says the world was made for men not for angels also points to the special place of men above all other creatures: «... per gratiam similis sit deo et habitatio dei, maior omni alia creatura ac per hoc maior mundi et dominus mundi in ipote propter quem factus est mundus».

648

The ivory here used metonymically for the sella curulis, the ivory-inlaid official chair adopted from the Etruscans (another antiquarian allusion), and used by consuls, praetors and curule ediles (Lewis and Short p. 504).

652

See note at l. 164 re Alba. For the Fabians, and the legendary ancient nobility of the gens see Ogilvie's Commentary on Livy I-V pp. 359-366. The reflections in this poem could relate to the famous dictator in the second Punic war, Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator, and perhaps to the young man at Livy 2.50.11, but the overall implications relate to a family with an old as well as honoured name, a tradition the Fabians themselves were busy to encourage.

656

In Rome, the toga praetexta was an outer garment bordered with purple, worn by magistrates and by free-born children until they assumed the toga virilis - hence here juxtaposed to the multa millia of the congestae plebis of l. 657.

660

Julus is the other name for Ascanius, son of Aeneas, but also the name of Ascanius' son whom the Julian clan regarded as their ancestor.

661-712

Strangely, taxonomies of poetry since antiquity have concentrated on first-person (largely lyric) and third person (largely narrative) poetry, leaving out the great bulk of second-person poetry, in spite of the obvious affiliations invocation and incantation have with the poetic muse. A list of the surviving poetry from Sumer throws into high relief the importance of second-person poetry - 20 myth, 9 epic, 200 + hymn, 12 literary laments, 12 disputations,
12 collections of proverbs etc. (Kramer 1946 p. 11). The varieties of second-person poetry (of which the prayer form is the most obvious example) range widely, including letters such as Ovid's *Heroides* and invective such as Ovid's *Ibis* - apart from the addresses and speeches incorporated in nearly all narrative epic poetry and which frequently delineate an interface between poetry and rhetoric. It might be pertinent to observe here that a large proportion of direct speech is not the prerogative of later "rhetorical" epic such as Lucan's *De Bello Civili* - in *Aeneid VI* as in the *Mathematicus*, half the lines are direct speech, some admittedly descriptive. In this speech of Patricida's it is interesting to compare the assembled people to a god with the capacity for granting prayers.

666, 669-70, 675-6, 691-2, 711-12 Gervaise of Melkley does not notice these lines, though their repetition is more subtle than the «*filius ille tuus*» repetitions of ll. 381-386 that he quotes in extenso. The structure of these lines, which is not superficially obvious, may not be entirely artless - first only the second half of the couplet is given, 2 lines intervene before the first full couplet, 4 lines (twice 2) before the second repetition, then 14 before the third repetition (these being in the ratio 2:7) then 18, the sum of the previous two numbers, before the final repetition. Given the importance of the two and the seven and their sum in such texts as Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis*, the *Cosmographia* and the Alanus epitaph, these figures may not be without meaning. (The Alanus epitaph which occurs in our manuscript Aux 243 is discussed by d'Alverny 1965 p. 24.) Cf. *Aeneid II* 141-143: «*Quod te per superos et conscia numina veri/ Per si qua est que restet ad huc mortalibus usquam!/Intemerata fides, oro, miserere laborum*» and *Aeneid VI* 459: «*Per superos et si qua fides tellure sub ima est*». Gervaise's failure to notice this set of repetitions could relate to the manuscript he was using. The Migne edition from BN 5129 gives only two and a half of Hauréau's four and a half repetitions - in the case of the *filius ille tuus* the Migne edition gives 5 out of 6 repetitions. See notes at ll. 57-58 where Gervaise agrees with Migne against Hauréau, and at ll. 21-22 where he agrees with Hauréau against Migne.

667-670 Not in BN 5129 (PL 171.1377C).

671-674 & 695-698 A *topos* repeated in many varieties that emphasise alacrity and/or cheerfulness on the part of the giver. Cf. Bruck 1944 pp. 97-121 *passim* for cheerful giver without the connotations of "he who gives quickly gives twice"; and innumerable medieval Latin epigrams on the latter theme. Gervaise of Melkley (ed. Graebener 1965 p. 71 ll. 10-11) quotes a similar couplet, and
Matthew of Vendôme in his *Ars Versificatoria* quotes his own *Tobias* (l. 777): «*Gratius est iam iamque datum, meritique noverca/Esse solet dantis desidiosa manus*» (ed. Faral 1924 p. 114; transl. Galyon 1980 p. 30). Cf. also the lines from the thirteenth(?) century Provençal *Roman de Flamenca* (ed. Gschwind 1976; transl. Hubert and Porter 1962) 1660-1663: «*E qui trop fai son don attendre/Non sap donar mi deina vendre/E si dos promes es tost datz/Si mesesis dobla e sos gratz*»: "To give slowly and grudgingly/Shows lack of liberality/A promised gift that's given with speed/Has double worth and grace indeed". (Note the close verbal echoes to *Mathematicus* 697-8 in the last 2 lines.)

677-684 Cf. Catullus LXXVI ll. 1-6: «*Si qua recordanti benefacta priora voluptas/Est homini, cum se cogitat esse pium,/Nec sanctam violasse fidem, nec federe nullo/Divum at fallendos numine abusum homines/Multa parata manent in longa aestate, Catulle,/Ex hoc ingrato gaudia amore tibi*». Though there are no complete manuscripts of Catullus until after 1300 A.D., Reynolds 1983 p. 43 notes "intriguing echoes of his work in several writers of the ninth through the twelfth centuries" as well as the idea that the Veronese manuscript may have been brought to Verona from the north. One Catullan poem (No. 62) is preserved in the ninth century French *florilegium Thuanenum* (Reynolds, 1983 p. 45). See also Billanovich 1958.

689-692 Not in BN 5129 (PL 171.1378A.)

694 Parts of oratory-*color* relating to style, and gesture and voice relating to delivery. Cf. *Ad Herr.* IV on style and III.XI. 19-XV.27 on delivery.

701-712 Cf. the Stoic raising of mortals who have done good by the state to a place in the pantheon of the gods. See note on apotheoses of this kind at ll. 805-6.

701-702 Patricida asks first not for thanks for his earlier victory, which he keeps as an emotional climax to his request, but for recognition of his subsequent works of peace.

703-4 See note at ll. 143-4 on the necessity for a hero to excel beyond the heroes of former times.

707-712 The combined force of the poetic and rhetorical crescendos followed by the beautiful let-down of the «*silebo*» give heightened effect to the last *repetitio* of the «*Per superum, per si qua manet* ...».

723 Lucretia became a symbol for the chaste wife after killing herself because of her defilement by Sextus Tarquinius. Note the appositeness of the various allusions, and the fact that here we have two Roman examples together, Lucretia and Numa, whereas, for example, at l. 418 we have two Greek
examples, Medea and Penelope. The First Vatican Mythographer includes the story of Lucretia and Tarquin though he usually deals in myth rather than legend (ed. Bode 1834 pp. 25-26 No. 74).

Numa Pompilius was the second ruler of Rome after Romulus and famous for his religious observance. (See note at l. 370.) The Stoic poet Lucilius attacked the religious institutions of Numa (Arnold 1911 p. 383). Hermann of Carinthia (ed. and transl. Burnett, 1982 73vC) quotes Pliny (who took his information from Lucius Piso's Annals) as attributing magical powers to Numa (Natural History XXVIII.4.14). The De Nuptiis commentary (ed. Westra, 1979) f 6 va 1-2 credits Numa with allocating a place in heaven to those who did good for the state: «... existimans omnibus qui patriam conservaverint, adiuverint, auxerint cele paratum locum». None of these connexions really explains the unusual sacrifici which Migne labels for some reason vox Hildeberti. It is however a vox Lucani occurring at De Bello Civili IX 478: «Sic illa profecto/Sacrificio cecidere Numae, quae lecta iuventus/Patricia cervice movet ...» which Duff 1962 gives as "In this way the shields which chosen patricians carry on their shoulders surely fell before Numa as he performed sacrifice." This refers to the sacred shields kept at Rome which Lucan proceeds to explain arrived carried on the wind which deposited them in front of Numa sacrificing. The word pyra can hardly mean an ordinary sacrificial altar, and one wonders if there is some connexion with Pyra, the place on Mt Oeta where Hercules is said to have burned himself, but I have not yet elucidated what is behind this line. Note however the lectus of Mathematicus I. 723 and precipitanda of I. 724 against the lecta and the cecidere in Lucan.

Had the poet been following the continuation to the Aeneid commentary at this point one might have expected some reflection of the reiterated discussion of spiritus (ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p. 115 ll. 19-28; p. 119 ll. 1-17); but there is none. Jones and Jones ibid. pp. XVII-XVIII show that the original commentary ends at Aeneid VI.636.

Not in BN 5129 (PL 171.1378 D). A manuscript of the ninth century (Vat. Lat. 4929) contains a list of rivers for the use of poets (Barlow 1938 p. 123). The Loire, Seine, Oise and Moselle were added to the original list of Vibius Sequester by an eleventh century hand, and there are also extensive marginal and interlinear scholia from the late eleventh/early twelfth century in other parts of the manuscript ibid. p. 88. Barlow indicates that the manuscript was owned by a library near Orleans (p. 123). The manuscript also contains
the geography of Pomponius Mela of which it is the only known source, and
was used for the *Florilegium Gallicum* which also extracts from the
*Mathematicus* (Burton pp. 10-11) - such a manuscript may have been
consciously or unconsciously behind these four lines. Lewis and Short 1879
p. 1288 give a long list of classical references for the Pactolus, amongst them
Juvenal *Sat. XIV* 299 which also refers to the tumbling motion of the golden
sands on the bed of the river, but with the verb «volvit» compared with the
*Mathematicus* «versat». In microcosm this may be an exemplar of the poetic
creative process that the *Mathematicus* demonstrates in the large, especially if
the «vexit» of Seneca's *Oedipus* (l. 467) is also involved. Lewis and Short
have not included the reference to "Lydian Pactolus" in Seneca's *Oedipus* (ed.
Miller 1967 l. 467). The river Hermus is given comparatively few references
by Lewis and Short (p. 849), but the list does include Pomponius Mela
(1.17.3), who is not mentioned for the Pactolus. Lewis and Short give
Sarabat as the modern name for both Pactolus and Hermus. It is presumably
also the golden river of Lydia referred to in the Tibullan collection III.iii.29.
The Pactolus continued to be popular with later authors - Fulgentius the
mythographer (ed. Helm 1898 p. 50, transl. Whitbread 1971 p. 75) for
example gives the source of its golden sands as fall-out from the hair of Midas
when he washed it to get rid of the golden curse in the Pactolus. The First
Vatican Mythographer repeats the story (ed. Bode 1834 p. 30 No. 88). The
long list of rivers in the *Cosmographia* (ed. Dronke 1974, I.III 235-264)
which circles from east to west and seems also to ignore equalities between
different names for the same river (eg. the Padus at l. 254 and the Eridanus at
l. 259, both representing the Po, the later admittedly the mythical name) - this
long list in the *Cosmographia* (probably based on some source like Vebius
Sequester or Pomponius Mela) does not include the Pactolus. Where it could
geographically be expected, the Simois (a tiny river in Troy to the north of the
much greater Lydian Pactolus) is introduced (I.III.249-250). The fact that
the Seine and Loire are separated in the *Cosmographia* from the other rivers
by the mythical Eridanus may reflect a manuscript in which the Gallic rivers
were added by a later hand such as Vat. Lat. 4929. The Pactolus occurs at
*Aeneid X* 142 preceded by images of Acomm who carries a massive rock (cf.
*Aeneid VI* 616), and Dardanus, the mythical founder of Troy, "glittering like a
jewel set in gold or inlaid ivory"; cf. *Mathematicus* l. 648 where Patricida
takes his seat on the ivory-inlaid throne). The resonances between this
section of the *Mathematicus* and parts of *Aeneid VI* and *Aeneid X* are a
shining example of the processes of poetic composition so clearly explicated in Hope's *New Cratylus* (1979). The Phrygians, noted for their skill in gold-embroidery (amongst other things), are mentioned *inter alia* by Pomponius Mela (1.2.5). The connotations in a medieval poetic milieu of the word Tyre go far beyond what can be expressed in a translation, given that poetry depends on multiplicatored reverberations and Tyre has few and generally biblical reverberations in most modern minds. Apart from the purple, Tyre has connexions with Thebes as well as the Phoenician city, and is frequently used, especially in Virgil's *Aeneid* (*I* 20; *I* 336; *I* 388) and subsequently by Silius Italicus (*Punica VII* 268; *II* 24; *X* 171; *VIII* 13) to denote Carthaginians, with special reference to Hannibal. Here the association with the word "cultus" gives the central meaning - appreciation of the reverberations in the twelfth as in the twentieth century would depend on a knowledge of the poets. The Phrygians and the Indians which start and finish this list were also listed together by Juvenal in *Satire VI* 585 as the astrologers to whom the more well-to-do woman would have recourse.

Myro was a famous sculptor of Attica in the fifth century B.C. (BN 5129, gives maronis, the cognomen of Virgil, according to PL171.1378 C). It might be permitted to remark the *miris* of *Aeneid VI* 738 in what Austin calls this "strangely haunting line" (Commentary, p. 224). It is difficult to understand why Myro should be introduced here, other than by some kind of "free" association of this kind. Myro also occurs in the *Cosmographia* - in a long list of doings foreseen in the stars, I.III.47: *In stellis lepidum dictat Maro, Myro figurat* (ed. Barach and Wrobel 1876) which Wetherbee 1973 translates as "creates forms"; but the Dronke edition has Milo at this point. Here it is hardly possible to read Maro for Myro, as Virgil has just been mentioned by this very name.

The echoes of the New Testament words from the cross: "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do" relate to doctrines of pure intent, already evinced in the father's speech to the mother (cf. note at l. 410). The same sentiment underlies the prayer of Alexis (ed. Odenkirchen p. 81) for his parents' servants who abuse him «*quer ne secent que funt*». Note also forgiveness at Virgil *Aeneid VI* 745-7 «*Donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe/concretam eximit labem, purunque relinquit/aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem*».

One of the most popular laws in all the sets of Roman declamations that have come down to us states that a hero may request whatever reward he chooses.
The law dates back to the free choice of reward available to the *aristeus* in early Greek declamation. Russell 1983 p. 24 says there is no historical evidence for it.

This reflects Stoic doctrine on suicide which, while denying that death should be regarded as an evil, held that, in the normal course of events, to pre-empt the hour of death was wrong, a doctrine not limited to the Stoics. Macrobius’ commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* 1.13 (ed. Stahl, 1952) discusses several very similar opinions from a variety of sources. (Stahl p. 139 fn.10 also discusses the likelihood of Macrobius’ having misrepresented his sources.)

Dronke 1974 p. 133 n.1 notes the echoes from Virgil *Georgics IV* 220 in *aethereos haustus*, previously echoed in Seneca’s *Oedipus*. The possibility that the *Mathematicus* poet had knowledge of Seneca’s dramas agrees with suspicions of mine relating to the Hercules plays, especially the *Hercules Oetaeus*, though there is a question about Seneca’s part in writing the *Oetaeus*.

Cf. ll. 227-230. The irony of the earlier lines is brought out by the opposition of these. Cf. Ovid’s *Ibis* ll. 209-216 ending: «Te fera nec quicquam placidum spondentia Martis/Sidera presserunt falciferique senis». (The *Ibis* is interrupted by extracts from the *Mathematicus* in Rome Vat. Reg. lat. 2120 with no break, but amongst the 66 lines of extracts neither 227-230 nor 771-774 are found). Lucan *De Bello Civili I* 651-665 has a more sustained description of baleful celestial influences.

Cf. notes at 639 and 643 and at 641.

Gilson (1928), in spite of his failure to realise that Noys in the *Cosmographia* was a feminine person, is arguably still the best introduction to the complex relationships between God, the divine mind, nature, and their various manifestations. The PL edition of the *Mathematicus* follows the term «*filia splendoris*» with an [«*id est ratio*», presumably from a manuscript gloss. Spanneut 1973 pp. 182-5 discusses the interpretations of the world-soul and nature made by a range of twelfth-century writers. Häring 1956 discusses the Christian and Pythagorean trinitarian doctrines of Thierry of Chartres and Clarenbald of Arras.

Cf. Persius 2.74 «incoctum generoso pectus honesto», the «incoctum» here being from the verb «incoquo» and having the meaning of imbued. The change from «generosa» to «generosum» could be a case of misquoting by the poet, of scribal or editorial error, or merely part of the normal poetic re-
working of words occurring accidentally or deliberately, both equally acceptable to the poet.

795-802 See note at 639 and 643. The public speech of Patricida elaborates the ideas expressed in the earlier soliloquy.

796 For a detailed study of pagan and Christian authors from Plato to the middle ages on the body as a prison for the soul, see Courcelle 1965. Amongst authors who handle this theme we have Seneca in the Ad Marciam picturing the happiness of the soul freed by death (cited from Arnold 1911 p. 343); Cicero in the Somnium Scipionis in the version Macrobius bequeathed to the middle ages with his commentary Ch. I.2 (transl. Stahl, 1952 p. 71) which makes out that what we call life on earth is really death compared with the true life of the soul when freed from the body; Walter of Châtillon in his Alexandrei at the death of Alexander: "et luto de carcere tandem/spiritus erumpens tenues exivit in auras" (X.426-7 ed. Colker 1978 p. 272).


802 See note at l. 61 re different terms for stars, planets and constellations. The word here is "sidus" compared with the single "stella" in Plato Latinus 41E (ed. Waszink, 1962 p. 36) where the souls are numbered one for one with the stars. At Aeneid VI 545 Deiphobus returning to his particular part of the underworld says: "Explebo numerum reddarque tenebris", at which Austin in his 1977 Commentary on Aeneid VI says that both Servius and Macrobius have invented strange interpretations, but he sees a simple tally of the dead. (Macrobius in his Somnium Scipionis commentary (1.13.11) relates the "numbers" to allotted spans of years - an improbable explanation.) The "numerum" in Mathematicus 802 probably has a similar sense to Austin's "tally" - if every soul belongs to a star, when it returns to its star it in some way fills out the number (count, reckoning) for that constellation to which its star belongs. William of Conches understood Plato's "myth" of the pre-existence of human souls each in its star as a metaphor for the influence of the heavens on earthly life (Glosae super platonem ed. E. Jeanneau (Paris 1965) pp. 211-215 noted from Wetherbee's transl. of the Cosmographia 1973 p. 132).

801-802 Ovid's lines from the epilogue of the Metamorphoses "I shall soar undying far above the stars" (15.875-76) express an oft-repeated human desire for a celestial afterlife. Cf. Fulgentius in the prologue to his Mythologies (transl. Whitbread 1971 p. 43 and p. 47 and p. 100 fn. 16 for the Ovid quotation). It is found again in the seventh suasoria of the elder Seneca where the soul freed
from the body "will hasten to its familiar home among the stars". Stoic doctrine postulates a return of the soul after its separation from the body to a brighter region above the murky atmosphere (Arnold 1911 pp. 263-4). Lucan De Bello Civili IX 6-8 locates the place which heroes occupy after death with some precision: «Qua niger astriferis conectitur axibus aerīQuodque patet terras inter lunaeque meatus,Semidei manes habitant...» which Duff translates: "where our dark atmosphere - the intervening space between earth and the moon's orbit - joins on to the starry spheres, there after death dwell heroes ...". The idea is found more than once in the Cosmographia (ed. Dronke 1978) at II.IV.49-50: «Corpore iam posito cognata redibit ad astrā>Additus in numero superum deus», and II.X.53-54: «Ethera scandet homo, iam non incognitus hospes\Preveniens stella signa locumque sue». Again in Walter of Châtillon's Alexandreis (ed. Colker 1978 p. 271) Alexander is called to a place among the stars.

The line between acceptance of death as a matter of indifference (as it was viewed by the Old Stoa) and perceiving it or its aftermath as a blessed state (as in certain sections of later Stoicism and in Christian eschatology) is finely drawn by the poets. The shift in the mind of Patricida from the idea of his own enforced death as a necessary evil to its opening up to him of a more blessed existence than could be had on earth reflects these differences. It is pre-figured in the change of attitude to death between Seneca's Hercules Furens and Hercules Oetaeus (Galinsky 1972 pp. 73-80; Evans 1950 p. 182 sees Hercules dying with "the gaze of one who seeks the stars"); cf. Hercules Oetaeus (ed. and transl. Miller 1960 Vol. II pp. 336-7) ll. 1942-3 for the speech made by the vox Herculis after his death: «...iam virtus mihilIn astra et ipsos fecit ad superos iter». The concept that the hero in actively seeking death thereby triumphs over death is also part of the Hercules legend (Galinsky 1972 p. 176) and has its reverberations in Christian eschatology where Christ in submitting to the human fate submitted to death, thereby apparently submitting to the power of Satan, but in rising again on the third day overcame that power, thereby leading mankind out of bondage. To what extent the Christian martyrs were actively seeking death is a related question. And, since the eremetic life was seen as worthy of a martyr's crown, being a death to the world (cf. Sticca 1985 p. 36 on Roswitha's use of this in Paphnutius), it also can bear connotations of a licit form of suicide.

The Stoics ended their list of deities with a list of heroes raised to the sky for services to their fellow-men (Arnold 1911 p. 233). The Greek list started
with Hercules and included Liber (Bacchus), Castor and Pollux, and Aesculapius (Anderson 1928 p. 7), and the Romans added Romulus and sometimes Scipio. Cicero's list in the *De natura deorum*, put in the mouth of the Stoic Balbus, includes Romulus but not Scipio (Bassett 1966 p. 273). Bassett (*ibid.*) also notes that part of this same canon of demigods reappears at the end of the *Punica* in association with Scipio's triumphal procession, which is his apotheosis, similar to that of Hercules on Mt. Oeta. Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (transl. with Macrobius' commentary Stahl 1952 p. 71) III.1 says "... all those who have saved, aided or enlarged the commonwealth have a definite place marked off in the heavens where they may enjoy a blessed existence forever". See also VIII.2 on the soul as not only immortal but a god. In his commentary, Macrobius quotes Virgil (*Aenid* VI 640-641) as giving his heroes a place in the sky as well as in the underworld (I.IX.9 transl. Stahl 1952 p. 126). The *Aenid* Commentary (ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p. 54 ll. 23-24) commenting on *Aenid* VI 119 and explicating the Orpheus-Eurydice story includes the statement: *Divina autem virtus dicitur quia hoc habet homo in se divinum*.

Macrobius in his commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, improving on *Aenid* VI 653-655 which gave ordinary mortals joy in pursuing after death the pleasures they had pursued in life, gives the governors of worldly states continued interest after death in the governance of the world. (The fact that Macrobius also reads as a source for the previous couplet could imply more direct dependence on Macrobius here than on Virgil.) The idea of posthumous dominion was common - Embrico of Mainz in his eleventh-century *Vita Mahumeti* (ed. Cambier 1962 p. 27) interprets Mahomet's fainting-fits as voyages in which he is called to the sky by God to discuss the government of the world, and Walter of Châtillon in his *Alexandreis* (ed. Colker 1978 Book X.406-409) has his hero called to the stars to help Jupiter dispose the small affairs of men and greater things: *Ut solium regni et sedem sortitus in astra/Cum Jove disponam rerum secreta brevesque/Eventus hominum superumque negotia tractem*.

Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* gives the enthymeme a wide application: "When certain things being posited, something different results by reason of them, from their being true, either universally or in most cases, this is called in dialectic a syllogism, in rhetoric an enthymeme". For Ciceronian, Quintilianic and Senecan usages see Fairweather 1981 pp. 204-5, whose translation of Aristotle *Rhetorica I* 2-9 is given above. *Cf. Cosmographia*
II.XIV.75-76: "Quicquid ad elencos arguto disputat ore Gallus ..." "whatever Gaul debates in syllogism with subtle speech" (Wetherbee 1973 transl.). Lewis and Short give "inductio" as a mode of reasoning from known particulars to generals. Cf. Cicero De Inv. I.xxxi.51-56.

813 & 819 The combination of Varus and Pollio immediately brings to mind Virgil's Fourth Eclogue addressed to Pollio who had saved Virgil's property at Mantua from confiscation when he was involved in settling the veterans in 40 B.C. Varus, whose help in the same affair Virgil mentions in Eclogue VI, was a noted jurist and Pollio a distinguished orator, poet and historian who had in 54 B.C. prosecuted C. Cato. (Note Cato at l. 827.) Pollio is also a bad actor in the Plautus play Bacchides 2.2.37. The poet may be conflating the two if he had access to the works involved. (The Fourth Eclogue was well known because of its supposed prophecy of the birth of Christ.) See Wormell 1969 pp. 7-8 and p. 16 for the relationships of Pollio and Varus to the Eclogues.

823 & 827 & 832 The florilegium manuscript Berlin Diez B. Santen 60 as well as BN 5129 (according to Migne) gives "picti" at l. 832 instead of Hauréau's "ficti". This reflects the "depictae" of l. 823 and "pictis" of l. 827 and relates not only to the rhetorical "colores", but to the ubiquitous "ut pictura poesis" theme. It is not possible to reproduce all these echoes in English translation since the painting or colouring of words is not as highly developed a metaphor in English as in Latin.

825 Camillus, the hero who according to tradition returned from exile to recapture Rome from the Gauls in the fourth century B.C. is referred to in Aeneid VI at l. 825 and is the central figure of Livy Bk 5. He is honoured as the saviour and second founder of Rome, and his name acquires a legendary aura by its association with that of Romulus. But his name is also attended by a religious aura from the basic meaning of the word "camillus", being a noble youth employed in religious rites. See note at l. 261, where he is already linked to Patricida by the (legendary) triumph with white horses, and the notices there, citing further details of his real and literary personas from Ogilvie's commentary on Livy. At this point in the Mathematicus he seems to be introduced simply as an exemplar of early Roman simplicity of speech and manners rather than for the more complex "fatalis dux" etc. allusions.

827 The mother has already mentioned Cato (l. 510) in the same breath as Justinian (mentioned again at l. 845 in his capacity as law-giver). The Catos mentioned here probably link M. Porcius Cato the elder, who was given the
title «censorius» because of his strict views on morals - he also wrote a De Re Rustica - and his descendant of the same name who opposed Caesar and suicided at Utica (hence also called Cato of Utica) and was held in great reverence by the Stoics. Seneca for example said he was stronger than Hercules because he fought monsters of vanity and degeneracy (quoted from Galinsky 1972 p. 174). Sometimes the word «Catones» was extended to apply to stern and serious people in general (Lewis and Short 1879 p. 302). The name Cato was also well-known to the middle ages through the Distichs of Cato found in many elementary school books; their author Dionysius Cato lived later, perhaps in Constantine's era.

829-830 These three can alternatively be interpreted as grammar, dialectic and rhetoric.

830 Cf. l. 415 where the father of Patricida honours the mother because she is not devious with words.

829-834 The topos, inherited from antiquity, of the demoralizing effect of Greek culture on Roman character may be here enhanced by an allusion to the schools of Paris - if it is not too early to see Paris as the Athens of the North. The fact that Athens was in fact distanced from Rome by a long sea-voyage, whereas Paris was not so distanced from such cities as Tours and Orleans, the latter at least in cultural competition and conflict with Paris, could be behind a kind of inverted satire here. This however might be reading more into these lines than they intended to convey to the contemporary audience, especially if the poem was written before Paris earned the "Athens of the North" sobriquet. Bate 1976 p. 5 thinks that there are double-entendres based on the Grecorum studia at Athens (Paris) in the Geta of Vitalis of Blois which he dates to the middle of the twelfth century: it is therefore not impossible that something similar is intended here. However the original Roman fear of Greek artistic influence is widely attested from the earliest times (Cf. Leeman 1963 Vol I. pp. 20-21; Bonner 1949 p. 16; Kennedy 1972 pp. 4-5); and, while learning the language arts from the Greeks, the Romans, including not only Cato but Cicero and the elder Seneca, continued to fulminate against their mentors. The feeling was so strong that the Romans had actually expelled Greek philosophers and rhetoricians by public decree in 161 B.C. but this did not halt the spread of Greek thought and rhetorical practice. The animosity was also handed down to later ages - Fulgentius in his Mythographies (ed. Helm 1898 p. 11, transl. Whitbread 1971 p. 45) talks of the "fictional inventions of the lying Greeks" («mendacis Greciae fabuloso commento»).
Cf. note on Camillus at l. 168 and Virgil's substitution of standards for gold in the Camillus legend at Aeneid VI 825.

Technical legal language, as at ll. 561-4, «facere cum» meaning "to side with". The fascination with law, particularly Roman law, from c. 1140 when Gratian's Decretum was published seems to be reflected here. The poem also reflects its source in declamatio with the obvious affiliations.

Justinian was previously mentioned at line 509. See note. The mention of him twice in this poem is interesting because the other names in the poem all belong much earlier - either to myth, or the Roman Republic, or the age of Kings before the Republic. Justinian as organiser of the great law codes so fashionable at the time seems to have become, for poetic purposes, mythical and outside of time. Cf. the mention of his name in a five-line poem quoted by Otto of Freising (ed.Waitz 1978 p. 47). An indication of the popularity of Justinian's law books at the time may be had from the fact that Thierry of Chartres who died about 1150 bequeathed Justinian's Institutes, Novels and Digests to Chartres Cathedral (Beddie 1929 p. 4). There is a play on the meanings of the word «munus», in one sense gift, in another public office, which cannot be reproduced in the translation.

Wetherbee 1972 p. 157 has already noted the obvious word-play of the last line on the "liber explicit" that frequently ends a work or a volume in manuscripts: it is inter alia the form of closure of each book of Livy, whose Book 5 ends shortly after a speech by Camillus. Cousin 1840 p. 353 says of the Mathematicus: "Le poème en reste à un discours fort obscur d'un certain Camille: Pone citus trabeam, verum citus exue regem/Liber et explicitus ad mea vota meus." I have so far been unable to find this (Cousin does not give his exact source) - though the last line is exactly the same, the second last has «pone» for «pono», «verum» for «vestrum» and «exue» for «exuo». The rare word explicitus is used by Seneca Epist. 76.15 and 95.32 but the senses in which he uses it do not help solve this problem. The last line can be translated "And my book is finished to my satisfaction" with the added jeu d'esprit of having the «meus ... liber» enclosing the last line to signify in microcosm the wrapping up, the «integumentum» or «involucrum», that the whole book is for its hidden meaning. The kind of narrative closure involving resolution that modern audiences expect was not such a common feature of medieval narrative. As mentioned at ll. 321-2, there are ways in which all the works attributed to Bernard Silvester can be perceived as unfinished. Both commentaries fall short of commenting the entire work,
whether by design or not, or whether it is only the surviving copies that are truncated. It may be pertinent that the Aeneid Commentary stops at line 636 of Book VI where Aeneas sets the bough across the threshold of the entry to Elisium. Is this allegorically the end of a journey? Or, thinking of a Christian heaven, a tacit example of the inexpressibility topos? The De Nuptiis Commentary stops short in mid-sentence part way through Book I, though there is evidence that the original either was longer or at least intended to cover Books I and II (Westra in the introduction to his edition 1979 p. 20). Nevertheless it does stop short, as Wetherbee has pointed out (in the introduction to his translation of the Cosmographia, 1973 p. 23), at a revelation of a "trinity" of gods - Jove, Pallas and Juno, a trinity Bernard Silvester parallels with the Father, Noys and World Soul of the philosophers and Father, Son and Holy Spirit of Scripture (ibid.). These powerful images were also related to various aspects and abstract properties of divinity. See Häring 1956 for example for the usages of Thierry of Chartres and Clarembald of Arras. Stock 1972a p. 155 quotes Peter Abelard as the first to relate the Trinity in some way to «potentia», «sapientia» and «benignitas», and discusses the transformations of this idea by many writers including William of Conches and Hugh of Saint Victor. Silverstein 1955 p. 219 in discussing an astrological treatise finds a generative trinity postulated as «causa», «ratio» and «natura». The Mathematicus itself has the perfect excuse for ending without resolution because of its narrative base in a declamatio though this did not prevent a later attempt to close it in terms the continuator calqued on the structure of the remaining lines of Aeneid VI (Wattenbach 1895 p. 127-8 publishes the addition and Hauréau 1895 pp. 37-38 reproduces it. See discussion in Vol. II Ch. III). The Cosmographia like many other medieval writings fails to complete what it purports at the outset to do - for though it says it is going to deal with the juncture of man's soul and body, it ends as soon as the physical part has been fabricated. Nor does any continuation appear to have been intended. If the Cosmographia is to be interpreted allegorically and if it has some ending in revelation (or self-knowledge) as the other texts appear to do, what is the basis of the allegory? Von den Steinen 1967 p. 378 already perceived an inkling of the truth twenty years ago when he said of the Mathematicus «... j'ai l'impression que Bernard n'était pas en premier lieu intéressé à trouver un dénouement à tout prix». My researches seem to verify his impression. The reading of the vernacular romances that makes a quest for self-knowledge a necessary
prelude to successful re-integration of the individual into society may be a variation on the same theme played in a lower key.

Dronke 1974 p. 134 fn. 4 suggests for this line, which both Hauréau and Wattenbach considered incomprensible, taking the «tamen» substantively:
"... Let him who seeks things that should be sought obtain them without a 'but'". I have taken the «repetenda» in the legal sense, signifying a re-trail, and the «impetret» impersonally. Cf. technical legal language in the poem itself at ll. 561-4 and 843-4.

873-4 Cf. ll. 699-700 «... et meritorum/ Non veuit ad mores gratia surda bonos».
Note to Bibliography

Where there is a commonly accepted Anglicised version of an author's name this is used, as for example Peter Riga; otherwise a commonly accepted version as close to the original as possible, as for example Petrus Alphonsus. Where a surname seems established by usage it determines location, as for example Abelard; whereas an author whose first name still seems primary is located by that name, as for example Peter Riga. Works are listed under the primary author in preference to a subsequent editor or translator, as for example Martianus Capella rather than Stahl and Johnson, but commentaries by the name of the commentator as for example Remigius of Auxerre rather than Martianus or Lutz. The works of each author are listed alphabetically by the first word of the title. Where an author has more than one work with the same date, the extra works are distinguished by a letter a, b, c... for citation.

Anonymous works are listed by title.

Of ancient authors only those whose works are central to the argument or have been specifically cited are listed. Otherwise any good modern edition will suffice. In some cases where there is not a good recent edition of a work, I have unashamedly quoted from a good recent translation such as Stahl's translation of the Macrobius commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*. Bernard Silvester's *Cosmographia* I have cited from Dronke's 1978 edition.
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103


104


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