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Chapter I

Choice of contexts

And I come after gleaning here and there
And am full glad if I can find an ear
Of any goodly word that ye have left.

The central theses of this volume are:

1. That the Mathematicus is an allegory based on Aeneid VI (Chapter III);
2. That its hero depends more on Hercules than Oedipus (Chapter V);
3. That the underlying philosophy is nearer to Stoicism than to Platonism, neo-
   Platonism or Christianity (Chapter IV).

The central theses are wrapped in three further contexts, all of them literary. Many
other contexts could be explored, ranging from the study of the language and style of
the poem to the picture it presents of social institutions such as marriage. The literary
aspects however seem central to understanding the poem in its own context. They
have been divided into a vaguely chronological past, present and future as:

1. The influence of the declamatory tradition that provided the surface narrative
   (Chapter II);
2. Some collateral information on the twelfth century versification of declamatory
   material (Chapter VI);
3. Indications from the manuscript tradition of the place of the poem in
   contemporary and near-contemporary literary culture (Chapter VII).

It will be seen that these are all poem-centered. This is a necessary pre-
c-condition to the most basic level of understanding of the poem, which is as much as this
study hopes to achieve. "The critic" Schmitz (1977 p. 46) has wisely observed "is
always tempted to provide an interpretation of the poem which grounds it simply,
directly and literally in some non-poetic context of meaning - if not in historical realities
then in social systems". It has not proved possible to reduce the Mathematicus to such
bounded terms of reference without doing the poem extreme violence. By the same
token, it has not seemed reasonable to try to fit the poem into the frames of reference
that have been postulated for its author, Bernard Silvester, particularly with regard to
his other more widely studied poem, the Cosmographia. This would require a far
more detailed first-hand knowledge of the Cosmographia itself than the present author
could attain in the limited time available, or else reliance on secondary literature and
generalisations that could not be adequately checked. It has seemed better to be silent
than to make superficial connexions. Those who have a deeper knowledge of the
Cosmographia may be able to make use of some of the information in this thesis to
pursue the study of Bernard Silvester and his world view.

Even less has the study of the Mathematicus provided information that could
specifically relate its author to philosophic movements at the time it was probably
written.1 Given the availability of various currents of thought transmitted from
antiquity, this poem could have been written at almost any time - nor is the delivery of
narrative in elegiac couplets, though it suits the twelfth century, restricted to that age.
The word-plays that can seem to refer to specific occurrences of the eleven-forties can
also carry less time-dependent allusions. For which one can be duly thankful - poetry
after all seeks to stand outside of time. This is not to deny that the accoutrements of the
study of the poem - particularly the study of its manuscript transmission - can provide
valuable data for the study of history in its more commonly practised diachronic mode.
However the main thrust of the present study lies elsewhere - it belongs to the study of
history practised as a mode of understanding, which requires critical engagement with
the work of art as "directly given in the present".2

I submit my reading of the poem as one of many possible interpretations - not
only the whole poem but all its parts are capable of many readings which can be linked
in a variety of ways with different contexts. We can practice piecemeal allegoresis like
Servius or the more holistic variety like Fulgentius. I have included as an appendix to

1 Apart from the fact that what we are dealing with is, to translate a phrase from de Bruyne 1946
Vol. 2 p. 280), "not a teaching of philosophers but an exposition (exposé) of poets".
2 This phrase was used by Treitler (1980 p. 204) in a paper rich in understanding of the values of
the different modes of practising history, particularly where the historical artefacts are basically
objects of aesthetic appeal.
Chapter III of this volume a reading suggested by L.S. Davidson which has interest for the social-cultural-institutional set of contexts. It is quite possible that this could have been one of the meanings knowingly created by the poet - and even if it were not, this is a matter of little moment - poets frequently create meaning outside or beyond their own knowledge or intent. The reading I propose I think can be proved to be authorially intended, and this is of interest to an understanding of the poet's perception of his craft. This is the central focus of the contexts elaborated in the following chapters.

The first context explored, the rhetorical (Chapter II), derives its immediate importance from the fact that the poem is based on an antique declamation. As there is little published on the influence of ancient rhetoric either through its preserved texts or through the place it continued to hold in pedagogic practice, it has seemed worthwhile to investigate some of the connexions between the literary renaissance of the twelfth century and this ancient art. As might be expected, the drama, another of the performing arts that uses the spoken word as its medium, soon becomes involved, and the Mathematicus is seen against the Latin elegiac comedies that were starting to appear about the time it was written. The contemporary flowering of debate and dialogue poetry in Old French and Old Provençal as well as Latin can also be related, and even some of the characteristics of subsequent vernacular narrative. The declamations that had provided matter for poetry in the twelfth century were by the thirteenth being mined for the moralising prose of the Gesta Romanorum - relieved of their rhetoric they were turned into fabulous narrative. However it would be a mistake to think that rhetoric came to our twelfth-century poets only through rhetorical texts, manuals and declamatory practice - the rhetoric they learned by example rather than precept from the Roman poets they studied early in life as grammar might have been even more important to their poetry.

The second context, the allegorical (Chapter III), exposes a path from poet to poet through the medium of a prose commentary. The first poet is Virgil, the poem Aeneid VI, and the commentary is that on the first six books of the Aeneid attributed to
Bernard Silvester. Though Bernard Silvester may not have written this commentary (and this thesis does not solve this question) it seems highly probable that he used it in writing the *Mathematicus*. The *Mathematicus* seems to hide beneath the surface narrative which it took from an ancient declamation a story of a journey to understanding closely and in places very specifically based on the allegorical interpretation of the *Aeneid* commentator. Though this was itself heavily indebted to the allegorising commentary of the sixth-century Fulgentius, there are additions and variations from Fulgentius in the twelfth-century commentary that seem to be very precisely reflected by the poem. Fulgentius is only one of a long line of readers from Virgil’s time to the present day who find deeper levels of meaning in Virgil, especially in *Aeneid VI*, and Dante has made journeying with Virgil famous. Bernard’s response - to wrap the deeper meaning found in Virgil up again in a different narrative covering - belongs to an age much interested in levels of meaning and layers of covering. A later addition indicates that at least one near-contemporary may have seen behind the veil.

The next two contexts, the philosophical (Chapter IV) and the mythopoetic (Chapter V), are closely related and do not depend on any hidden meaning in the poem. In fact these chapters were written before the allegory became apparent. However, once the hidden meaning is seen, it becomes clear that these contexts are also related to it. Chapter IV makes out a case for Stoicism as the poem’s underlying philosophy - there is obviously nothing very Christian about it, neither deeper Christian values underneath a pagan facade nor Christian «colores» added to a basically pagan poem to give a suitable patina. John of Salisbury in applying the words «*verba infidelium*» to ll. 175-6 of the *Mathematicus* might have been speaking of the whole poem. Given the importance attached to Chartres at the time and the emphasis in modern writings on Chartrian Platonism one might anticipate something Platonic, or neo-Platonic at least. Yet there seems a subtle difference. Though it is an exceedingly difficult task to disentangle the threads of ancient pagan philosophies surviving through, in and

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alongside Christian doctrines of the middle ages, Stoicism seems to provide the best clue to the philosophy behind the *Mathematicus*. To what extent the Stoic affiliations of the sub-text, the *Mathematicus* declamation, and the hidden text, *Aeneid VI*, may be responsible for this is hard to say, but it seems likely that the poet had his own appreciation of Stoic philosophy. Chapter IV sets out some paths by which various strains of Stoicism reached the middle ages.

Chapter V proposes the Stoic sage-hero-saint Hercules as a more likely *figura* for Patricida than Oedipus, the other mythical character frequently proposed. Though both were known to the twelfth century, the Oedipus myth had not the high status it enjoys in the twentieth century, while Hercules, who has degenerated into a mindless strong-man in the last few centuries, was understood and appreciated as a complex character of wide mythical significance. The attributes common to Patricida and Oedipus are seen to relate also to a number of mythical heroes and to be trivialities of narrative detail in the *Mathematicus*, and the important theme of mother-incest is lacking. In his overcoming problems and turning his voluntary suicide into a triumphant return to the stars, it is the *vox Herculis* that Patricida echoes.

In Chapter VI we look at Bernard Silvester as a poet in a tradition that turned ancient (prose) declamations into poems. Though some of these poems travel around in company with the *Mathematicus*, no good reason for ascribing them to Bernard has been found. A study of one of them has, however, suggested lines of enquiry for studying manuscripts of the *Mathematicus* itself and has indicated which manuscripts might prove most interesting. The relation of the *Mathematicus* with the Christian *passio*, a very widespread genre at the time both in Latin and the vernaculars, is also sketched.

Finally in Chapter VII we study the poem in its manuscript context. The findings of this chapter should be a useful tool for full-scale study of the manuscripts themselves, a task which the evidence so far indicates could bring to light some interesting information not only on the *Mathematicus* but for Bernard's other well-
known poem the *Cosmographia*. From the evidence of catalogues, printed editions and some small explorations into the *florilegia* manuscripts, the *Mathematicus* seems to have had a remarkably faithful transmission. The range of manuscripts in which it occurs and their independence from one another are noteworthy, as well as their early date and their French provenance. Study of the contents of the manuscripts rejects the idea of a large body of anonymous poetry circulating at the time of the earliest copyings of the *Mathematicus*, though poems are rarely given either an author or a title. Different manuscripts choose different poets in a way that seems not far removed from individual collections. These data may be useful in defining the early stages of the history of medieval poetic anthologies.

Though it seemed reasonable (and none of the subsequent work undertaken here has negated this) to attempt a translation without waiting for a new edition, these ancillary studies indicate that a new edition could be prepared, perhaps choosing one base manuscript and noting the variations in the others. It may not prove vastly different from the 1895 Hauréau edition. However it is very likely to reveal in the work of its preparation valuable information on the processes of poetic creation and transmission in the ill-documented years at the middle of the twelfth century. The detail in Chapters VI and VII is presented here not only to justify the conclusions in these chapters, but as a prolegomenon for manuscript studies.
Chapter II

The rhetorical element: declamation, drama and debate

«Causas itaque quas a Quintiliano tractatas repperi, meo more declamandas tibi legavi»

pseudo-Quintilian *Declamationes maiores*


The immediate inspiration for the surface narrative of the *Mathematicus* is a declamation preserved through the middle ages under the name of Quintilian.¹ This declamation, itself entitled *Mathematicus*, consists of one very long speech preceded by an argument which reads: «Vir fortis optet praemium quod volet. Qui causas <voluntariae> mortis in senatu non reddiderit, inseptus abiciatur. Quidam de partu uxoris mathematicus consultuit. Is respondit, virum fortetm futurum qui nasceretur, deinde parricidam. Cum adolevisset qui erat natus, bello patriae fortiter fecit. Reddit causas voluntariae mortis. Pater contradicit.»² The long speech (500 lines of prose) that follows is only that of the son. There is no speech of the father, except that some of the manuscripts have an ancillary father-son dialogue. (The *Mathematicus* poem also ends with the son's speech except in one manuscript where there is a subsequent exchange between father and son, but this continuation is regarded as a later addition.)³

With the first words of the argument in the pseudo-Quintilian *Mathematicus* we are centred in the *declamatio* tradition. The *vir fortis*, the Latin equivalent of the Greek *aristeus*, the hero-figure, is one of the most popular of the stock characters in this tradition, and his choosing whatever reward he wants and arguing for it one of the

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¹ It is no. 4 of the set of 19 declamations generally known as the pseudo-Quintilian *Declamationes maiores* (ed. Håkanson 1982 pp. 60-84). There is a short account of the transmission in Reynolds 1983 pp. 334-336.

² "A hero may choose what reward he desires. A hero who has not given reasons for his suicide to the senate may be left without burial. A certain man consulted an astrologer about the child his wife would have. The astrologer replied that the one who would be born would be a hero, then a parricide. When the child who was born grew up, he fought bravely for his country. He gives the reasons for his suicide. The father opposes."

stock themes. It is interesting that there is no historical basis for this, though some of the other standard declamation topics are based on real laws or historical events and people. Nor is there any historical precedent in Roman law for the next condition - that a suicide who has not successfully pleaded his suicide before the senate cannot receive proper burial. Other reasons for refusing burial did exist since the early Greek centuries (witness Antigone), but there was no particular disgrace attaching to suicide in Rome. Stoic philosophy allowed it in certain circumstances. There was however knowledge amongst the Romans of a Greek custom where a person might persuade the authorities that he should be "granted the hemlock". Valerius Maximus says it was a law of Massilia and that he had seen the custom in operation in the first century A.D. and one of the most famous declamations is a prosangelia (self denunciation) by the fourth century A.D. Libanius of Antioch in which a man asks to suicide because he cannot stand the talkativeness of his wife. By the time of Justinian there was some antipathy to suicide committed without rational cause and this is detailed in the Digest. By this time the Christian position on suicide was hardening, but the earliest Christian rulings against suicide were the 533 A.D. Council of Orléans which refused funeral rights to anyone who suicided while accused of a crime and the 562 A.D. Council of Braga which widened this to deny all suicides funeral rights. Another of the pseudo-Quintilian Declamationes maiores leaves unburied anyone who deserts his parents in

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5 Though Bonner 1949 p. 101 quotes instances of suicides being denied burial, mainly in cases of hanging.
7 Russell 1983 pp. 91-96.
8 Alvarez 1971 p. 82-83.
9 Alvarez 1971 p. 89, and see pp. 63-93 for a well researched study of suicide in the ancient world and early Christian centuries. Alvarez' equating of Christian martyrdom with suicide may be a fairly extreme position, though not new - he points out (p. 69) that Tertullian regarded the death of Jesus as a sort of suicide. It is not hard to see in the medieval penchant for passiones something of the death-wish of modern psychology.
calamity. The postulating of imaginary laws (*nomos esto* - let there be a law) was a normal part of the ancient *declamatio* tradition.

The law against the burial of a suicide who has not successfully pleaded his case for killing himself before the senate sets the stage for the central problem of the *Mathematicus* - the dilemma of the son who is destined according to a fortune-teller to kill his father. Parricide, unlike suicide, was regarded as a heinous crime in Roman law and received the attention warranted by its heightened probability in a society that gave a father dominion over his sons no matter what their age. Horrible punishments were reserved for this crime, and some of the manuscripts of the pseudo-Quintilian *Mathematicus* insert a sentence after the one on the burial of suicides that reflects Roman law on parricide: «lex: parricida culleo obvolutus cum simia et serpente in profluentem abiciatur».

The other part of the argument which gives the declamation (and also the poem in some manuscripts) its name, *Mathematicus*, relates to astrology. If the *mathematicus* (the astrologer) were nothing more than an adjunct to provide a forecast, which could just as easily have been provided by augury, oracle or prophecy, then it would seem strange to title either declamation or poem with nothing but the name of a facilitating device. The titles of the other eighteen works in the pseudo-Quintilian

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10 No. 6 ed. Håkanson 1982 p. 110. Lack of proper burial was regarded as a great misfortune - in *Aeneid VI* for example Polyneus is unable to cross the Styx to the fields of the blest because he has not been buried (II. 305-383).

11 Russell 1983 p. 34.

12 It occurs either as the central concern or incidentally in many of the declamations that have come down to us. No. 17 of the pseudo-Quintilian *maiores* for example has a father accusing his son of the crime when the son refused the father's order to drink the poison the son had said he was preparing for his own death (ed. Håkanson 1982 p. 331). However Duff informs us that Solon had framed no law against parricide because it was too monstrous an idea (Loeb ed. of Lucan p. 466 fn 1). The pseudo-Ciceroonian *Ad Herennium* lists as obvious examples of honourable causes «pro viro fori, contra parridiam» (I.III.5).

13 "Let the parricide, enclosed in a sack with a monkey and a snake, be thrown into the river" ed. Lehnert 1905 p. 393. (A cock has also been included in some versions.) Håkanson does not include the dialogue version of the *Mathematicus* in which this law is given in his more recent (1982) edition. Cf. De Inv. I.I.L.149.

14 Unless the title like the poem itself conceals a hidden meaning, Virgil the astrologer like Virgil the magician being popular figures through the middle ages and at least to Boccaccio’s time. Whitfield quotes Boccaccio: "Virgil loved Naples so much that, being a famous astrologer, he accomplished many things there with the help of astrology" (in Dudley ed. 1969 p. 94). Fulgentius (ed. Helm 1898 p. 84 transl. Whitbread 1971 p. 119) says Virgil is an astrologer.
Declamationes maiores are more closely related to their subjects. Both the declamation and the poem, however, focus on the subject of man’s kinship with the stars in the subsequent question of the morality of suicide and the underlying debate between freewill (of which suicide can be construed as the final expression) and determinism (as represented by the stars in their fixed though complex courses). This is the real subject under discussion, not the truth of astrology per se. (Nor is the other title of the poem De Patricida found in some manuscripts any more revealing of its essence, nor the title Paricidali by which Gervaise of Melkley refers to it.15)

Following pseudo-Quintilian’s very succinct statement of the argument comes the long declamation itself (24 pages in the latest edition),16 in which the son pleads his case for suicide. It is divided in the editions into 23 sections, each containing one or two paragraphs,17 whose matter is very briefly summarised in Table I. The declamation may be analysed along the lines given by ancient rhetoric for the parts of speeches, sections 1 and 2 being the proemium, 3 and 4 the narratio, 5 to 22 the argumentatio and 23 the conclusio.18 When considering the order of the arguments adduced it is important to remember that this is not a step-by-step logically reasoned scholarly treatise but an example of the declaimer’s art. Re-iteration of compelling arguments, circling round a point, building to a climax are more important than fine details of logical consistency.19

(astrologus) throughout the first book of the Georgics. (By the time of Fulgentius, the astronomer, earlier designated astrologus, was differentiated from the astrologer by the word astronomus). Lucan’s De Bello Civili provided the middle ages with detailed information on the practice of divination by the acceptable means of augury, oracle, prophecy and astrology (Book I 522-695, V 67-236) as well as the forbidden means of necromancy (VI 413-830). See Morford, 1967 pp. 59-74 for discussion of Lucan’s use of divination.

15 See Vol. II Ch. VII Table 8 for titles in manuscripts. For Gervaise, see Graebener’s ed. (1965) p. 37 l. 19, p. 38l. 23 et al.
17 Though some sections start within a paragraph. The basis for the divisions is obscure.
18 The argumentatio might better be labelled tractatio, depending on the category to which the speech is allocated. The rhetors had precise classifications, but terminology did change with time. For the purposes of the present study the most substantive difference relates to the absence of the refutatio in purely deliberative oratory.
19 Dronke 1974 p. 127 lists a number of “psychological” and “metaphysical” inconsistencies. Yet none seem outside the ordinary range of human emotional response to an apparently impossible situation, or to the human arguments that together (whether completely consistent with each other or not) can constitute a defence in a court of law. (Dronke’s examples sometimes have
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Table I</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Håkanson Mathematicus Declamation Synopsis</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Proemium</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>61</td>
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<tr>
<td>62</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Narratio</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>64</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Argumentatio</strong></td>
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<td>83</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Conclusio</strong></td>
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</table>

Most of the arguments found in the declamation are reproduced in the poem in the final speech of the son, now named Patricida. This speech however (or two or three speeches)\(^{20}\) occupies only the last fifth of the poem, the rest being a highly imaginative elaboration of the brief narrative given in the introduction to the declamation (including the addition of a third major character to the *dramatis personae*, the mother). There are in the poem as well as the son's speech at the end several other long speeches which are indebted to the declamatory tradition for structure and detail. They cannot all be precisely ordered into the sequences given by ancient rhetoricians,\(^{21}\) but there are

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\(^{20}\) Cf. the interesting analysis by Higget 1972 p. 18 of Anchises' long utterance to his son (*Aeneid VI* 722-886). Higget regards this as three separate speeches, each with its own vocabulary, style and feeling, but not every interruption of the utterance defines a new speech.

\(^{21}\) Any more than Virgil's speeches can be reduced to rhetorical categories, though "the study of rhetoric is obvious on every page" (Higget 1972 p. 10, quoting Kroll.). For the subtle relations
interesting parallels and analogies. The father's speech informing his son of the prophecy (ll. 533-594) is a classic example of a panegyric in which the truncated peroratio provides a more dramatic close than any further words could do.\textsuperscript{22} Most of the other speeches in the Mathematicus poem have more subtle relations with rhetoric. Table II lists the speeches with an indication in simple non-technical terms of their type. They do not conform precisely to ancient models.

Table II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speeches in the Mathematicus</th>
<th>no. of lines</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Astrologer to mother</td>
<td>ll. 49-62</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father to mother</td>
<td>71-82</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>King to Patricida</td>
<td>224</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&amp; 227-252</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Eulogy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother to father</td>
<td>321-396</td>
<td>76</td>
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<tr>
<td>Father to mother</td>
<td>407-450</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother to son</td>
<td>471-484</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother to son</td>
<td>493-524</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father to son</td>
<td>533-593</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patricida to himself</td>
<td>635-646</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patricida to Romans</td>
<td>661-712</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patricida to Romans</td>
<td>727-808</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; 811-854</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>Justification.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of Virgil's speeches with oratorical and rhetorical elements, and some thoughts on other Roman poets' usages, see Hight 1972 pp. 8-12. The later Roman poets, Ovid and the writers of "rhetorical epic" including Lucan, Statius and Silius Italicus, made more blatant use of rhetoric than Virgil. Hight 1972 p. 11 cites with approval Guillemin's proposal that Virgil was following the practice of Roman orators rather than manuals of rhetoric and that a certain rhetorician's rules might have been based on Virgil rather than vice-versa.

\textsuperscript{22} The Old French Eneas has Dido forgiving Aeneas for being the cause of her death in similar vein, but completes the utterance: «Il m'a ocise a molt grant tort;/ige li pardoins ici ma mort.» vv 2063-4. (He killed me with a very great wrong; I pardon him here my death - transl. Cormier, 1973 p. 87).
If the declamation can be regarded in a certain way as literature, it is literature belonging to a level that does not aspire to the sort of artistic expression the Mathematicus poet is working at.\textsuperscript{23} Nevertheless the poet sticks closely to the theme, and even the form of the poem is influenced by its parent, so that the genre could be labelled "rhetorical narrative" or "declaimatory narrative" in much the same way as Lucan's \textit{De Bello Civili} is labelled "rhetorical epic."\textsuperscript{24} This does not simply imply a use of the accoutrements of rhetoric such as the "\textit{colores}" externally applied but an internal informing of the poem by the spirit of rhetoric. The Mathematicus poem does lack one of the features that keeps the rhetorical nature of Lucan's poem continuously obvious, namely the frequent use of apostrophe in the narrative sections\textsuperscript{25} (apostrophe is also prominent in the Mathematicus declamation). However, more than half of the Mathematicus poem consists of direct speech, or rather speeches, being mostly extended monologues that can be related though not always directly to various types of declamation. This constitutes multiple internal reflection of the fact that the whole poem presents the sort of moral dilemma or "question" that is the basis for the rhetorical exercise known since the elder Seneca's time as the \textit{suasoria},\textsuperscript{26} and is quite sufficient emphasis on the rhetorical nature of the piece. Excessive ornamentation in the narrative sections could impede the flow - part of the artistry and the appeal of the poem lies in the juxtaposition of succinct and simple narrative with emotional speeches.

The pseudo-Quintilian declamations dating from antiquity and found in manuscripts from the tenth century\textsuperscript{27} are an example of a literary genre that grew out of

\textsuperscript{23} Russell 1983 p. 22 uses the term "sub-literature". Whitehorne 1969 p. 23 mentions the attempt of Leeman (1963 I 235) "to deny the declamation any place in the history of literature".
\textsuperscript{24} Morford 1967 p. ix.
\textsuperscript{25} There are occasional uses of apostrophe in the Mathematicus poem e.g. to Rome at l. 65 and l. 194, and to Nature at l. 321, but they are mostly in speeches, not in the narrative.
\textsuperscript{26} Bonner 1949 p. 22 gives the elder Seneca as the first use of the term «\textit{suasoria}» though Cicero had foreshadowed the terminology with «\textit{suasio}». The genre is related to the earlier \textit{deliberatio} which occurs frequently in the \textit{Ad Herennium}.
\textsuperscript{27} Lehnert 1905 pp. v-xxxi and more recently Håkanson 1982 iv-xviii and Table on p. xxx. Both are based on Dessauer's fine study of the manuscripts (1898).
the teaching of rhetoric in antiquity. Russell points to the early use of imaginary situations and their dramatic representation at the very beginning of systematic rhetorical training in the fifth century B.C., which makes it clear that the subsequent development was not merely the superimposition of literary features onto the practical business of judicial oratory. Moral education and the development of literary appreciation were not divorced from rhetorical training, and the germs of the literary growth were present from the beginning. Not only are the laws on which the cases are supposed to be argued frequently imaginary, but the cases themselves use a wide variety of material from literature, myth and everyday experience. Though used for technical purposes such as teaching court-room oratory, the declamations derived a literary flavour from the incorporation of the imaginative in their make-up, and this substratum was the base on which the medieval poets were able to erect their poetic edifices.

The schools of Rome took over the Greek tradition, remaining faithful to the themes and even to the attitudes of the Greeks except where they made variations to fit either the spirit or the letter of the real laws of Rome. They also elaborated the system and refined the details of its internal and external classifications. The different varieties of speeches were defined, such as the controversia and the suasoria, their purposes and uses set out in categories such as didactic and epideictic, or in a different taxonomy, demonstrative, judicial and deliberative, and the parts of the speech determined from the proæmium (or exordium) to the conclusio (or peroratio). In between came the narratio and then its elaboration which might be called tractatio,

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28 Russell 1983 traces the history of the genre from its origins in Greece, and there is also a good short account of this earlier Greek phase in Winterbottom 1980 pp. 10-11, as well as notes on the Roman development of the genre throughout this work. The Roman phase had previously been explored by Bonner 1949 at greater length.


30 In Roman times history and myth were thought more apt subjects for the suasoria, controversiae being reserved for matters more near to the disputes that are handled by the law-courts.

31 Cf. Bonner 1949 pp. 33-35. See also the detailed counterpoint explored by Rayment 1952, relating Roman declamation to its Greek sources and to subsequent changes in Roman law.

32 See Bonner 1949 p. 22 for a history of terminology.

argumentatio, probatio depending on the kind of speech. By the start of the Christian era when the elder Seneca collected his Suasoriae and Controversiae there was a well developed paraphernalia including definitions of the different types and rules for their elaboration, as well as adjuncts to composition such as stock themes, suitable descriptions, loci communes, standard characters and so on. Seneca's work as well as pseudo-Quintilian's was known to the middle ages, and indeed one of the Mathematicus manuscripts contains a poem based on a Senecan controversia. There has been no systematic work done on the influence of these works, but the recent discoveries and reassessment of the early secular drama open an area needing investigation, to say nothing of the great outpouring of "debate" poems in both Latin

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34 Bonner 1949 p. 54 says the four-fold scheme had been laid down in the handbooks for many centuries but Quintilian's divisions for forensic oratory (Inst Or. 3.9.1) that gave a separate section for refuting the opponent's argument (refutatio) are often quoted as basic. Quintilian was not so precise about defining the parts for a deliberative speech. The twelfth-century commentary on Martianus Capella's De Nupiis (ed. Westra 1979) states that oratio rhetorica has six parts, exordium, narratio, particio, confirmatio, reprehensio, conclusio, and defines these (f 17 v b 13-23).

35 As the terminology varied from time to time and the middle ages inherited it through several traditions, it will not be elaborated here. See Russell 1983, Bonner 1949 and notes in Winterbottom 1980.

36 Not to mention later writers such as Calpurnius Flaccus and Ennodius, the sixth-century bishop of Pavia.

37 De paupere ingrado in Auxerre 243 (Vernet 1946 p. 256). It is followed (Vernet p. 258) by De nato Ethiope from Calpurnius Flaccus.

38 Before Shakespear, John of Salisbury had made the world a stage, using a couplet (ll. 175-6) from the Mathematicus to illustrate his theme. The words following this quotation are of interest to the history of drama: "Huius itaque tam immensae tam mirabilis et inenarrabilis tragediae vel comediae theatrum quo peragi possit, ei mirabilier coaequatur. Tanta est area eius quantus et orbis." (Policriticus III, 491b ed. C.C.J. Webb I 1909 p. 194.) Hauréau had already noted the similarity between the Mathematicus and three of the medieval Latin comedies that he labels tragedies in the introduction to his 1895 edition (pp. 13-14).
and the vernaculars that can be perceived as a literary analogue of the drama. Several such occur in Mathematicus manuscripts and some even have parts labelled causa, refutatio etc. There are also "dialogues" between earth, heaven, the infernal regions and the fires of purgatory in one of the pseudo-Quintilian manuscripts of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Several sets of Roman declamations have come down to us, and the manuscripts of the Mathematicus contain poems based on stories from all of them, though some sets of declamations are not found in manuscripts between the tenth and fifteenth centuries. The set on which the Mathematicus itself is based as noted above is a collection of 19 speeches known as the declamationes maiiores of pseudo-Quintilian. The manuscripts of these declamations contain them in variant forms, single long speeches in most cases, and debates where the speaker changes every few sentences in a few. These latter are of special interest to the proliferation of "debate" poetry and in relation to the nascent drama of the twelfth century. Many manuscripts ranging from

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39 Many of these debates preserved the accoutrements of the law-court. Bloch 1977 p. 4 points out that there are few sustained Old French narratives of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that do not contain a trial. Many Latin examples smack of the declamatory tradition. Boutremy, 1939 p. 293 cites from Douai 749 the case of the cat that, after overeating, was strangled in a trap, whereupon its owner took the owner of the building where it died to court. Hauréau (Tome 2) 1891 p. 34 cites from BN 11412 a case pleaded for and against where the provedore of a hospital is accused of cooking the books. Hildebert of Lavardin (ed. Scott, 1969 no. 24) has a husband take his wife to court because she and a maid-servant connived by swapping beds to prevent the maid-servant from being used to pay a man-servant who wanted her as remuneration. Hildebert does not give the grounds on which the husband took his wife to court, but the poem ends with an exemplary judgment in which the wife and maid were praised and the husband told not to buy such slaves. In one of the Mathematicus manuscripts, BN 3718 (Faral 1920 p. 238), Lazarus, returned to life, argues with his sister Mary Magdalene - a normal medieval confusion authorised by Gregory the Great (Ashley 1981 p. 155) - over the inheritance (cf. Ward 1969 p. 31 and pp. 43-44 on complex testamentary situations in Roman law). Peter Riga's Passio Sanctae Agnetis edited by Hauréau with the Mathematicus (1895) contains a trial scene with speeches by the judge and Agnes. The same author turned the biblical "Susannah and the elders" into a court battle presenting the elders' case against Susannah followed by a «defensio Danielis» (ed. Beichner 1965 pp. 360-367). The influence of the courtroom transcended earthly things according to Le Goff: "Belief in purgatory ... requires the projection into the afterlife of a highly sophisticated legal and penal system" (transl. Goldhammer 1984 p. 4). There is no need to detail information on the drama, as it has recently been collected by Elliott 1984 pp. lii-lxiii. Braet et al. 1985 adds some useful papers.

40 See the many debate poems in Oxford Bodleian Add. 44 and Rome Vat. Reg. lat. 344 and particularly the two versions of the Ajax/Ulysses contest for the arms of Achilles in the latter. See also Schmidt 1964, Mozley 1933.

41 Dessauer1898 p. 63 describes this manuscript, which contains also a dialogued version of the Mathematicus, and following Dessauer, Lehnert 1905 p. xxix.
the tenth to the sixteenth century (Table III) and covering a wide geographical spread were already known to Dessauer who lists 58 apart from florilegia and dialogued versions, and whose 1898 analysis is still highly regarded.42

Unfortunately Dessauer died before he could complete his work and the edition produced by Lehnert from these manuscripts is regarded as a "sorry affair".43 The situation has recently been rectified by an edition from Håkanson (1982) based on 14 of Dessauer's manuscripts. In the meantime further manuscripts have been found.44 The ascription to "Pseudo-Quintilian" is not a case of a medieval author using an ancient author's name as in the many instances of pseudo-antique material from the middle ages, but the name we give to some ancient author, probably not Quintilian but certainly not many centuries after him,45 who was responsible for writing down this set of 19 very long speeches. The format in most of the manuscripts gives a few lines announcing the law or laws applicable to the case and the matter to be argued, followed by a speech of Ciceroonian length and proportions arguing one side of the case. In the length of the speeches these declamations known as the pseudo-Quintilian maiores differ from all other examples of the genre that have come down to us, which range from a short paragraph to a page or two against the dozens of pages allotted to each speech in the maiores.


44 Marshall, Martin and Rouse 1980 add Cambridge Clare College MS. 26 of English provenance from the second quarter of the thirteenth century. They postulate a connexion with the Loire valley (pp. 374-385). Richard and Mary Rouse 1976 p. 99 have also found extracts from the declamations in several manuscripts of the Florilegium Angelicum. The extracts come from declamations no. 2, 1, 3-8 and 11-19 in that order. Amongst early florilegia, the Florilegium Angelicum was only eclipsed in popularity by the even earlier (mid-twelfth century) Florilegium Gallicum which is also listed (Gagner 1936 p. 123, Ullman 1928 p. 131 and Burton 1983 p. 15) as containing extracts from pseudo-Quintilian Declamationes, the details of which and whether from the maiores or the minores I have not yet discovered.

45 Reynolds 1983 p. 335.
Table III

Dates of pseudo-Quintilian *Declamationes maiores*

manuscripts (after Dessauer 1898)

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<th>century</th>
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<td>XVI</td>
<td>1</td>
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\[ \Sigma \quad 58 \]

Note. These are the manuscripts of the mainstream tradition (single long speeches). Dialogued versions and *florilegia* are not included.
The pseudo-Quintilian maiores, in spite of the fact that each one gives only one speech, generally belong to the category controversia rather than suasoria. They presuppose a judicial context assuming a possible reply from the opposing side, whereas suasoriae are in the "deliberative" tradition where the speaker persuades either himself or others of the advisability of a course of action considering both or all sides. Such topics as "Cato deliberates whether to kill himself" or "Three hundred Spartans sent against Xerxes deliberate whether to retreat" are the matter for the suasoria, whereas the controversia assumes a conflict between parties to a dispute. In the Mathematicus the son is putting before the Senate the reason for his suicide in an effort to win their approval for his proposed course of action. The fact that it is a debated case is clearly signalled in the short setting-out of the case that preceeds the son’s speech. It ends with the words 'pater contradicit". It deals however not with a matter brought before a court because of some act on the part of the defendant but with the propriety of a future act, which would locate it in the suasoria rather than controversia tradition. This is unusual - the sets of Roman declamations that have come down to us contain controversiae rather than suasoriae except for the seven suasoriae the elder Seneca included on the end of his 10 books of controversiae (which contain 74 separate cases of controversiae).

46 Even in antiquity there were varying ideas of the definition of these classes. Fairweather 1981 pp. 124-126 indicates where Seneca the elder misapprehended the development of declamatory terminology and gives some information on the changes in the use of the term controversia. Ward 1969 p. 37 quotes the categories derived from Hermogenes as used by Quintilian (Q. 7, 4, 2 in suasorias ... de futuris and in controversiis ... de factis). Borneque 1902 p. 53 relates the categories to their subject matter, suasoriae dealing with what is right, useful and possible and controversiae with law and equity. Borneque also discusses double and triple suasoriae (p. 50). Winterbottom 1983 finds the essence of the difference in the forensic nature of the controversia (pp. 8-10) compared with the deliberative nature of the suasoria (pp. 52-53). Whether one labels the Mathematicus a suasoria or a controversia depends on how one elects to define the categories. The contest of Ajax and Ulysses over the arms of Achilles is another disputed case - Bonner 1949 p. 151 puts it in the suasoria tradition but Winterbottom 1980 p. 63 thinks Ovid himself introduced it as a controversia.

47 «Deliberat Cato an se debit, ne victorem aspiciat Caesarum, trucidare» Martianus Capella R.L.M. p. 456, 1, 30 (Halm) (quoted from Bonner 1949 p. 8).

48 This is the second of the seven suasoriae of the elder Seneca (transl. Winterbottom 1974 (Loeb) pp. 506-535).
Certain of the pseudo-Quintilian *maiores* including the *Mathematicus* are also given in some manuscripts in a rapid-fire dialogue form where litigants, in the case of the *Mathematicus* father and son, argue line by line.\(^{49}\) It would be most interesting for the history of dramatic forms to discover when and where this dialogued version originated.\(^{50}\) It is certainly unusual in medieval debate literature either in Latin or the vernaculars, stanza by stanza change of speaker being more often the structure of the latter, and substantial speeches (more noted for *amplificatio* than *abbreviatio*) of the former. The staccato "*sic et non*" form is rare in pre-scholastic literature unless one takes account of pupil teacher exchanges such as are found in the *sortes* literature and similar catechisms. In particular, what does the author of the preface to the dialogued version mean by the «*meo more*» in «*Causas itaque quas a Quintiliano tractatas repperi, meo more declamandis tibi legavi*»?\(^{51}\) The most recent edition (Håkanson) ignores these witnesses to a diverse transmission history, though they are found in manuscripts as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.\(^{52}\)

To pseudo-Quintilian there is also ascribed a series of minor declamations of which fewer than half the original number of 388 have survived (Nos. 244 to 388).

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\(^{49}\) Lehnter 1905 pp. 393-395 (see also Koch, 1934 for German translation.)

\(^{50}\) It would also be interesting to know whether a manuscript of the dialogued version was known to the author of the father-son debate added to the *Mathematicus* poem in Berl. theol. oct. 94 (ed. Wattenbach 1895 pp. 127-128, reproduced by Hauréau 1895 pp. 37-38).

\(^{51}\) Lehnter 1905 p. 38. Beranger of Poitiers in his *apology* writes "... as a scholar I often enjoyed declaiming in artificial debates. But now there opened the fair prospect of an engagement in a real conflict, and I felt called to clear Abelard and confute the abbot's audacity." This is an interesting testimony to a skill taught orally which could have been as widespread as debating in schools and similar institutions at the present time and leave as little written evidence. (Beranger quoted from Thomson 1980 p. 96.) Mozley 1933 p. 213, analysing some very interesting poetic "Altercations" that he suggests come from Matthew of Vendôme, mentions the "occurrence of one or more couplets before some of the speeches which seem to be spoken not by the combatants, but by the writer or actor impersonating them; as though for instance they were rival exercises or declamations read or spoken by students, who begin by modestly apologising for their lack of skill." Poetic declamations? The range of what might have been accepted as suitable for "performance" in the early and high middle ages is seen to need re-assessing when we juxtapose the declamatory dialogue of the twelfth century Latin comedies against a tenth century manuscript of Virgil in which the direct speech of the *Aeneid* is musically notated (Coussemaker 1852 p. 102). The frequency of direct speech that is a hallmark of Old French texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Zumthor 1984 pp. 104-5) may not be unrelated.

\(^{52}\) Lehnter 1905 p. 354.
These pieces are very short compared with the interminable length of the major declamations and are preceded not only by the setting out of the subject of debate but by a "sermo" - the advice of the "Master" on how to approach it, what tone, colour etc. to use.\textsuperscript{53} This set of minor declamations, which had already received a good edition by Ritter in 1881, has recently been re-edited by Winterbottom (1984) with comprehensive scholarly commentary. It has a very different manuscript tradition from the pseudo-Quintilian major declamations, being found only in a late ninth century Montpellier manuscript (H. 126) with no known medieval progeny and then in three fifteenth and sixteenth century manuscripts which are all based on a tenth century manuscript known to have been in Germany in the fifteenth century but no longer extant.\textsuperscript{54}

This same ninth century Montpellier manuscript which preserves the pseudo-Quintilian minor declamations is also our earliest and, except where mutilated, best source for the declamations of Calpurnius Flaccus and for the extracted version of those of the elder Seneca. Two of the three Renaissance manuscripts that contain the pseudo-Quintilian minor declamations also contain Calpurnius Flaccus and there are 2 more Renaissance manuscripts. Thus these two sets - pseudo-Quintilian minores and Calpurnius Flaccus - have no known manuscripts between the tenth and fifteenth centuries. The text of Calpurnius Flaccus has recently been edited by Håkanson (1978).\textsuperscript{55} Calpurnius Flaccus consists of even more abbreviated versions than the pseudo-Quintilian minores - the usual statement of the law(s) and the case, no sermo, and a speech sometimes only a few lines and rarely more than half a page.

The manuscript tradition of the elder Seneca is more complex, there being two distinct strands, one with the full text of the controversiae and the suasoriae and the other of excerpts from the controversiae only. The latter has for its best as well as earliest manuscript the Montpellier H. 126 of the late ninth century already cited for Calpurnius

\textsuperscript{53} Cf. the matters dealt with by Seneca the elder under his three headings sententia, divisio and color.

\textsuperscript{54} Reynolds 1983 p. 337.

\textsuperscript{55} See also Silvestre 1960 on the survival of Calpurnius Flaccus in the middle ages.
Flaccus and the pseudo-Quintilian minor declamations. There are at least four other medieval manuscripts and several later. The "full" tradition has three manuscripts from the ninth and tenth centuries, two from the thirteenth and one from the fifteenth, as well as several Italian "recentiores". Both Senecan traditions thus offer many manuscripts, making them a seemingly better known set of works in the central middle ages than Calpurnius Flaccus or the minor pseudo-Quintilian. The fact that some of our manuscripts have poems apparently based on Calpurnius-Flaccus does not necessarily mean the poet had seen Calpurnius - the "black baby" of Calpurnius Flaccus 2 was for example listed by Jerome as Quintilian's though it appears in none of the surviving attributions; and the ungrateful would-be suicide whose hanging rope is cut (Seneca 5.1) parallels Calpurnius Flaccus 8 and 42. Corroboration for the greater popularity of the Senecan declamations may also be found in other sources - all the declaration-based stories in the Gesta Romanorum for example are in Seneca and only a few have parallels in the other works of declamation.

The form of the Senecan declamations differs from all the others. It pretends to focus around the declamatory practice of the "great" orators of Seneca's youth and for each theme, instead of giving one model speech, gives the different approaches used by various declaimers. More important than this, it focuses about different aspects in turn - sententia, divisio, colores - rendering it a far more analytic study than its professed intention as given in the literary prologues to each of its books. Thus, though the professed emphasis is on the epideictic face of oratory, nowhere except in Contr. 2-7 do we find a complete declamation. Whether any meaning may attach to the fact that

56 Simonds 1896 p. 54 allocates two of the medieval manuscripts to the twelfth century, one to the thirteenth and one to the fourteenth.
57 Vervliet 1964 p. 431. Vervliet's unpublished thesis (referred to without publishing details by Winterbottom in his introduction to the Loeb 1974 translation of Seneca the elder p. xxviii) is the most recent full analysis of the manuscripts. The accepted edition is still that of Müller 1887. Edward 1928 p. xxxvii-xxxi summarises the manuscript tradition as known at the time. See also Reynolds 1983 pp. 356-7.
58 Lehner 1905 p. 353.
59 Seneca uses the term color very differently from Cicero (Fairweather 1981 p. 167 and see p. 356 fn. 26 for a possible explanation).
60 But now cut short by a fault in the manuscript (Winterbottom 1980 p. 26).
the extracted version of Seneca seems to have been more popular in the middle ages (as evidenced by the numbers of manuscripts) whereas it was the pseudo-Quintilian maiores rather than the minores that kept being copied is an open question. The answer could be that the detailed pseudo-Quintilian maiores belonged in a pedagogic tradition at a fairly elementary level whereas the Senecan extracts belonged to a more advanced level of learning or to a non-pedagogic literary culture. Their use in the Gesta Romanorum would fit with this theory.

In the event it was the pseudo-Quintilian maiores that provided most material for Latin poems of the twelfth century, one of which, De gemellis, (based on pseudo-Quintilian maiores No. 8, Gemini languentes), is frequently found with the Mathematicus. Another, De Apibus Pauperis, based on pseudo-Quintilian maiores No. 13 has one version in hexameters with double internal rhyme which is attributed (probably wrongly) to Hildebert and another in elegiacs by Peter Riga. Another poem based on a declamatory theme frequently found with the Mathematicus, De paupere ingrato, does not have a parallel in the pseudo-Quintilian maiores but occurs in both Seneca (Contr. 5.1) and in variant forms in two of Calpurnius Flaccus (Nos. 8 and 42). Calpurnius Flaccus No. 2 yields the theme for the De nato Ethiope found in Auxerre 243, though as noted above Jerome has attributed this theme to Quintilian. It does not occur in the pseudo-Quintilian maiores or the remains of the minores that have come down to us, but since the latter start at No. 244 there is plenty of scope for both this and the De paupere ingrato themes to have been in the lost pseudo-Quintilian minores. Another well-known theme which has not come down to us as a declamation

61 Another indication comes from the Gesta Romanorum which could have derived from the extracted tradition alone but not the full tradition alone.
62 The Gesta have received scant attention in recent scholarship in English. A brief survey of the Latin versions is included by Herrtage 1879 pp. ix-xxi in his introduction to the old English versions. See also pp. xxix-xxxii for the relations between Latin and English manuscripts and printed editions.
63 Migne PL 171,1400B-1402B.
64 Boutemy 1949 pp. 292-297. (Neither of these poems occurs in manuscripts with the Mathematicus.)
65 Lehnert 1905 p. 353.
but through a description in Seneca\textsuperscript{66} of Ovid's declaiming it as a young man - the contest of Ajax and Ulysses for the arms of the dead Achilles - is the subject of two long poems in one of the \textit{Mathematicus} manuscripts, both treated as \textit{controversiae} though it was regarded as a \textit{suasoria} theme in antiquity.\textsuperscript{67}

Unlike \textit{suasoriae} which commonly treat of mythological and historical or pseudo-historical subjects, the \textit{controversiae} rarely use such material\textsuperscript{68} - their matter belongs to the everyday disputes of ordinary people. They have been accused of relying on stock characters, "types", and to some extent this is true, especially of the less developed versions. Raped girls, disinherited sons, stepmothers, heroes, tyrants and the tyrannical rich are the \textit{dramatis personae}. A mixture of criminal and civil law is involved, the more sensational criminal cases being preponderant, though cases dealt with in the courts were then as now far more often civil cases devoted to property disputes. The human passions dealt with in the criminal law however make better subjects both for the declaimer's art and for poetry; and it is not only in the poetry based on these declamations that we find the characters developed in depth and variety that belie the epithet "stock" but also in at least some of the longer versions of the declamations themselves. The twelfth century poet or poets who created versified versions of these declamations were not creating poetry out of dry-as-dust forensic set-pieces but from imaginatively elaborated arguments frequently exploring complex philosophical and psychological positions. The elements of Stoic cosmology found in the \textit{Mathematicus} poem for example are present in essence in the \textit{declamatio}, though it seems likely that the poet must have understood and appreciated this tradition of thought to be able to elaborate them. Even in the much shorter dialogued version of the \textit{Mathematicus} the father's final speech in particular presents the Stoic view very clearly.

\textsuperscript{66} \textit{Contr.} 2.2.8. For the long history of the Ajax-Ulysses contest prior to the \textit{Metamorphoses} see Brewer 1957 pp. 107-134. Ovid gives the Ajax-Ulysses debate in \textit{Metamorphoses XIII}, 1-398, giving Ajax 116 verses and Ulysses 151.

\textsuperscript{67} But see note 46 above.

\textsuperscript{68} Exceptions are pseudo-Quintilian \textit{minores} 386 on Iphicrates and 339 on Demosthenes, Seneca 6.5 also on Iphicrates and 8.2 on Phidias.
The Stoic emphasis on the moral aspect of existence has a natural association with the matter of these declamations, which explore the relation of law (*ius*) with justice (*aequitas*) in the practical application of some particular man-made law (*lex*) or laws. The situations may sometimes appear larger than life and the product of heightened imagination but they are all within the possibilities of human experience, and, like myth, they reflect passions and emotions of continuing importance to human beings. Also of interest is the general lack, though infant exposure, poison and incest are often enough involved, of anything of excessive brutality and horror - the man who crippled exposed children so he could make money from their begging stands out as a monster compared with any of the other characters.

The *Mathematicus* poem does not question at any stage the likely accuracy of the astrologer's prediction, though the declamation includes a discussion of whether the astrologer may err even though the stars of course cannot. This would seem to imply some fundamental belief in the relationship between the movements of the stars and human destinies. The only question at issue in this particular section of the declamation is human fallibility. It is a red herring to the central issue and as such rightly deleted from the poem. The particular stance on the subject of astrology of the authors of the *declamatio* and the poem cannot be inferred from their work, the *declamatio* being a rhetorical exercise whose moral teaching, paradoxically, consists in exposing a dilemma by presenting a case for either side, and the poem a more highly elaborated presentation of the complexities involved. That they both worked in an atmosphere where the central question of the relationship between freewill and determinism, which in some form is one of the eternal human questions and therefore always in some sense "alive", could be formulated in terms of astrological prediction might lead to the belief that the question was at the time alive in this form. However,

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69 Wilson 1985 p. 67 notes the presence of Stoicism which was part of the fabric of thought at the time in Seneca's *controversiae* and *suasoriae*.

70 Seneca *Contr.* 10.4.
the rhetors were noted for their antiquarian interest in dead issues\textsuperscript{71} and might quite deliberately choose material with its roots in another age. And though poets are usually afflicted with a fairly immediate sense of time and place, the works of Ezra Pound to cite a modern example must give the lie to the idea that a poet cannot re-focus outside his culture, and the \textit{Mathematicus} poet \textit{had} chosen antique material. All that can be said is that the authors had some knowledge of at least the more superficial aspects of astrology and (which is probably more relevant) a feeling for human reactions to its tenets.

Perhaps the most significant difference between the poem and the \textit{declamatio} centres round the position of the mother. The \textit{declamatio} does not mention a mother at all, and in this regard it might be interesting that in Greek antiquity when any free citizen was expected to plead his own case, women as well as slaves were not permitted to conduct their own defence and had lawyers to speak for them. The courts were therefore not the purlieu of women and this extraneous circumstance may have led to a focus on the men in the case\textsuperscript{72} in the literary genre as well as in the law-courts. The mother in the poem however assumes at least equal importance with the father and determines action more frequently. This is a substantial reworking of a theme which is otherwise frequently merely elaborated, and can give interesting clues to the milieu of the authors and their attitudes to and perception of women.

Though the rhetorical underpinnings of the \textit{Mathematicus} poem can be seen most obviously in its narrative debt to the pseudo-Quintilian declamation, rhetoric came to the medieval poet not only through the doctrine set out in ancient rhetorical manuals and their later commentaries, and by way of practice in the oral and written declamatory arts of the schools, but, perhaps more significantly for a poet, also by a hidden way - wrapped in the poetry of the ancient authors that were the fundamental learning, the "matter of Rome" of the earliest grammatical instruction. Moreover, although it is

\footnotesize{\begin{tabular}{ll}
71 & Russell 1983 p. 108. \\
72 & Roman declamation was heavily determined by Greek declamation from which it derived.
\end{tabular}}
possible to characterise various centuries during the middle ages as «aetas Virgiliana» and «aetas Ovidiana» depending on the stated predilection of the time for one or the other of the greats. No real division in terms of the transmission of poetic stuff can be made when the other ancient poets studied early in life drew so heavily on both. The *Mathematicus* poem for example has its hero involved in a Carthaginian war, a most unusual choice in the twelfth century when poems about Aeneas and the Trojan war proliferated but Carthage was hardly heard of. This as well as various other mythopoeic and philosophical connexions leads to consideration of the *Punica* of Silius Italicus. We do not know enough about the textual history of the *Punica* to know whether our poet knew it, and the very nature of poetic transmission makes it difficult to allocate precise debts. Did the *Mathematicus* poet take this or that direct from Virgil or from Virgil filtered through Silius Italicus? - for everyone knows that Silius worshipped Virgil and saw his own epic as an attempt to emulate the master. What is less well known is his debt to Ovid, though it has been documented.

If we know little of the textual history of Silius Italicus, we have information that indicates that other fabricators of "rhetorical epic" rivalled Virgil for the first place in the middle ages, Lucan and Statius chief among them. The distaste for rhetoric that can dispense with Lucan's epic as "a series of declamations strung together" or

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73 Robathan 1973 p. 191 suggests Virgil for the ninth to eleventh centuries, then Ovid in the twelfth and thirteenth. Other authors make somewhat different distinctions. Crosland 1934 p. 282 puts the divide in the second half of the twelfth century. After the Old French *Enéas*, she says, Virgil was killed and Ovid reigned supreme. Criteria used for making these judgments such as statistics of manuscript survival are often meaningless unless the reasons behind the survival can be adduced.


75 Duff in his introduction to his 1961 Loeb translation (pp. x-xi). See also Gossage 1969.


77 Buttenweiser 1942 p. 52 gives figures that show that "Lucan's *Pharsalia* (*De Bello Civili*) rivalled the *Aeneid* as the favourite epic" and Statius was nearly as popular. Hunt 1984 p. 48 says Nequam used Virgil, Lucan and Juvenal freely, Lucan the most.

78 Raby 1957 I (2nd. ed.) p. 34. Raby gives a long list of Lucan's medieval admirers (p. 36). Cousin 1840 p. 354 dismissed the *Mathematicus* as «plein de longueurs et declamations» and expressed the view that the loss of the end that he imagined missing should not cause any regrets.
seek to minimise the rhetoric in Ovid,\textsuperscript{79} was unknown to the medieval scholar. Also, though Ovid did not receive the same kind of adulation as Virgil, and the great "fashion" for his works developed later, the early \textit{accessus ad auctores} contain excerpts from more of his works than of any other author, including Virgil.\textsuperscript{80} Moreover he was paid the compliment of having his style copied in a way that the greater reverence for Virgil prohibited. From antiquity, long before their medieval proliferation, there exist pseudo-Ovidiana, and the deletion of spurious works from his canon has proved a more difficult task than for Virgil.

The works of Ovid that are of most interest in the present connexion are his \textit{Heroides} and \textit{Ibis}.\textsuperscript{81} The \textit{Ibis}, perhaps the most sustained piece of pure invective ever written (possibly against an imaginary character and as a \textit{tour de force} on Ovid's part - to use up all his excess learning one critic suggests\textsuperscript{82}), is intimately associated with the \textit{Mathematicus} in one of our manuscripts.\textsuperscript{83} Sixty-six lines of the \textit{Mathematicus} are inserted into the \textit{Ibis} with no indication that they are not part of the poem. The anti-female tirade the mother in the \textit{Mathematicus} pours forth before confessing to her husband that she had saved the child at his expense is in the same tradition of invective as the \textit{Ibis}.

The particular interest of the \textit{Heroides} to the \textit{Mathematicus} poem derives from their twin function as poetry and \textit{suasoriae}.\textsuperscript{84} Seneca tells us that Ovid would declaim

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\textsuperscript{79} Higham 1958 though bringing much needed correction to sweeping generalisations about Ovid's debt to rhetoric (and suggesting rhetoric's debt to Ovid) leaves out consideration of his most blatantly rhetorical pieces such as the sustained invective of the \textit{Ibis}. Wilkinson 1955 pp. 366-398 and Robathan 1973 pp. 191-209 trace Ovid's medieval fortunes.
\textsuperscript{80} Huygens 1970. See also Silvestre 1957. Cormier 1973 p. 21 also notes the debt of the Old French \textit{Eneas} author "especially to Ovid and to the glossed manuscripts and scholia of Virgil".
\textsuperscript{81} In 1973 Ovid's authorship of the \textit{Ibis} was listed by Robathan as "questionable" (p. 201) though it had been accepted by Housman and following him by Wilkinson in 1955 (pp. 353-357). It is listed with the authentic works in Reynolds 1983 pp. 273-275 where its association in two of the first group of four manuscripts with Bernard Silvester's \textit{Cosmographia} may be noted (neither of these is our Rom. Vat. Reg. lat. 2120 where the \textit{Ibis} includes the 66 line \textit{Mathematicus} extract).
\textsuperscript{82} Housman, quoted from Wilkinson 1955 pp.356-7.
\textsuperscript{83} Rom. Vat. Reg. lat. 2120.
\textsuperscript{84} Or perhaps \textit{prosopopoeia} or \textit{ethopoeia}.
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only *suasoriae*, not *controversiae* 85 - it is not difficult to understand the greater poetic potential of the former - and specifically mentions Ovid's having declaimed on the theme of the contest between Ulysses and Ajax over the arms of the dead Achilles. 86 In one of the *Mathematicus* manuscripts there are two poems on this theme, 87 and though one is labelled *controversia* and the other *causa*, since they deal not with actions already done but with persuasion to a course of action, they might better be classified as double *suasoriae*. Baudri of Bourgeuil, a poet about a generation earlier than the *Mathematicus* poet and from a nearby region, used the *Heroides* as a basis for some poems 88 - though not the best-known of Ovid's works at the time, they could well have been available to our poet. 89 It might also be pertinent to note that though couched in the epistolary form, the first fifteen function as tragic soliloquies or *planctus* and the remaining six are three pairs of dialogues. Thus the *Heroides* are a bridge not only between poetry and declamation, but between declamation and drama. 90 When the history of medieval secular drama is re-assessed without the limitations that derived from the naturalistic idea of drama of the first half of the twentieth century which continue to dominate scholarship though long discarded in the theatre, the declamatory tradition may receive its rightful place in the determination of dramatic forms. When considering the long speeches of the twelfth-century comedies composed in Ovidian elegiacs (like the *Mathematicus*), it will be valuable to look back to such authentic Ovidiana as the *Heroides*.

That the *Mathematicus* is related to this secular drama with its long rhetorical speeches - the forerunners of the soliloquies and extended asides that keep Renaissance

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85  *Contr. 2.2.8.*
86  *Metamorphoses XIII*, 1-398 gives the debate.
87  Rome Vat. Reg. lat. 344.
88  Wilkinson 1955 p. 377. Wilkinson says Ovid was Baudri's favourite poet. Baudri was certainly an exponent of the Ovidian elegiac couplet - of his 255 poems all are in this metre except for 47 hexameter and 4 others (ed. Abrahams 1926). De Luhac II.II 1964 p. 233 notes the inspiration Ovid provided not only for Baudri but for Hildebert and Matthew of Vendôme.
90  Elliott 1984 p. XV discusses the relation of the medieval Latin comedies to *planctus* including Brønsted's (1970) theory of direct descent.
drama remote from the naturalistic forms - may perhaps best be seen by comparing it with another poem of similar length and perhaps a century earlier, the *Vita Mahumeti* of Embrico of Mainz.\(^{91}\) This poem looks superficially like the *Mathematicus*: it is in the same elegiac couplets, it is a narrative of similar length, and it is divided into nearly the same number of "cantus" in the manuscript it shares with the *Mathematicus*.\(^{92}\) Both have about half their lines as direct speech. Yet how different the utterances - in the *Mahumeti* ordinary naturalistic conversational exchanges for the most part, in the *Mathematicus*, apart from the first speech of the astrologer, long speeches ordered as well as tintured with the artifice of rhetoric.

The response of the medieval poets to their rhetorical heritage varied. In all cases they retained the legal or quasi-legal setting of the *declamationes*, even to the extent of leaving the judgment undetermined, as of course it was in all the *declamationes*. In general however they removed the *narratio* from the inside of the *declaimatio* and wrapped most or all of it around a speech or speeches for both sides. They did not seem to have any need for narrative closure such as would have been provided by a judgment given. (We do find a *pater contradicit* and a judgment given (albeit of oracular ambiguity) tacked on to the end of the *Mathematicus* in one quite early manuscript but it is regarded as a later addition.\(^{93}\)) The *narratio* was already outside of the *declaimatio* in abbreviated form in the books of ancient *declamationes* (in the setting-out of the case that preceded each *declaimatio*) so the poet had little to do but expand and colour it with material from the internal *narratio*, preface it with the *proemium* neatly encapsulated in a proverb or saying, present the *argumentatio* (already expansively elaborated in the original) and round off with an address to the judges paralleling the old *peroratio*, and his poem was made. The shorter poems, *De gemellis, De apibus pauperis, De paupere ingrato* and *De nato Ethiope* do precisely this.

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92 Paris BN 5129.
The *Mathematicus* is a more ambitious affair which, while following this plan in outline, conflates the teaching of the rhetors on the introduction of descriptive material to make a *digressio* on one of the *topica* or *loci communes* 94 with the declamatory material (the *argumentatio*), and weaves speeches of all the major characters into a narrative tapestry where they are not speaking to a court but to each other. This approach to dialogue - for the speeches are still so long that they bear little resemblance to naturalistic dialogue 95 - raises the dramatic level and makes this poem a far more complex work of art.

Another response of the medieval poets was to take subjects from new areas of discourse and put them into the declamatory mould. Amongst poems in the *Mathematicus* manuscripts, several biblical subjects are treated in this way. We have for example - as already mentioned - Lazarus risen from the dead arguing with his sister Mary Magdalene (sic) over the patrimony 96. The tone is in sharp contrast to the handling of the Lazarus theme in the quasi-liturgical play by a certain Hilarius reputed to be a student of Abelard, which follows the biblical story religiously.97 In a nice touch the King of Jerusalem awards the patrimony to Magdalene on the basis of *ius* but the emperor of Constantinople overrules him on the basis of *aequitas*. Though decisions are not given in the *declamationes* the juxtaposing and interrelationship of *ius* and *aequitas* are central to the cases being argued, and the story lends itself to just such imaginative reconstruction as we find in the *declamationes*. Two of our manuscripts contain Peter Riga's *Susannah*, the story from the old testament book of Daniel.98

94 Morford 1967 p. 3 details the practice.
95 The secular drama of the twelfth century mostly consists of similarly long and argumentative speeches (Elliott 1984).
96 Paris BN 3718 (Faral 1920 pp. 237-238) and edited in Walther 1920 pp. 234-248. This dialogue, of which the idea seems so closely related to the declamatory tradition, has however broken away from the long speeches and has frequent change of speaker, as well as using a variety of metric and rhythmic forms in its 525 lines.
97 Ed. Fuller 1929 pp. 75-86. This play also has rapid dialogue with 30 changes of speaker and 21 changes of rhythm in 194 lines not to mention changes of language to Old French on occasion. It has some interesting features including changes of rhythm related to scene changes and the use of Old French for women only.
98 Berlin Theol. oct. lat. 94 f 113 and again in a later hand at f 131 v; and in Rome Vat. Reg. lat. 344 at f 54 v.
Originally written by Peter as a *controversia* in two parts with the elders against Susannah having the first part and Daniel's *defensio* the second, this poem was transformed, much to its detriment according to the latest editor, by Peter's less gifted re-writer Aegidius into a continuous narrative.

Many influences lay behind the great efflorescence in the twelfth century of debate poetry in both Latin and the vernaculars and it would be idle to allocate a prime position to the declamatory tradition when there were also such strong influences from texts like the *De consolatione* of Boethius and Plato's *Timaeus* that relied on dialogue form. Several of our manuscripts contain debate or dialogue poems using personified qualities, characters from myth, medieval "types", parts of the human body and even different sorts of inanimate matter as the contestants. Mostly it would be difficult to specifically link these to the declamatory tradition but there are small pointers in some that suggest a connexion. In the *dialogus* between Solomon and Thais for example (Rom. Vat. Reg. lat. 344 f. 40) the part of Thais is taken by Marcolfus, a reminder of the ancient Greek custom whereby a woman had to be represented in a court by a man except in a few special cases of family law. But in general the medieval debate was obviously a fully-fledged genre by this time, showing few raw traces of its precedents. Obviously there is an affinity - both genres focus on arguing one side of a case against another. Unlike many of the earlier "dialogues" in which a pupil asked questions of a teacher, the sides are more evenly matched.

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99 Beichner 1965 p. xxiii.
100 Lerer 1985 has recently re-assessed the literary function of dialogue in Boethius.
101 The thirteenth century *Chastelaine de Vergi* for example can be pictured as a series of dialogues and is so represented in a series of carvings on an ivory casket (Gross 1979 pp. 312-313). Nolting-Hauff 1964 p. 132 also points to the closer affinity of certain dialogues in the thirteenth century Old Provençal *Flamenca* with the Latin tradition than with the Provençal *tensön*. The three long *planctus* at the end of the *Vie de St Alexis* (ed. Odenkirchen 1978 pp. 82-83 and 122-131) also over-ride the external form of the five-line stanzas in giving equal time (32 lines) to father and mother and 7/8 of this (28 lines) to the wife. This seems to indicate an internal formal relation amongst these speeches unrelated to the poetic structure. Legge, 1963 p. 55 quotes with approval a description of Thomas' *Tristan* (the most popular version) as "little more than a greatly-extended poem in the *débat* tradition", and Jaeger 1985 pp. 96-99 sees the Ajax-Ulysses contest as the prototype for the Knight versus Cleric, Phyllis and Flora debates (see Oulmont 1911 for the Old French versions and Haller 1968 on Phyllis and Flora as Ovidian satire. For further discussion and examples in the Latin tradition see *inter alia* Walther 1920, whose examples more frequently include a poetic judgment as well as two rival speeches,
The poems taken from the declamations have stuck to the spirit of the originals in leaving judgment suspended. By contrast, the other medieval progeny of the *declamations*, about a dozen stories found in the *Gesta Romanorum*, insist on not only dividing the "goodies" from the "baddies" and making sure the "goodies" win, but on pointing the moral with the most convoluted Christian allegorising. No room is left for differences of opinion. If these are generally thirteenth century writings, the idea that a fashion for moralising that was not present in the twelfth century became prevalent in the thirteenth century could certainly be supported by the different uses the 2 centuries made of the ancient declamations.\(^{102}\)

It is also interesting to compare the recurrent themes of the *Gesta Romanorum* with those of the ancient declamations since both present us with a large number of highly spinnable yarns. (There are too few poems to generalise about their themes.) Though parricide is one of the most frequent themes in the ancient declamations, being central to many and also mentioned incidentally in a large number where it is not the primary subject, it has virtually disappeared by the time of the *Gesta*.\(^ {103}\) Other topics which disappear are rape and infant exposure - the one story that includes infant exposure wraps the baby in silk and provides the finder with quantities of gold and silver for his upbringing.\(^ {104}\) Since this story outdoes the Oedipus story by making the central character the issue of brother-sister incest prior to his own incestuous union with his mother, it is not an aversion to strong material in general that prevents some subjects from being handled. The lack of father-murder in this story is interesting - if one perceives parricide as central to the Oedipus question it

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\(^{102}\) Manitius 1931 III pp. 944-962, who discusses 23 types of dialogue, Mozley 1933, Boutemy 1949, Lenzen 1973, d'Alverny 1965 p. 48-49 (note the Stoic position in these debates between *justitia* and *misericordia* (cf. Rist 1978 pp. 266-272)), Warren 1907 (text in Oulmont 1911 pp. 93-100), Hedberg 1944, who derives the medieval *Bucolics* not from Virgil's *Eclogues* but from the debates of the rhetorical schools.

\(^{103}\) Also some early manuscripts of the *Gesta* omit the moralising.

\(^{104}\) There is one reference to it in Ch. 9 where a father tells his son to kill him in the desert to make the crime less shameful.

This is the story of *Gregorius* (Ch. 81 of the *Gesta*), also told in the poem of this name by Hartman von Aue (transl. Zeydel and Morgan 1966) which may have been the basis for the *Gesta* version as it was for Latin poetic versions as early as 1210 (Zeydel and Morgan 1966 p. 2).
can no more be classed a version of the Oedipus story than the *Mathematicus* can by those who perceive mother-son incest to be necessary also. This question aside, it is interesting that parricide, rape and infant exposure should be absent from the *Gesta* which in many respects reproduce the subjects of the declamations. There is no lack of murder or adultery for example, or disputed inheritance. It could be proposed that a reduction in the absolute power of the earthly father (the *patria potestas* of Roman law) came about with the Christian emphasis on a heavenly Father of whom all human beings including fathers were children. Parricide and child exposure are closely related to father power - the question of rape is more complex, even paradoxical. On the one hand a raped girl was given enormous power over the rapist according to the *declamationes* - to choose his death or marriage - and this law could have easily been used by girls wishing to marry against parental consent\(^\text{105}\) - hence perhaps the instances in the declamations where a father is trying to stop a daughter from going to court. On the other hand while a daughter was regarded as the property of the father, rape was of course a violation of his property and this aspect stands out strongly in the ancient declamations. The absence of parricide from the *Gesta* might be of interest in considering the subsequent fortunes of the *Mathematicus* poem and its manuscript survival. The same forces that kept the subject out of the *Gesta* might have played a part in the early cessation of copying of the *Mathematicus*.

\(^{105}\) Cf. Duby 1983 transl. Bray pp. 38-39. Kalifa 1970 traces the changes in Germanic laws on rape and suggests reasons. See especially p. 208 where he proposes the right of girls to choose the rapist for husband to be of ecclesiastical inspiration. See also Rayment 1952 for the works of the ancient rhetors *vis-à-vis* changes in the *patria potestas* in Roman law.
Chapter III
The allegorical mode: Virgil rediscovered

"I was late to come to a full encounter with the Aeneid"
Mandelbaum in the introduction to his translation, 1971

"...in lutea quodammodo massa auri metallum quaesivit, et repertum excoxit."
Siegbert of Gembloux De Script. Eccl. PL 170.554 B on Fulgentius' Virgiliana Continentia

"Dilig it puer nucem integram ad ludum, sapiens autem et adutus
frangit ad gustum ... si adutus es, frangenda est littera et nucleus
litterae eliciendus ..."
Pseudo(?)-Fulgentius Super Thebaiden ed Helm 1898 pp. 180-181

The Mathematicus has puzzled those of its recent commentators who have sensed that there may be something more to it than the skilful retelling of a human interest story. The apparent lack of narrative closure is trivial, and is so perceived by twentieth-century commentators, even those who take the poem at face value, though it was a stumbling block to its earlier editors. Yet a mystery remains. Amongst those who have felt it in different ways are Peter Dronke, to whom the poem seems to be asking one question and answering another, and Theodore Silverstein, who suggested that poetry was being used as a vehicle for ideas that had to be transmitted under cover to avoid suspicion of unorthodoxy.

The reality it seems is simpler yet more profound, and certainly more poetically relevant. It touches not only the nature and purpose of poetry as perceived by the poet himself, but wider questions in the history of the place of poetry in human affairs. Rather than build a case towards it, because it is a startling hypothesis I would like to state it quite starkly at the outset and then adduce evidence. The hypothesis in its

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2 Hauréau's 1895 edition recognises the ending as such (pp. 7-8), and castigates Beaugende (whose edition is reproduced in Migne PL 171.1365A-1380D) and the editors of the Histoire Littéraire de France for not having perceived it.
3 Dronke 1974 p. 137.
simplest form is this: the *Mathematicus* poet, believing that he had plumbed the depths of Virgil's meaning, took the truth he felt he had discovered beind the allegory in *Aeneid VI* and wrapped it up in a new covering. I trust the evidence I shall bring to light in this chapter may establish this as at least a working hypothesis. If it can be proved, the ramifications are widespread - for example, if the *Mathematicus* is a poetic rendition of the truth of Virgil as explicated in the *Aeneid* commentary attributed to Bernard Silvester,\(^5\) does the *Cosmographia* bear some similar relation to the *De Nuptiis* explicated in the other commentary attributed to Bernard Silvester?\(^6\) Does its division into two poetic and two prose segments for the *Megacosmus* and seven of each for the *Microcosmus* betoken a formal relation to the two chapters of the *De Nuptiis* for the marriage followed by seven for the liberal arts as bridesmaids? More importantly, since the author of the *De Nuptiis* commentary expressly stated that Capella was "copying" Virgil,\(^7\) what Virgilian or general truth has he (if it is the same author) wrapped in the allegory (if it is such) of the *Cosmographia*? What relation do these Virgilian journeys have with Dante's allegory?\(^8\)

Beyond such seemingly academic or scholastic questions, apparently pinned on a particular (not to say idiosyncratic) view of poetic composition fixed in some recondite medieval imaginings, how does this view in fact relate to the utterances of the poets themselves (as distinct from the generally prose-based theories of literary criticism) on the well-springs of their craft? From antiquity to Hope's *New Cratylus* \(^9\) the poets have in their rare attempts to explain the inexplicable insisted on the prior

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5 ed. Jones and Jones 1977. The 1979 translation by Schreiber and Maresca is so frequently misleading as to be almost worthless.
8 Comparetti (trans. Benecke 1908 p. 118), after complaining (p. xi) that Dante commentators are "too ready to content themselves ... with generalities" on the Virgil of medieval literary tradition, quotes Dante's *Convivio* iv, 24, 26 as speaking of "the allegory of the ages of man contained in the *Aeneid.*" Silverstein 1932 however makes some very precise and perceptive connexions, particularly between Dante and the twelfth century *Aeneid* commentary (pp. 78-82).
9 1979.
existence of the fund of poetic "stuff" on which they drew. We may be dealing with nothing more than varying poetic metaphors for this same reality.

This however is not the place for exploring these larger questions but for focussing in fine detail on the *Mathematicus* itself and those works which may be involved in explicating its allegory, namely *Aeneid VI* and the commentary on *Aeneid I-VI* attributed to Bernard Silvester. Nor is it any part of our purpose here to elaborate on the vagaries of medieval allegory in general. Categorical statements are frequently made by twentieth century commentators on the levels of meaning the twelfth century allowed in various works, a distinction being frequently specified between sacred and secular works. Categorical statements were also made on this issue in the twelfth century - and where such statements were made by, say, a Hugh of St. Victor and repeated by, say, a John of Salisbury, latter day scholarship does not feel the need to inquire into a wider range of opinion. In fact the views on levels of meaning belonging to different texts were complex and various, and when dealing with poetry it would

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10 Investigations into the allegorical mode seem to have been as unfashionable in recent times as allegory itself. Tate's 1927, 1929, 1930 and 1934 papers are still some of the best work on ancient Homeric allegory, Comparetti (transl. Benecke 1908) the best on Virgilian allegory - his remark (p. 55) that a critical history of Virgilian commentary remains to be written, a remark reiterated by Courcelle in 1955 (p. 5), still holds good, though a start has been made by de Lubac II.II 1964 pp. 233-262 on the medieval exegesis of Virgil. Tate had already refuted the idea that Homeric allegorising began as a way of defending the immorality of the gods, giving it a more profound significance in efforts to understand myth. When the history of Virgilian commentary is written, a large place will have to be given to the allegorical interpretations, the predominant way of reading Virgil until the last few centuries. How far the modern mind has removed itself from this allegorical mode can be seen when a book entitled *The allegory of the Aeneid* (Drew 1927) can mention nothing but the most obvious historical connexion with Augustus. More recently however Murrin 1969, 1980 has attempted to discern the allegory written into their works by the poets and that read into the poets by allegorising critics from Virgil to the Renaissance. His researches have led him back to a position closer to the medieval belief of layers of meaning inherent in Virgil than most modern criticism has allowed (see esp. Murrin 1980 Ch.I. pp. 3-25). There has been very little allegorical investigation of medieval Latin poetry. The few scholars that have looked at allegory in medieval Latin texts have mostly restricted their studies to a small number of texts and these usually prose (e.g. Jeanneau 1957, O'Donnell 1962). The more developed field of biblical exegesis seems to have turned the older tradition of secular allegory into a poor relation, even shifting its focus from its natural home in poetry to prose. The later more obvious allegories of the vernacular poets have received more attention, and one scholar (Jauss 1964) has attempted to span the transition from the late twelfth-century Latin allegory of Alan of Lille to the *Roman de la Rose*. Jung 1971 pp. 59-121 has also discussed the twelfth century Latin allegorists as a prelude to his work on vernacular medieval allegories in France.

11 Some led to quaint results: Sigebert of Gembloux (an author in our Berlin theol. lat. oct. 94) for example does not like to use Fulgentius' *Aeneid* commentary for sacred writing but finds his *Mythologies* acceptable because of their biblical quotation (quoted from de Lubac II.II (1964) p.
be as trivial to rely on the categorization of a Hugh of St. Victor as it is to accept the views of Thomas Aquinas on poetry as indicative of the range of medieval views on the subject (though this is also done). Poetry was central to the thought of neither Hugh nor Thomas, and they are not safe guides through the thicket of medieval verse. Particularly in allegory where, as the Aeneid commentator points out several times, each symbol has a range of meanings within the same work and each meaning a range of symbols, a devious track has to be followed to uncover poetic intent. Likewise it is not only the gods and goddesses of the poetry itself that are polysemous, but also the technical terms that describe the poetry. At times, as in the long dissertation on the word figura in the De Nuptiis commentary, authors go to great lengths to define a term, though this does not stop them from using the same term elsewhere with another meaning. Context is all-important.

In the particular instance with which we are dealing, the word requiring most elucidation is mistice, a word which recurs repeatedly in the Aeneid commentary. The author asserts at one point that the fabula of the poets are not to be taken mistice.

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12 Dwyer 1976 p. 85 following Curtius presents a case for Aquinas not only as non-representative but as a disruption in a long tradition of theological poetics from Augustine and Boethius to Dante.

13 e.g. Comm. on Bk I (ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p. 9 1.16-p.10 1.14): «... equivocationes et multivocationes esse et integumenta ad diversa resipere.» (followed by examples). Cf. Comm. on De Nuptiis (ed. Westra 1979 f1rb48-f1va10): «Notandum est integumenta equivocationes et multivocationes habere.» (again followed by examples). The idea was hardly new - Servius commenting on Virgil's Eclogues says Tityrus stands for Virgil "not indeed everywhere but only where the passage reasonably admits it" (quoted from Comparetti transl. Benecke 1908 p. 59). Nor did the multivocationes and equivocationes end with medieval allegorical interpretations. Spenser's Fairie Queen continues the tradition (Murrin 1969 p. 56). Murrin (1969 p. 140) sums up the technique: "... the allegorist ... likes to go in several different directions, some quite unpredictable from the symbols and meanings with which he begins." Cf. Lachmann 1982 pp. 298-305 on Potebnja's nineteenth-century analytic study of the phenomenon. See also MacKay 1955 pp. 183-184 on multiple strands of symbolism in Virgil, especially in Aeneid VI.


This can hardly mean that only sacred scripture is to be so treated, as certain other authors assert, for our author proceeds to interpret *Aeneid* I-VI in this way, using the very same word *mistice* again and again. Are we to conclude then that the *Aeneid* is perhaps something more than a *fabula*? Just as Virgil is allowed to be, as the preface hastens to assure us, a philosopher as well as a poet. And although, for purposes of argument, philosophers and poets could be lumped together as essentially lacking, being all of them pagans, and in certain circumstances philosophers can mean nothing more than the ancient (pre-Christian) prose-writers as distinct from the poets who wrote in verse, in this instance it is clear that Virgil is being given a place as a philosopher of the Plato or Aristotle variety - a purveyor of universal and fundamental truth. On the other hand the word *mistice* does not here seem to imply spiritual or religious meaning, as it does in some other writings of the era where it is specifically distinguished from secular allegory. The commentary is a secular text which could as easily have been written by a pagan as a Christian - its emphasis is on explicating matters in that branch of philosophy known as moral philosophy or *ethica* as it was called by the authors of the *accessus ad auctores*, which had for centuries allocated to this sphere most of the ancient literature both prose and poetry that was deemed worthy of attention.

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*sapere debeat cerebrum agnoscamus*; "... and I look for the true effects of things, whereby, once the fictional invention of lying Greeks has been disposed of, I may infer what allegorical significance one should understand in such matters." (ed. Helm 1898 p. 11, transl. Whitbread 1971 p. 45).


18 Cf de Lubac II.II 1964 p. 238.

19 The distinction was clearly defined in the *De Nuptiis* commentary (ed. Westra, 1979 f1r30-36) without using the expression *mistice* as *allegoria* being *oratio sub historia narratione* and applicable to the *divina pagina* and *integumentum* being *oratio sub fabulosa narratione* and applying to philosophy.

20 ed. Huygens 1970. Note the name of Fulgentius' *Aeneid* commentary «Expositio Virgilianae continetiae secundum philosophos moralis» (ed. Helm 1898; see also de Lubac II.II 1964 p. 233 on Virgil as pagan philosopher until the twelfth century, later as Christian; and p. 237 on the *Aeneid* commentator's view of him as pagan).
Virgil as philosopher was hardly a new idea - from the beginning some commentators read his whole body of work as generalised allegory while others attached more specific allegorical meaning to particular poems or parts of poems. Apart from these allegorical interpretations the picture of Virgil as a man of outstanding wisdom had been confirmed by the late antique commentator Servius, who wrote the most popular and detailed commentary on the *Aeneid*. Servius had made only *ad hoc* allegorical interpretations, but a more holistic attempt at reading the *Aeneid* allegorically was made by Fulgentius the mythographer in the sixth century. The twelfth century commentary follows Fulgentius in ascribing to the first six books of the *Aeneid* stages in the growth of a human being to maturity (or as the author put it "what happens to the soul while incorporated in the body"). This is not the only way our author knows of looking at the *Aeneid* - he also cites the tradition which equates Book 2 to Homer's *Iliad*

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21 Drew 1927 p. 101 points to the witness of Servius to the more generalised allegorical interpretation of Virgil before his own more limited allegorising. Comparetti 1908 p. 56 gives evidence (including that in Servius) of generalised allegorising of all of Virgil's output by such writers as Aelius Donatus. Comparetti 1908 pp. 34-74 discusses the entire tradition of antique and late antique Virgilian commentary. See also Coffin 1921.

22 Comparetti 1908 p. 60. See also p. 48 on the projection of this image into the sphere of fortune-telling with the *sortes Virgiliane* and pp. 66-67 on Macrobius' use of this in his *Saturnalia*. De Lubac II.II 1964 p. 242 lists the four medieval Virgils: (1) pagan writer, (2) prophet, (3) greatest poet, (4) philosopher.

23 ed. Helm 1898, transl. Whitbread 1971. Interestingly Fulgentius, who had no qualms about spelling out the hidden meaning of Virgil's *Aeneid*, thought the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* "so bestrewn with mystical matters" ("in quibus tam misticae interstinctae sunt rationes") that he had better not attempt to explicate them (Helm 1898 p. 83, transl. Whitbread 1971 p. 119). See now also Lerer 1985 pp. 64-67 for a reading of Fulgentius following de Lubac as moral pedagogy on three levels.

24 Comm. *Aeneid* I-VI ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p. 3 II.4-5: «... quid agat vel quid paciatur humanus spiritus in humano corpore temporaliter positus.». O'Donnell 1962 p. 237 concludes that the author of the twelfth century *Aeneid* commentary "... is indebted to Servius for the external form of the commentary; for doctrine he resorts to Macrobius, Caecilius and Martianus Capella; for information he depends on the *Mythographi*, especially Fulgentius". Note also the story of Aeneas included by the First Vatican Mythographer ed. Bode 1834 No. 202 pp. 61-62. John of Salisbury likewise took the *Aeneid* as an allegory of the stages of life, but with a variation emphasising old age (*Politicatus* VIII.XXIV 817a-818b ed. C.C.I. Webb 1909). According to Singerman 1986 pp. 22-23 he was working from a defective memory of the twelfth-century *Aeneid* commentary. Singerman p. 36 quotes Poirion 1976 p. 213 as saying that the *Eneas* poet was working from "his memory of both the Latin text and of the various commentaries upon it", however this translation neglects the repeated "sur". Poirion used the «mémorisation» only for the *Aeneid* itself, not the commentaries. The difference can be important. Reading the *Aeneid* as the journey through life has not ceased - see MacKay 1955 p. 186.
and the remaining eleven books to the *Odyssey.* This leads him to remark that Virgil "copied" Homer. In the *De Nuptiis* commentary it is further stated, that Martianus Capella "copied" Virgil and Boethius "copied" Martianus. It is possible that in his view of the Virgil-Homer relationship the *Aeneid* commentator is simultaneously holding two quite distinct ideas, and that the *De Nuptiis* "copyings" may have similar internal complexities. The *De Nuptiis* is seen as a copy of the content of Virgil because it allegorises the soul's quest for understanding. Boethius may be seen to have copied the form of the *De Nuptiis*, being a *prosimetrum*, and is seen to have copied the content of Virgil and Martianus, again being a quest for knowledge (or self-knowledge).

Another time-honoured tradition that the twelfth-century *Aeneid* commentator inherited put special emphasis on *Aeneid VI* as the vehicle of the most profound truths. This was admitted even by those (Servius for example) who limited the allegorising they did of other parts of the *Aeneid.* The twelfth-century commentator honoured the tradition by giving Book VI more than three times as much space as the other five.


26 Comm. *Aeneid* I-VI ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p.3 ll.11-12: «Scribit autem Virgilius, Latinorum poetae maximus imitando Homerum, Grecorum poetae maximum ...». 27 Comm. *De Nuptiis* ed. Westra 1979 f1va ll.10-15 (after describing how the Sibyl guides Aeneas to Anchises, Virtue guides Mercury to Jupiter and Philosophy guides Boethius to the *sumnum bonum*) «... imitatur ergo Martianus Maronem, Boethius Martianum.». (Not, he adds, the other way round, because this was their historical order!).

28 It may be pure coincidence that the first 2 authors cited in the commentary on *Aeneid VI* are Boethius and Martianus (ed. Jones and Jones 1977, Boethius at p. 29 l.2 and p. 33 l.4 and Martianus at p. 33 l.19). The Flavian epic poets Statius, Silius Italicus, and Valerius Flaccus imitated Virgil in a more piecemeal fashion. Gossage (in Dudley ed. 1969 pp. 67-93) details their borrowings which need to be distinguished from the kind of "copying" the *Aeneid* commentator is talking about, though adding to the general picture of *imitatio* Virgilii in some fashion or other being nearly as prevalent a motif in the poetic domain as *imitatio* Christi in the religious. Pseudo(?)-Fulgentius lauds Statius "because in the composing of his *Thebaid* he is the faithful emulator of Virgil's *Aeneid*", «... qui Virgiliane Eneidis fidus emulatur Tebaiden scribere aggressus est ...» (ed. Helm 1898 p. 181 transl. Whitbread 1971 p. 239). Jung 1971 p. 45 discussing a 242 line reduction of *De Nuptiis* says «la signification de l'embrant à Martianus Capella réside dans la fait que la poète anonyme s'en tient à la fable mythologique, à l'écorce, en dehors de toute implication cosmologique», which indicates that the *De Nuptiis* was still viewed in this way at the time of this anonymous poet.

29 Comparetti 1908 p. 60. See Courcelle 1955a (or the reduced version 1955) for the continuance of the tradition. Modern authors give a special place to *Aeneid VI* on various counts, Perret 1952 pp.113-115 sees it as structurally set apart, Jackson Knight (in Dudley ed. 1969 p. 174) because its belief system is Platonic, that of the rest of the *Aeneid* Homeric.
books combined. The commentaries on the other five books are mostly generalised remarks on the content of the book and what it signifies, with few references to individual words, phrases or episodes; whereas that for Book VI is a line by line, frequently word by word, detailed gloss. The comment on the earlier books almost seems prefatory, although the author does list them as allegorising the same stages listed by Fulgentius - infancy, boyhood, adolescence, youth and manhood.30

What the *Mathematicus* poet appears to have done is to take the journey through these ages as expounded in the commentary for all books, and conflate it with the allegory as expounded for the sixth book only,31 wrap the result in a narrative based on an entirely different source,32 and retell it in elegiac couplets (a form much in favour at the time, especially for middle-length narrative poems) while simultaneously attending to the original *Aeneid VI* of Virgil. If this poet also wrote the *Aeneid* and *De Nuptiis* commentaries his description of how he believed other poets proceeded fits well with how he himself composed. If we believe this is a too convoluted and overly recherché way for a poet to go on, we should consider the poet's beliefs as well as the fact that he would very likely have had Virgil's words by heart and perhaps also in front of his eyes along with the commentary.33 The conflation of the allegory of *Aeneid VI* with that of Books I-VI is already pre-figured in the preamble to the detailed commentary of Book VI, which reverts in describing the four kinds of descent to the infernal regions to birth as the first of the four - the descent of the soul into the mortal body, with which the

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30 See the first line of each book of the commentary (ed. Jones and Jones 1977).
31 That it was the twelfth century commentary ascribed to Bernard Silvester that the *Mathematicus* poet followed and not some other allegorising commentary such as that of Fulgentius is indicated by specific instances of unexpected interpretations such as that of II. 415-6 (see below), and supported by degrees of emphasis and development such as in the wheel of forgune imagery at II. 615 ff not developed by Fulgentius.
32 The pseudo-Quintilian declamation described in Ch. II of this volume.
33 Nor was this method of "copying" Virgil restricted to the twelfth-century. Løsnes (in Rønvig 1963 pp. 115-157) indicates that a similar technique must have been followed by Dryden in writing his *Aeneis* with Virgil's poem and commentary in front of him. The difference with the *Mathematicus* is the *involuturum*. Dwyer 1976 p. 57 relates a more pedestrian version of the technique applied by the earliest French translator of Boethius' *Consolatio* who simply deployed his authorities seriatim, and see p. 65 on allegorising exegesis as a step towards verse translations of the *Consolatio*. 
commentary on Book I opened. Again this is followed, as for Book I, by disquisitions on "book-learning" - the seven liberal arts - and on moral education - the virtues and vices. This sequence is also followed in the Mathematicus in describing the boyhood of Patricida, though this by itself would not prove any sort of connexion - it is a common pattern. The clues that indicate a connexion are more singular, though some are subtle; and though many of them could individually be argued away, a few are very difficult to dispose of and the rest taken together make a persuasive case for this kind of allegory in the Mathematicus.

Before listing these correspondences, I should point out that the line numbers I am using for the Mathematicus come from Hauréau's 1895 edition. This was based on four manuscripts but gave no details as to what came from which manuscript.\textsuperscript{34} The only other knowledge available without studying the manuscripts themselves is that the single-manuscript edition in Migne PL 171 based on one of Hauréau's four (BN 5129) omits couplets here and there mostly in the latter part of the poem to a total of 20 lines out of the 854 in Hauréau,\textsuperscript{35} and another of the manuscripts (BN 6415) has 848 lines.\textsuperscript{36} Until the manuscripts are checked it cannot be known whether there are in some instances correspondences which occur precisely at corresponding line numbers in some manuscript or manuscripts, or whether the correspondence is less precisely numerical. It needs also to be borne in mind that specific individuals in the Mathematicus do not correspond uniquely to others in Aeneid VI - this is not a figurative re-telling but an allegorical re-working. With these provisos in mind I will

\textsuperscript{34} The manuscripts are BN3718, BN5129, BN6415 and Cambrai 977 (formerly 875). (Hauréau's preface to his edition p. 14.)

\textsuperscript{35} The missing lines are Hauréau 325-6, 387-8, 513-4, 571-2, 667-670, 689-692, 733-736.

\textsuperscript{36} Cousin 1840 p. 352. We also have some other pieces of information, such as that BN 3718 ends at 1.610 - it is the last piece in the manuscript (Faral 1920 p. 270); Cambrai 977, an early manuscript which attributes the poem to "Bernardus", ends with the same last line as Hauréau's edition (apart from the 26 lines added in Berlin theol. oct. lat. 94) and Auxerre 243 possibly has 850 lines (see Ch. VII Table 8) but these data cannot materially help in the resolution of the question of precise numerical correspondence.
recount the story of the *Mathematicus* indicating points of similarity with *Aeneid VI* itself and with the allegory of the commentary.\textsuperscript{37}

*Mathematicus* lines 1-42 describes a couple who, though blessed in every other way, mourn their lack of offspring. So the wife consults an astrologer to find whether their wishes will be granted. The first paragraph\textsuperscript{38} of *Aeneid VI* (lines 1-41) describes Aeneas mourning the lost Palinurus as he sails to Cumae to consult the Sibyl. The first words in the *Mathematicus* are spoken by the astrologer - in the *Aeneid* by the Sibyl, but this is the end of any correspondence between these two figures: for the astrologer, having prophesied a son who would grow up into a great man and a hero but then kill his father (ll. 49-62), is heard no more,\textsuperscript{39} while the Sibyl is responsible for a large fraction of both the action and the direct speech in *Aeneid VI*.

The commentary to Book VI, having listed the four kinds of descent to the underworld as (1) birth, (2) of a wise man i.e. to learn the creator through his creatures, (3) permanent i.e. to worldly things, (4) mantic - to consult about the future;\textsuperscript{40} and having said that *Aeneid VI* would deal mostly with (2) and (4), glosses the first 41 lines of *Aeneid VI* largely as a paradigm for the getting of learning, discussing taxonomies for its categorisation. (Practically the whole of the commentary for Book I had dealt with the first descent - birth). The commentary glosses *Aeneid VI.45 poscere fata* as

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\textsuperscript{37} What virtually jumps up from the pages and stares anybody in the face who sits down with the *Mathematicus, Aeneid VI* and the *Commentary on Aeneid I-VI* in front of them proves more difficult to describe. Tabulations of correspondences seem sterile - allegory, as Murrin 1969 p. 127 points out, is a "complex, subtle technique" which "retreats from precise analysis, fugitive, sometimes baffling, often mystical" (Drew 1927 p. 3.) - it uses variety to escape detection at the hands of the profane, and each correspondence is likely to need a new key. (If it were not difficult, the veil would have been rent long ago.) I have opted for a discursive account because I am quite sure I have so far discovered only a very small fraction of the poet's intended allegory (apart from what might be read into it by an allegorising critic.) Compared with tabulation, this kind of discursive account belongs in the open-ended tradition of myth and allegory, and is thereby suited to its subject. It is however difficult for modern readers, to most of whom the allegorical way of thinking is foreign. For the danger in applying modern ideas and definitions of allegory and symbol to medieval texts see Jung 1971 pp. 9-23.

\textsuperscript{38} Assuming the paragraphing of Austin's 1977 edition.

\textsuperscript{39} It might be interesting to study subsequent references to the astrologer in the *Mathematicus*.

\textsuperscript{40} Ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p. 30. Myths relating to descents to the underworld have been a prime target for allegorical interpretation since antiquity. Amongst medieval versions, William of Conches, like the *Aeneid* commentator, cites Eurydice's descent as a sinful fall (3rd kind) but the descent of Orpheus as a conversion of the wise man from worldly goods (2nd kind). (Jeanneau 1957 p. 46 and rpt. 1973 p. 138 quotes the passage.)
"to inquire ... into the birth, change and decay in things." Mathematicus ll. 45-48 describes the astrologer doing this.

At Mathematicus ll. 62-82, the wife tells her husband of the prediction and he counsels her to kill the baby (whose conception the couple then see to with alacrity). (Line 83 - Finierat after the husband's speech may echo the Finem dedit ore loquendi after the Sibyl's speech in Aeneid VI 76, but similar closures are frequent in Virgil.) In the event, the mother finds herself unable to kill the child and sends him away to be raised. There follows a description (ll. 103-152) of the childhood and learning of the boy which, as mentioned before, follows a version of the medieval curriculum not vastly different from the usual.42 This recalls the earlier part of the Aeneid VI commentary where this material was handled, as well as the scheme for the tree of knowledge in the commentary glossing the golden bough of Aeneid VI 137.43 Areas which may imply correspondences relate to the rather difficult lines 107-110.44 Whether the nomen in ambiguo, the arcana and the horREAT of these lines have any connexion with the ambages, obscuris vera involvens and the horrendas of ll. 99-100 of Aeneid VI is difficult to say, or whether the meaning of the Aeneid lines can help to unravel the strangeness of the Mathematicus lines. Line 107 of the Aeneid contains the name of the river Acheron, one of the four rivers of the underworld glossed in the commentary both here and previously at l. 34 as tristitia, which could be the hidden meaning; again, the commentary notes the histeron-proteron of Aeneid l. 109 - giving the child the name prior to the crime for which he is named demonstrates this figure, so a learned allusion is possible. The corresponding lines of Aeneid VI denote an important point in the poem, especially if taken allegorically - Aeneas is asking the Sibyl

41 ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p. 42 l. 23 "... inquirere philosophando unde generatio et unde alteratio et corruptio in rebus."
42 For the variations, especially in order, from some other accounts of the time, see the commentary to this section of the Mathematicus in Vol. I of this thesis.
for permission and help to visit his father Anchises in the underworld. *Aeneid VI* is nothing more than the story of this journey. Given that the *Aeneid* commentator glosses Anchises as God in his role as father - creator, the detailed comment on the spiritual journey at this point in the commentary is appropriate. In the *Mathematicus* it is from this point that Patricida, leaving infancy and childhood behind, starts on the path of learning and moral striving of the *homo*, the *adultus* stressed in the following lines.

Of interest is the seemingly gratuitous introduction at l. 128 of tired Hercules for whom Patricida holds up the sky. It will be remembered that Hercules held the sky for Atlas while Atlas got the golden apples of the Hesperides for Hercules (one of the labours imposed on him). Boethius says that the holding of the sky won heaven for Hercules and urges the following of him there, in a passage that might be behind Hercules' introduction here "... Once earth has been surpassed/It yields the stars".45 Otherwise l. 128 is a strange thing to find at the end of a description of the learning of the quadrivium, unless it is merely to herald the trivium, the sphere of learning most closely identified with Hercules, or unless it belongs to a tradition in which there is an allegorical relation between the golden apples and learning. Such a tradition is detailed in the commentary for ll. 136-7 in explicating the golden bough. In *Aeneid VI* itself we find Hercules first mentioned at l. 123, but in an entirely different context - as an *exemplum* of those who visited the underworld (one of the twelve labours being to bring Cerberus out from Hades - which Hercules *could* visit, because he was a demigod46). The golden bough of *Aeneid VI* 137 is used by the commentator for a second disquisition on fields of learning and their taxonomies, this time expressed through the metaphor of the tree of knowledge whose limbs represent the various

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45 Boethius *De Consolatione Philosophiae* IV.VII.34-35: «*Superata tellus/Sidera donat*.»
46 This descent of Hercules was already used by the commentator (ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p. 30 ll. 9-10) as an example of the descent of a wise man to the lower regions so that through creatures he might learn to know the creator the second of the four meanings of descent myths).
disciplines. This second disquisition corresponds to the section of the Mathematicus in which Patricida is involved in the getting of learning. This is an example of a place where it is the allegorical interpretation of the commentary that bears a relation to the Mathematicus rather than Aeneid VI itself or both. This example is not on its own very extraordinary - it is mentioned here as a precursor of a more striking example of the mediation of the commentary given in association with ll. 616 ff.

Lines 152-262 of the Mathematicus describe how Patricida saves his country and is made its ruler. In Aeneid VI lines 155-263 describe the preliminaries that must be gone through before Aeneas can enter the underworld. These centre on the proper burial of Misenus, and it is in the process of collecting wood for the funeral pyre that Aeneas finds the golden bough that will enable him to go to the underworld and return in safety. The commentator, following Fulgentius, has glossed Misenus as "worldly glory" which has to be buried before the journey to understanding can begin. At the beginning of this section in the Mathematicus (l. 157) is a graphic description of the Carthaginian ambush in darkened valleys: «Occulterat enim sub opacis vallibus agmen/Poenus ...» reminiscent of the dark valleys which enclose the golden bough of Aeneid VI 138-9 «... hunc tegit omnis/Lucus et obscuris claudunt convallibus umbrae». This little vignette is not adduced here as evidence for specific relationships between these texts - if the Mathematicus poet had his Virgil open in front of him or was reflecting on this part of the poem, such an echo could occur - that is all that can be said. Likewise the meeting of father and son in the two poems is bound to be a moment of emotional intensity and it is interesting to compare the achieved embrace of

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47 The relationship between golden boughs and golden apples does not seem to have evoked any critical comment, though it is not the golden bough itself but its fruit that must be given to Proserpina to gain entry to the underworld (Aeneid VI 141-143). See MacKay 1955 p. 182 and p. 186 for some comments on Virgil's use of the golden bough. See also Fulgentius' Aeneid commentary (ed. Helm 1898 p. 97) on the golden bough as learning and the golden apples as eloquence (transl. Whitbread p. 129).


49 It is the sort of small-scale verbal echo that at a more superficial level of "copying" includes poets like Silius Italicus as "imitators" of Virgil.
the *Mathematicus* with the foiled attempt at physical contact of the *Aeneid*, but no specific relationship between these is promulgated to advance the hypothesis under discussion here. Any connexion is outside the frame of reference of the present enquiry, belonging to a higher level of discourse touching the nature of poetic transmission *per se*.

The next four lines of *Aeneid VI* (264-267) can almost be seen as a prologue for the subsequent narrative of the *Mathematicus* - at this point Virgil breaks from his third person narrative to assume his own poetic persona (a thing he rarely does) for an invocation to the primal gods and spirits, asking permission to reveal hidden things of which he has acquired knowledge. The imagery is of the earth and night, which, particularly when mentioned together, suggest female connotations. At this point in the *Mathematicus* the mother takes centre stage and holds it for over 100 lines, first agonising with herself and then communicating her terrible secret to her husband. (Compare with the secret things in *Aeneid VI* hidden in earth and night.) Women, apart from the tragic figure of Dido, do not have any such foregrounding in the very male world of the *Aeneid*, and even Dido has limited space in *Aeneid VI*, though placing her meeting with Aeneas at the mid-point of the book gives this poignant brief vignette added weight by virtue of its position.

Line 289 in the *Mathematicus* has the mother expressing the wish that she might never have given birth, which might or might not have any relation with the commentator's gloss on the harpies of the same line in *Aeneid VI*: «*Virgines dicuntur quia steriles sunt et nullum fructum pariunt.*». The *Aeneid* itself has no specific mention of sterility at this point. In view of the case that will be made for connexions between the *Mathematicus* at 1.616 ff and the commentary to this line of the *Aeneid*, it is interesting to note the «*distrahe membra rotis*» of *Mathematicus* 1.364 followed by the

50 ll. 525-530.
51 *Aeneid VI* 697-702.
52 Cf. Jackson Knight in Dudley (ed.) 1969 p. 172 quoting these same lines and noting the rarity of personal prayer elsewhere in Virgil.
53 ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p. 74 ll. 11-12.