mention of Rhadamanthus in the following line. At *Aeneid VI* 616-7 we have «... radiisque rotarum/districti pendent ...» amongst the various torments of those suffering in the realm of Rhadamanthus who (*Aeneid VI* 567-9) «castigatque auditque dolos subigisque fateri/quae quis apud superos furto laetatus inani/ distiluit in seram commissa piacula mortem».54

The next section of the *Mathematicus*, II. 397-450, is at the literal level one of the most interesting parts of the poem, with its Stoic acceptance by the father of what appears to him to be the will of the gods. We might note that this comes at the midpoint of the *Mathematicus* - it is a turning of similar strength to Dido's turning away from Aeneas which marks the middle of *Aeneid VI*. It heralds the resolution of the dilemma, provides a metaphor for the Stoic paradox which requires freewill to be aligned with the will of the gods, and permits the subsequent meeting and mutual forgiveness between father and son. It may be permitted to mention in passing the parallel between *Mathematicus* I. 415: «Non tibi rhetoricos opus induxisse colores» and the commentary's gloss on the word "informi" of *Aeneid VI* 416 «Non enim ornatur ex corruptilibus ornamentis».55 Since the "informi" of the *Aeneid* refers at a literal level to the mud where Charon set down Aeneas and the Sibyl after ferrying them across the Styx, it would seem that this connexion is again only between the *Mathematicus* and the *Aeneid* commentary with no reference to Virgil's poem. It is but one of a series of such parallels of which the last and most striking starts at *Mathematicus* I. 615 where Patricida's reflections on his life are presented in the iconography of the wheel of fortune. The Virgilian lines (*Aeneid VI* 616-617) «... radiisque rotarum/districti pendent ...» merely refer to one of the torments of the damned and would be unlikely to suggest the wheel of fortune except in a reading

54 "... he hears men's crimes and then/chastises and compels confession for/those guilt that anyone, rejoicing, hid /but uselessly - within the world above./delaying his atonement till too late/beyond the time of death." (transl. Mandelbaum 1971 p. 151)

55 ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p.90 l.9. Though in some cases the *Mathematicus* poet could have been using Fulgentius rather than the twelfth-century commentary, this is an instance of an unusual interpretation with no parallel in Fulgentius (or Servius)."
which traces internal individual allegories as well as generalised allegory. This the
Aeneid commentator does, developing the theme with additional poetic quotation from a
contemporary source.56 The wheel of fortune was one of the most popular subjects of
both visual and literary art in the middle ages,57 otherwise it would seem strange to
introduce it here - it is not an essential part of the generalised allegory, and where
wheels are mentioned at other points in Aeneid VI they do not always evoke "wheel of
fortune" dissertations, but sometimes quite different meaning. It therefore seems that
the Mathematicus poet and the Aeneid commentator chose to elaborate this theme at this
point either independently, and it is merely a coincidence, which is improbable, or
because there is some relation between the two, or because both were influenced by
some force outside the terms of reference of this enquiry.58

It might not be totally irrelevant to look back to Mathematicus l. 607 in this
regard: "Distrahitur, discedit ab hac, pensatur ab illo" as Patricida farewells his parents
after their astounding revelations. Already we hear echoes of Aeneid VI 616-7: "...
radiisque rotarum/distincti pendent" as if this foreshadowed the subsequent elaboration

56 ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p. 113: "RADIIS: casibus ROTARUM; fortunaram. ... Unde
quidam dixit «Glorior elatus; descendo minorificatus/lmus in axe toror; rursus ad astra feror.»
Variations of this couplet are found in many manuscripts (see Walther 1969 no. 7251). Wilmart 1936 p. 33 denies Hildebert's authorship of either of the two versions attributed to him
in Migne PL 171 at 1283A and 1429D, nor has Scott included them in his subsequent edition of
Hildebert's Carmina Minora, 1969. The first of these versions: «Glorior elatus: descendo
minorificatus!Heu miser! axe feror; laetus ad alta toror.» is from Tours florilegium St. Gatien,
manuscript no. 890 (formerly 117 and earlier still 164) of the twelfth century. The second:
«Glorior elatus: descendo mortificatus!Ah miser! axe toror; laetus ad alta toror.» followed by:
«Ut rota sic homines, movet hos immobiles ordo,Exaltans humiles, magnum mosque premens.»
is found at the end of Hildebert's long diatribe against women, avarice and ambition (Plurima
cum solet) in the manuscript BN Latin 7596A (formerly Colbertino 1050) (fourteenth century?)
containing Isidore's Etymologies, Hildebert's (? ) Carmina, Nonius Marcellus, and Remi of
Auxerre's commentary on Martianus Capella. It will be noted that the Aeneid commentary uses
ad astra where these use the less metaphoric ad alta. However in Rheims 1275, a manuscript
associated with some Mathematicus manuscripts, we find «astra» (f191v, Wattenbach 1893 p.
525).

57 One of the manuscripts with the «Glorior elatus ...»couplet, Rheims 1275 (twelfth-century) also
contains an extensive piece of verse on the wheel of fortune in a dream poem which also includes
the seven liberal arts appearing as ladies (Wattenbach 1893 pp. 496-504). See Patch 1927 on
the many medieval treatments of fortune's wheel.

58 There could exist some generalised pattern, perhaps using number symbolism like that
postulated by Qvarnström 1966, of which Aeneid VI, the twelfth-century commentary and the
Mathematicus are exemplars, but I have not found it. I think the chances that the Mathematicus
was written without reference to the Aeneid commentary would be statistically insignificant.
of the wheel of fortune based on the commentary. The striking juxtaposition of "districti pendent" in the original Virgil seems to be precisely the kind of thing that grips the poetic mind, and its echoes both here and in the «distrahe membra rotis» Mathematicus 1.364 might signify the impact it had on the Mathematicus poet. Again here we touch on subjects that go beyond the reach of this enquiry and postulate questions about poetic techne which poets themselves rarely address, but which only in the writings of the poets themselves receive any informed discussion.

To return to the analysis of the Mathematicus, which we left at 1.450 with the father requesting a meeting with his son before his death, we can make further comparisons between the journeys subsequently undertaken - in the Mathematicus by the parents so the father could meet the son (is this a paradigm for redemption from outside sources?) and in Aeneid VI by the son seeking his father. The actual meeting comes earlier in the Mathematicus in terms of line numbers, and the Aeneid commentary in fact finishes (at l. 636) before it reaches the Virgilian meeting of Aeneas and Anchises (ll. 684 ff.).

The fact that it finishes at a very significant point has been remarked before - did the commentator believe he was going outside of his knowledge or jurisdiction to elucidate the description of Elysium - the fields of the blest with their affinities with the Christian heaven? Or had the commentator/poet arrived at some insight which made further glossing unnecessary and a waste of effort because a new poetic allegory would better express it? It hardly seems likely that a mere mechanical loss of pages could explain why the commentary ceases abruptly as Aeneas sets the golden bough across the threshold of heaven. Especially since the next words in Aeneid VI (l. 637) read: «His demum exactis, perfecto munere divae »

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59 As well as the echoes of Aeneid I 709-719.
60 Carlsson 1945 pp. 128-130 points out that Aeneas returns from Hades completely changed - because he now knows his destiny, his hesitation and uncertainty have vanished and in the second half of the Aeneid he appears as a man of perfect virtue.
62 "Their tasks were now completed, they had done/all that the goddess had required of them ..." (transl. Mandelbaum 1971 p. 153).
It would be idle without deeper study to draw parallels between these journeys—it would be particularly interesting to look more closely at the figure of the mother in the *Mathematicus* and what meaning, allegorical or otherwise, might attach to the part she plays while accompanying her husband on his journey as the Sibyl accompanies Aeneas. Having introduced son to father, she fades from the scene, and yet one feels that it is her love for both that has given each the power to sort out his own destiny. There is no simple analogy with the Sibyl, the female Character of *Aeneid VI*, although it might be of interest that once the Sibyl has asked the poet Musaeus for information on Anchises' whereabouts (ll. 669-671) she too slips out of the picture, leaving Anchises to answer the questions of Aeneas (to which she had previously provided responses), until Anchises farewells the painter at the end of the book (ll. 897-898).

In both *Aeneid* and *Mathematicus* the last few hundred lines consist of long philosophical explorations—in the *Aeneid* Anchises explains the place of re-incarnation in the scheme of things, and exposes the worldly value of the forthcoming progeny of himself and Aeneas; the *Mathematicus* chooses to dwell on a more other-worldly theme and argues the value of the return to the stars that comes as the finale to any series of re-incarnations. One could almost imagine this as an alternative response to the puzzled questions of Aeneas: «*O pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est/sublimis animas iterumque ad tarda reverti/corpora? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupidio?*» (*Aeneid VI* 719-721).

Little remains to be said. Echoes of various sorts can be explored. What associations for example has *Aeneid VI* 694 «*quam metui ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent*» with the striving of Hercules against the giant Anteus, the ruler of Libya, on his way back from obtaining the golden apples, and does this relate to the setting of the *Mathematicus* poem in the historical context of the Punic Wars? Once the

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63 "But, Father, can it be that any souls/would ever leave their dwelling here to go/beneath the sky of earth, and once again/take on their sluggish bodies? Are they madmen?/Why this wild longing for the light of earth?" (transl. Mandelbaum 1971 p. 156.)

64 "I feared the kingdom/of Libya might do so much harm to you" (transl. Mandelbaum 1971 p. 155.)
allegorising commentary is finished (at l. 636) no profit arises from exploring connexions between the continuation of the commentary (by a later author, closely based on Servius) and the *Mathematicus* that cannot be found from relating the poem to the Servius commentary itself, and therefore, since this only presents allegorical interpretations of detail, to *Aeneid VI* itself.

Each poem can be seen as an allegory of the search for understanding/knowledge of God/knowledge of self. Knowledge of self as a path to knowledge of God (through creatures to know the creator as the the commentary reiterates) or knowledge of self as knowledge of the god, the divine, within each person as Stoic theory hypothesised. Small clues point to a continuing association between the poems. Camillus for example, a symbol with a range of connotations that the *Mathematicus* re-presents, first appears in the *Aeneid* at *Aeneid VI* 825. He is mentioned once in the *Mathematicus*, also at l.825 of Hauréau's edition, though as mentioned earlier an examination of manuscripts would be required to find out whether this corresponds to l. 825 of any manuscript.

Outside of what is generally analysed as the *Mathematicus* poem there is an addition of 26 lines in one late twelfth-century manuscript which might imply that its author thought that the *Mathematicus* was based on *Aeneid VI*. The *Mathematicus* ends at l. 854 - if we look at line 855 of *Aeneid VI* we see: «Sic pater Anchises, atque haec mirantibus addit ...» and there follows a speech by the father, one by the son, another by the father before he sends Aeneas and the Sibyl through the enigmatic gate of ivory back to the world above. The 26 lines added by the later (but still twelfth-century) continuator contain a parallel structure: a speech by the father, one by the son.

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65 Schaeer 1961 p. 188 notes Plotinus pointing to this as an error of the Stoics (III, VII, 11; I, II, 2).

66 See commentary in Vol. I of this thesis at ll. 261 and 825 for details on Camillus as a *figura* for Patricida in reversing a Roman defeat and for the rarely allowed triumph with white horses. Cousin 1840 p. 353 also relates the last lines of the *Mathematicus* to «un discours fort obscur d'un certain Camille.» See commentary at l. 854 for discussion.

and another by the father before the equally enigmatic (not to say oracularly ambiguous) decision of the judges.

Some interest might attach to the fact that the continuator found narrative closure of this type important enough to override any aesthetic respect he might have had for the maintenance of the open-endedness inherited by the poem from its declamatory source (if he knew it). He seems to have been more concerned with aligning the poem with its allegorical source in *Aeneid VI*. Whether geography is involved (where were the pseudo-Quintilian declamations known?) or history (when was the continuation added? - in a later generation to whom narrative closure was becoming important?) or merely inter-personal differences of taste and understanding between the earlier poet and the continuator cannot be determined on the information analysed in this thesis, but further research might be able to elucidate these questions. In the context of debate poetry and the adding of judgments in some manuscripts to poems based on other declamations,⁶⁸ these questions might not be as trivial as they might seem.

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⁶⁸ See Vol. II Ch. VI of this thesis.
Appendix

Another reading of the *Mathematicus* for which I am indebted to L.S. Davidson.

Should Patricida's suicide at the end be understood as choice of the monastic life i.e. dead to the world? (This would make the additional lines particularly pointless.) Note particularly the attack on debates and rhetoric c.f. monastic attack on the schools, also denial of the body as freedom.

Thus the poem appears as a resolution of the Oedipus complex through Christian love based on self-control (numerous metaphors of control and right-action) and self-sacrifice based on identification with the other. In both father and son love of the other is here made (after initial wavering) to triumph over love of oneself. The conflict is presented as generational rather than sexual - the son's success is inextricably connected with the death of his father (whom he replaces). The selfish resentment comes initially from the father and so must be overcome by him first. The large space allocated to the position of the mother is unusual - presented with a conflict of loves she must inevitably resolve it in favour of the forthcoming generation. The misogynist rave emerges as a parody in this context and the love between the mother and father and the mother and son provides the basis for the love between the father and son which transcends the Oedipal conflict. The mother's love for both the father and son is taken for granted as natural (sexual and maternal). Thus the conflicts are fully resolved - the Oedipal one through love and the problem of free will through love of God and abandonment of the realm of matter to which predestination applies (for it has been specifically stated that it does not apply to the soul).

L.S. Davidson
Chapter IV

Philosophical foundations: the Stoic system

"Thou wilt not with Predestination round
Enmesh me, and impute my Fall to Sin?"
Fitzgerald’s Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám
(12th C.). Stanza 57 of the 1st edition

«Legesque immutabilis decreti docuit. Hic iam
magnam et difficilem rationem commover, de qua multa
disceptatio habita inter veteres perseverat etiamnunc.»
Calcidius’ commentary on Plato’s Timeus ed.
Waszink 1962 p. 181

Much has been made of twelfth-century Platonism or Platonisms, especially with respect to Chartres, and in contradistinction to aspects of Neoplatonism more widely diffused in time and place throughout the middle ages.¹ Less thought seems to have been given to the Stoic dimension, either in terms of diffuse influences or by focussing more narrowly on specific instances. Yet the Mathematicus might well be labelled a "Stoic text" if one concedes that any work of imaginative literature can bear a label of this sort.²

There is plenty of evidence that the middle ages were exposed to a variety of Stoic ideas, and not only to those that Christianity absorbed.³ The version of Plato’s Timaeus widely accessible was Calcidius’ translation into Latin (not complete - about a

¹ Chenu transl. Taylor and Little 1968 Ch. 2 discusses the Platonisms of the twelfth century as variant strains of neo-Platonism. McKeon 1946 pp. 221-227 lists 4 brands: (1) via Augustine (Abelard) (2) via the Timaeus and Calcidius’ commentary (the cosmologists Bernard Silvester and Alan of Lille) (3) humanist, via Cicero, including Stoic morality (John of Salisbury) (4) mystic (Hugh of St. Victor). Wetherbee (Cosmographia introduction) 1973 p. 15 bases Chartist criticism on "one of the several Platonisms abroad in the period" and his 1972 book seeks to discover relations between this Platonism, poetry and the "School of Chartres." Stahl (introduction to Macrobius’ commentary on the Dream of Scipio) 1952 p. 44 says this work was the main source of the Neoplatonic doctrines of the Cosmographia.

² Without wishing to enter into the controversy that surrounds such labelling, especially in the case of the Senecan tragedies as Stoic documents (Brady 1958, Wilson 1985 pp. 67-69), one might allow such a label to have meaning where Stoic philosophy informs the text in the same way as e.g. the Christian ethic informs hagiography. The poem, as is the way of literature, refers the subtle complexities of philosophical argument back to the human predicament the philosophers had sought to conceptualise and re-presents it in living starkness. Its juxtaposition of ethos with pathos, the ideal with the real, not only gives it its power as a work of art, but places it in the tradition of humanist thought in the broadest sense of the word.

³ For the encounter between Stoicism and Christianity see Spannent 1973 Ch. 5 (pp. 130-178) and in greater detail Spannent 1969 passim and Colish 1985 Vol. II passim.
third of the entire *Timaeus*) with extensive commentary. The commentary is 10 times as long as the text, and opened at random is quite likely to reveal the word "Stoic" and even to discuss differences between Chrysippus and Cleanthes. The part of the commentary dealing with fate, a not inconsiderable section, starts by saying it will only deal with Plato's doctrine but spends its middle third on Stoic teachings. Not that Calcvidius could always be relied upon to distinguish faithfully between Stoic and Platonic positions. Nevertheless enough of the feeling of what Stoic philosophy taught and how it differed from other philosophies or religions was being presented in such commentaries as this to enable a thoughtful person to reconstruct its basics.

For the transmission of the distinctively Roman strain of Stoicism, it was not even necessary to be acquainted with philosophical works such as the *Timaeus*, for many of the epic Roman poets of the first century A.D. were imbued with Stoicism and their works were standard reading at a quite elementary stage of schooling. Virgil uses elements of Stoicism in the *Aeneid* - his doctrine of fate and freewill is generally allowed to be Stoic, but he is not as completely Stoic as Lucan, whose *De Bello Civili*

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5 ed. Waszink 1962 p. 183 section CLXIV. (Section CCXX (p. 232) quotes Zeno verbatim!)

6 pp. 181-214 of the Waszink edition. It constitutes about a tenth of the entire commentary, and is translated into English with substantial comment by Boept 1970.


8 Boept 1970 p. 42 accuses him of using Stoic tenets to prove a Platonic position. Macrobius also provided information on Stoicism, listing among many definitions of the soul those of Zeno and Posidonius (transl. Stahl 1952 p. 146).

9 Spannent 1973 p. 179 lists Boethius as well as the *Timaeus* commentators as transmitting Stoic ideas of the world-soul and of man as microcosm into neo-Platonism. Spannent discusses the uses made of these concepts by authors related in various ways to Bernard Silvester such as Thierry of Chartres, William of Conches and Alan of Lille (pp. 182-186). The fact that information was available does not mean that every medieval author (or ancient for that matter) that used Stoic ideas bothered to understand the entire edifice of Stoic thought. Nor has this changed - Bouwsma 1975 p. 53 describes the Stoicism of the Renaissance humanists as "singularly confused" and Spannent 1973 finds further variations on Stoic themes up to the present.

10 There is a substantial literature on Virgil's *Aeneas* as a Stoic hero, which puts emphasis on his acceptance of and working through his destiny, Dido being cited as indulgence in non-Stoic yielding to passion. Colish 1985 I p. 233 fn. 29 details the particular literature relating to Virgil's position on fate and freewill. She also discusses the entire question of Stoicism in all Virgil's writings (I pp. 225-251). She perceives that Virgil agrees with the Stoic doctrine that man's virtuous acceptance of his fate involves voluntary choice (I p. 232). Colish believes that the Stoic view of fate and freewill also characterises the other epic poets: "For Lucan, as well as
(or *Pharsalia*) though hardly appreciated today was high on the popularity list throughout the middle ages.\(^{11}\) Another poet whose works were well known to the middle ages and who has often been credited with Stoic attitudes is Statius, but Colish has recently studied this and found the alleged Stoicism of the *Thebaid* at least illusory.\(^{12}\) Finally a really Stoic poet of great interest in the context of the *Mathematicus* is Silius Italicus, the Stoic hero of whose *Punica*, Scipio, could provide an excellent model for Patricida,\(^{13}\) but we must discount this as a possible source at the moment, since we know only two medieval manuscripts.\(^{14}\)

Two other writers who were involved in the transmitting of Stoic ideas were Cicero, whose writings, though he himself cannot be labelled a Stoic, ensured the transmission of Stoic ideas even in areas where he disagreed with the Stoics, such as language theory, and have given him first place as the most important transmitter of Stoic ideas after the Stoics themselves,\(^{15}\) and Seneca, not only in his authentic works

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\(^{11}\) Colish 1985 I pp. 252-275 chooses Lucan as the most important transmitter of Stoic ideas amongst the epic poets, noting particularly his portrait of Cato, though he feels his notions of fate and freewill do not entirely reflect orthodox Stoic doctrine, making fate too capricious and not having as sure a grasp as Virgil of the complex Stoic relation between fate and freewill. Quinn 1979 p. 56 says Lucan's poem is "propaganda for a moral ideal (Stoicism) ... it idolizes a hero (Pompey) only insofar as he embodies the Stoic ideal". The Christian tradition was however not so interested in Lucan's Pompey as in his description of Cato as an ideal Stoic, which was often used as a Christian ideal and quoted in epitaphs (cf. Burton 1983 p. 384).


\(^{13}\) Bassett 1966 pp. 262-264.

\(^{14}\) Colish I pp. 281-289. The manuscripts, no longer extant, are an early one from St. Gall discovered by Poggio Bracciolini in the early fifteenth century and a ninth-century one from Cologne used in the sixteenth century. Raby 1957 I (2nd ed.) p. 38 says Ratbert of St. Gall knew it in the ninth century.

\(^{15}\) Colish 1985 I pp. 61-158. Though the Stoics' original works on language theory are in general no longer extant, their influence through the early grammarians such as Varro (Law 1982 pp. 12-13, Colish 1985 I p. 321) has come down to provide the basis of modern linguistics (Halliday 1978 p. 35), though the ternary Stoic system of significant, signified and conjuncture had previously had the conjuncture deleted by the Port Royal theorists in the seventeenth century (Foucault 1970 p. 42). Cicero's influence in the area of morality hardly needs detailing here. Perhaps an idea of its predominance can be had from the fact that a third of the *Moralium dogma philosophorum* consists of quotations from Cicero, 90% being from the *De Officiis*. This is twice as much as the next most quoted author, Seneca (Spanneut 1973 p. 190).
but in those of the pseudo-Senecan works actually based on lost works of Seneca.\textsuperscript{16} Seneca's own letters to Lucilius (the \textit{Epistulae Morales}) were widely known in the middle ages, especially the first 88, whose manuscripts number hundreds, peaking in the twelfth century, though they were already quoted by Gerbert of Rheims in the tenth century and they appear in an eleventh-century manuscript from the Loire valley.\textsuperscript{17} Likewise certain of Seneca's moral treatises were well-known,\textsuperscript{18} but we have little evidence that his tragedies were circulating to any extent.\textsuperscript{19}

Mention of Cicero and Seneca brings to mind the orators and the elder Seneca and the judicial/rhetorical/declamatory connexion with Stoic ideas. Colish after an extensive investigation of the influence of Stoicism on Roman law believes she has succeeded in "lay(ing) to rest at long last the widespread but unsubstantiated myth regarding (Stoicism's) impact on the Roman jurisconsults and emperors."\textsuperscript{20} Her corollary: "Theories of law inspired by the distinctive Stoic amalgam of natural law and ethics are to be found, rather, in the writings of professional orators, and pre-eminently in the rhetoric and political theory of Cicero"\textsuperscript{21} fits with the connexions made in the analysis of such works as the pseudo-Quintilian \textit{Mathematicus} declamation in Ch. II of Vol. II of this thesis.

\textsuperscript{16} Such for example as Martin of Braga's \textit{De honeste vitae}, a popular work which occurs in one of the \textit{Mathematicus} manuscripts. (Reynolds 1965 p. 113 notes 600 manuscripts of the \textit{De honeste vitae}.) Others such as the pseudo-Senecan letters to St. Paul are pure fabrications.

\textsuperscript{17} Reynolds 1965 esp. pp. 101-102 and see Reynolds 1983 pp. 369-375 for more recent information. Spanneut 1973 pp. 194-199 discusses Seneca's influence on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He says (p. 194) Seneca virtually disappeared from circulation after the sixth century Martin of Braga until the end of the eleventh century.

\textsuperscript{18} Spanneut 1973 p. 179 lists Epictetus along with Seneca as two Stoic moralists known to the middle ages, and one of our manuscripts includes Epictetus and several have Senecan works. Spanneut 1973 pp. 202-208 details the influence of Epictetus, much less in the Latin west than in the Greek and Arab worlds. Reynolds 1983 pp. 363-369 gives the manuscript tradition of Seneca's \textit{De Beneficiis, De clementia} and \textit{Dialogues}.

\textsuperscript{19} Colish 1985 I p. 18 supposes that interest in them was not aroused until Nicolas Trivet's commentary in the thirteenth century. However the manuscript tradition does date from the eleventh. They were known to Aldhelm and again in Montecassino in the eleventh century (Raby 1957 I (2nd. ed.) p. 34). Reynolds 1983 pp. 378-381 gives the manuscript tradition. Woods 1985 p. XII discusses an early thirteenth century manuscript which contains all ten tragedies as well as the \textit{Cosmographia} and other interesting medieval poems.

\textsuperscript{20} Colish 1985 I p. 389.

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{ibid.}
The *Mathematicus* poem addresses itself to problems which while having their place in other ancient philosophies, were elaborated by the Stoics to an extent so far beyond any other work on them that they were frequently regarded both in antiquity and since as distinctively Stoic topics. The interrelated set of fate, fortune and freewill is an obvious example - the "doctrine" of natural law another. Whether the poem answers these questions or, if it does not answer, presents them in a way that is distinctively Stoic is another matter - one that is complicated by the fact that Stoicism is frequently not in conflict with other ancient philosophies (particularly Platonism) but rather complementary. Moreover what is "distinctively" Stoic cannot always be

22 Boept 1970 p. 2 "The Stoa is the first philosophical system of antiquity which has given an elaborate doctrine of fate ... p. 3 "... the Stoa kept the initiative in this field, because the other schools did not so much develop their own doctrines as confine themselves to attacks on the Stoa." But cf. Boept 1970 p. 48, where the author points out that Calcidan's polemic in the middle third of his *tractatus de fato* is not so much an attack on the Stoa as a defence against some Stoic objections to the Platonic doctrine on fate. The matter is complicated by the fact that Calcidan more than once uses Stoic tenets to prove a Platonic point of view (Boept p. 42). Colish 1985 I p. 125 says Cicero gave far greater approval to the Stoic doctrines on fate and on natural law than to any other Stoic doctrines he discussed. His influence in transmitting Stoic ideas to the middle ages was paramount, but they had to contend in this area with Augustine's equally complex but very different views (Rist 1969). A third version of the relation between fate, fortune and freewill derived from Boethius - a more important source than Augustine for medieval ideas according to Pickering (1965 and in greater detail 1967. See also Patch 1935 pp. 42-43). Silk 1935 edits a commentary on Boethius which he thought ninth century but is now known to be twelfth (Silverstein 1955 p. 220), which contains a long discussion on the coexistence of God's foreknowledge and human freewill (pp. 283-290). Twelfth century theologians were just as insistent on the co-existence of freewill and predestination as the Stoics had been, if expressing the idea of predestination in a fashion more suited to the Christian view of God. Starting with Anselm's *De concordia praesignationis et praedestinationis et gratiae Dei cum libero arbitrio* (ed. Schmitt 1968 I pp. 243-288) of 1107-1108, Michaud-Quentin 1949 traces the development of ideas on freewill through the twelfth century from what he sees as a simplistic dichotomy in which the freedom of the spirit consists in subduing the body, to the complex psychology of the later part of the century. Payen 1973 in a penetrating analysis traces the influence of Stoicism in the twelfth century theories of personal liberty and personal responsibility (pp. 469-470) and sees a return in the thirteenth century to "allegorising psychomachias" (p. 472). The position of Bernard Silvester in all this was summarised long ago by Thorndike (1923 II p. 106) "He thus appears ... like a host of other theologians, philosophers and astrologers to believe in the coexistence of freewill, inevitable fate, and 'variable fortune'".

23 Arnold 1911 p. 240 lists the idea of man as microcosm of the world as megacosm as a commonplace of Greek philosophy but fundamental to Stoicism. In the Stoic system it not only ties in with cosmology but with the Stoic position on freewill, which is only properly free when aligned with nature.

24 Rist 1969 p. 224 thinks Cicero regarded Platonism and Stoicism as complementary but it is Rist himself who points to the work of Chrysippus (including lost work) which represents "a view of the world and man sharply opposed to the theories of Plato and Aristotle" - some of the teachings of the Old Stoa were "watered down" or brought into closer agreement especially with Academic views in the time of Panactius and Posidonius. Stoicism itself sets little value on "original" ideas but seeks to find value in all systems of thought and to integrate them into one embracing system. In the process it did synthesise an original view. The hypothesis of
defined as closely as what is "distinctively" Platonic for example, where there is a body of writings from one philosopher which, if not always consistent, at least constitute the coherent mature thought of one man. The earliest Stoic writings we have are already interpretations of Zeno, the founder of the school, and subsequent Stoics therefore did not feel the same compunction about altering the ideas as did the followers of Plato for example. We do not have to wait until the twelfth century to discover "a variety of Stoicisms" - the doctrine was already fluid in the centuries B.C. Yet again Christianity is so heavily in debt to Stoicism, particularly in the sphere of ethics, having as one author expresses it "assimilated what was best and noblest in that philosophy" that by the time we reach the twelfth century certain erstwhile Stoic ideas have been so long a part of the fabric of Christian thought that to hark back to their origins becomes an academic exercise as far as analysing the attitudes expressed in a poem is concerned. In spite of all these difficulties, the central emphases of Stoicism are sufficiently differentiated from other philosophies and religions, and sufficiently clear within themselves even where individual Stoics differ on important points, to allow a study of Stoicism in the *Mathematicus* to be made.

**twelfth-century writers including e.g. Abelard and William of Conches that the writings of the pagan philosophers were worthy of study since some part of the truth had been revealed to them seems to repeat the attempt of Stoicism to incorporate everything of value.**

**25** In fact there is no complete treatise extant from any of the third century B.C. heads of the Stoic school, Zeno, Cleanthes and Chrysippus (Hahn 1977 p. xv.).

**26** Though Plato's ideas were subject to multiple "interpretations", particularly when they were re-issued by the neo-Platonists. Armstrong 1967 p. 213 mentions Porphyry as already perceiving in the works of Plotinus "unobserved Stoic and Peripatetic doctrines", and he agrees that the moral teaching of Plotinus is strongly influenced by Stoicism (p. 228). See also Merlan in the same volume p. 51 for the eclectic use of Stoic and other ancient philosophies by Plotinus. Wetherbee 1973 (introduction to *Cosmographia* transl.) p. 11 sees in William of Conches a "fruitful union of Plato's cosmology and Stoic physics", but the interpenetration had been going on for centuries.

**27** Spanneut 1973 in his introduction (pp. 13-15) gives an indication of the variations within Stoic thought, which he elaborates in Part I of his book (pp. 19-102) up to the time of Marcus Aurelius.

**28** Brady 1958 p. 5. Spanneut 1969 details the entry of Stoic ideas into Christian thought in the very early Christian fathers - prior in time to the reception of Plato and Aristotle in their purer forms. Chadwick 1967 p. 162 discusses the Christian analogues given to Stoic ideas by Justin Martyr and (pp. 171-175) the important part played by Clement of Alexandria in transmitting Stoic ethics (with certain reservations as to the value of mercy and the allowability of suicide). Trinkaus 1970 I pp. 183-4 traces a Christian version of a Ciceronian Platonised Stoicism through the middle ages to the Italian humanists.
Though this is not the place to elaborate the details of the cosmology, physics, logic and ethics that integrate to form the Stoic system, and though considering some aspects without reference to the whole not only does violence to the entire carefully articulated structure but leaves to the parts abstracted less meaning than they have in context, it seems necessary to discuss briefly those tenets of Stoicism that the *Mathematicus* seems to explore. Because Stoicism, though never the vague agglomeration of discrete and unrelated ideas and attitudes that a careless study can see in it, pursued an organic life in time, with genesis, growth and decay of various branches within the overall system, and because elements from various strands found their way to the middle ages, it seems best to set the ideas in their ancient historical context. This is usually done by dividing the period from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D. when Stoicism was a living "faith" into three periods, early, middle and late.

Though Zeno (who founded the school in the third century B.C.) left no writing, he developed the bases of the system, drawing doctrines from a variety of sources. Of particular interest to the *Mathematicus* is his borrowing from the cosmology of Heraclitus of Ephesus of the Heraclitan fire, an eternal fire distinct

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29 Hahn is aware of this problem when he laments (1977 p. xv): "Stoicism was a tightly knit, interrelated system. An analysis of its origins requires pulling apart what the Stoics deliberately put together." Long 1971 p. 176 gives a good brief description of the interrelation of Stoic physics, logic and ethics. Arnold 1911 p. 161 gives a picture of the way Stoic thought presents as equivalents such diverse concepts as seeds, fire, logos, and God; Hahn 1977 p. 60 and Spannute 1973 pp. 24-25 also discuss this.

30 The absence of good literature in English on Stoicism that Arnold deplored in his still useful *Roman Stoicism* of 1911 (rpt. 1958) (Sandbach 1975 p. 180 describes this work as 'useful' because it quotes texts freely but unreliable and often misleading) has been rectified with such recent general works as Rist's 1969 *Stoic Philosophy*, Long (ed.) 1971 *Problems in Stoicism* and Sandbach's 1975 *The Stoics* (also the title of a volume edited by Rist in 1978). Colish has more recently (1985) analysed the tradition down to the sixth century in her two-volume *Stoic tradition from antiquity to the early middle ages*, handling classical Latin literature in the first volume and Christian Latin thought in the second. The resumé given here derives from these works in general, with particular insights from more specialised monographs such as Voelke's 1973 *L'idée de volonté dans le stoïcisme*, Brady's 1958 *Study of the Stoicism in Senecan tragedy* and Amand's 1945 *Fatalisme et liberté dans l'antiquité grecque*.

31 Hahn 1977 pp. 58-59 denies the Heraclitan source for the Stoic primal fire, perceiving that from the available evidence one can only say that the Stoics found their primal fire reflected in Heraclitus. (This is not trivial nit-picking but a carefully reasoned argument, yet I feel the evidence points more to a cause-effect relation.) Lapidge 1978 p. 167 also discusses the two fires and the distinction between them. Hahn (p. 97) shows how Aristotle in one treatise after
from the element fire and the first principle and generator from the seeds which it contains within itself of all created matter. Of greater import both to the Mathematicus and to the entire tradition of Stoic ethics is Zeno's elaboration of the doctrine that virtue is the only good, "externals" such as health and wealth being matters of indifference. This Stoic concept of virtue needs to be clearly distinguished from passive senses in which virtue is largely defined by its opposite, sin or vice, which carries the active connotations. This passive sense of virtue becomes particularly strong where virtue is split into "the virtues" which are individually defined in opposition to "the vices". The Stoic concept of virtue was connected with their concept of tonos, an underlying necessity for the Stoic sage-hero-saint and like many Stoic concepts difficult of simple translation but related to ideas of effort, force, striving, tension.33

32 Kidd 1973 p. 150.
33 In the Punica of Silius Italicus the personified Virtus, appearing to Scipio along with Voluptas to let him choose between them (Bk XV ll. 18-128), emphasises that the path of virtue requires hard and unremitting effort and self-discipline. This is the stress on the Stoic tonos. Of modern writings, Voolke 1973 takes most account of tonos, giving it in French as tension de l'âme and finding it an important factor in the Stoic elaboration of freewill. Like many Stoic concepts, it recurs in different guises in various aspects of philosophy. Its basic material/corporeal definition is in terms of the cyclic flowing from inside to outside and back again of the pneuma (Voolke 1973 p. 15). English retains affiliations with the physical version in speaking of "muscle tone", and in the varying musical uses of the word, pitch being directly related to string tension and the tone of an instrument deriving from the interrelation of the harmonics which depends on the physical state of the components. The best recent account in English of the Stoic concept of tonos is that of Lapidge 1979 pp. 172-176.
The elaboration of the doctrine of the indifference of externals led to the Stoic theory of the triviality of death, which led under certain circumstances to a favourable light being thrown onto suicide,34 another theme explored in the Mathematicus. This early period of Stoicism (to which Cleanthes also belonged) culminated in the writings of Chrysippus, which contained the subtle and therefore much misunderstood doctrines on fate and freewill.35 The fact that the Stoics could simultaneously hold a determinist cosmology while espousing freedom of will for human beings was not an easy matter

34 Seneca's adaptation of the Stoic doctrine is discussed by Rist 1968 pp. 130-131 and the whole history of suicide in Stoicism in Ch. XIII pp. 233-255. It is important to note that the early Stoics did not relate suicide to freewill in the Senecan fashion. Brady 1958 pp. 125-126 points to the active seeking of death as a way to rejoin the stars of Hercules in both the Senecan plays Hercules Furens and Hercules Oetaeus. Already in Virgil Aeneid VI 434-436 the suicides in the lower world are clearly labelled innocent (insontes) - not guilty of any crime. Medieval florilegia altered the wording when quoting this extract so that the suicides would be removed from the real "innocents" (Burton1983 p. 166 and p. 358 lists this as an alteration made for doctrinal reasons, and Ullman 1932 p. 61 mentions that Dante goes one step further and leaves out the suicides entirely, though he does put Cato in Purgatory via Limbo.) It seems hardly necessary to add that burial had no particular importance for the Stoics. Arnold 1911 pp. 278-279 discusses Stoic references to burial. But it might be worth noting that in general Stoic teaching on death normally expected it to occur naturally in line with the emphasis on living in accord with nature, and in fact where preferences were allowed amongst things indifferent, life was to be preferred to death (cf. Brady 1958 pp. 97-98). This is very different from the favourable light in which Seneca and the later Stoics viewed death, as elaborated by Lucan (De Bello Civili IV 516-520) as an excitement, a passion (...tutosque future/Mortis agor stimulis: furor est.) a blessing the gods conceal from those who have to go on living.

35 These doctrines and the variations made to them by later Stoics from Panaetius to Seneca have recently been made the subject of an outstanding monograph by Voelke L'idée de volonté dans le stoïcisme 1973. Voelke discusses also the interrelation of virtue, freewill and intent, noting the importance of the fundamental Stoic notion of tonos in the elaboration of the doctrine, and Seneca's place in its explication. Anselm has brought renewed emphasis to questions of intent in his study of the incarnation, and Abelard had transferred the emphasis from the theological to the moral sphere in his ethics. Their ideas are reflected in the Mathematicus where the father absolves both the mother and (in advance) the son from any guilt for his death on the grounds of their pure intent, and Patricida himself absolves the Senate and people of Rome of any responsibility for his suicide on the same grounds. The earliest Stoics would have been far less likely to concur with these attitudes than the middle and later Stoics - for the earlier Stoics a greater personal responsibility for the results of one's actions would have been required. Cahn 1967 pp. 15-23 discusses modern misinterpretations which trivialise quite complex doctrines that have espoused fatalism, and Bourke 1960 lists as one cause of the problem the different outlook on the appetitive tendencies of man whereby questions of freewill and determinism are enunciated in different terms of reference in the twentieth century from those of the twelfth century. Dihle 1982 p. 37 gives modern concepts of will (e.g. Kant) no place in Greek philosophy. Cf. Schaefer 1964 p. 85 «... pas libéré de pouvoir mais libéré de juger, non libéré de faire mais libéré d'être». Nor are these questions confined to Western philosophy - it is interesting to note the Confucian definition of freewill as will aligned with nature (Graham 1958 p. 44) which reproduces the Stoic doctrine (Confucians also, like Stoics, seem to have trouble with the problem of evil). For the Stoic position Long 1971 pp. 173-199 is fundamental - he explains the co-existence of individual freewill and cosmic determinism, a difficult doctrine misunderstood by late antique commentators like Calcidius (Long 1971 p. 178). Galinsky 1972 pp. 101-103 shows how the ancient sophists and philosophers re-interpreted Hercules’ obedience to the will of his father, Zeus, to emphasise rather his act of freely choosing his destiny.
to explain, especially outside of the complete set of ideas that constitute the whole edifice of Stoic belief.\textsuperscript{36} Within this set the combination can be allowed to co-exist, and indeed middle Platonism also derived their co-existence from other premises,\textsuperscript{37} but at the time of Chrysippus the Stoics were vehemently attacked by Carneades, the skeptic founder of the New Academy, on the grounds that their determinist universe allowed no place for freewill.\textsuperscript{38} This was not the only time such an attack was launched - the late Peripatetic Alexander of Aphrodias in the third century A.D. made a similar attack on what he believed to be the overly deterministic doctrines of the Stoics.\textsuperscript{39} Calcidius again in what seems to be a translation of a lost work of Porphyry on fate spent the middle third of his \textit{tractatus} on fate refuting what he takes to be Stoic attacks on the Platonic position.\textsuperscript{40}

As part of their deterministic world-view the early Stoics had allowed the possibility of divination which was a widespread if not universal practice in antiquity, both by astrology and other means.\textsuperscript{41} Carneades in his antifatalist treatise had attacked

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\textsuperscript{36} Long 1971 explains both the Stoic position and the misunderstandings and misrepresentations it suffered in antiquity in Ch. VII "Freedom and determinism in the Stoic theory of human action" pp. 173-199 (esp. pp. 192-194). Colish I p. 35 notes the "absolute necessity" of freewill for Stoic philosophy, essential in the last analysis not only to Stoic ethics but to Stoic physics. The epitome of Stoic freewill is a good man freely choosing the good (Long 1971 p. 189).
\textsuperscript{37} Boeft 1970 p. 3 "... in middle Platonism, a Platonic theory of fate was developed, based on wholly different metaphysical presuppositions, which could challenge the Stoa much more fundamentally." Cf. Dihle 1982 p. 214 fn. 19: "Middle Platonist doctrine of several levels of fate can fit with Stoic and is very different from early Platonism (esp. Carneades)."
\textsuperscript{38} Amand 1945 reconstructs the lost work of Carneades from six major quoter of it. Colish 1985 I pp. 124-125 notes that Cicero in the \textit{De Fato} supported Chrysippus against Carneades.
\textsuperscript{39} Alexander's treatise has recently (1983) been made available with translation by Sharples, who points out (p. 20) that Alexander misrepresented the Stoic position to suit himself. Long 1971 pp. 183-184 notes that Alexander attributed doctrines on freewill to a Stoic author (presumed Chrysippus in this case) which had been specifically refuted by that author. Part of Alexander's problem seems to have been trying to fit Stoicism to an Aristotelian frame of reference which is based on a different set of interests. Sharples in his introduction (pp. 5-6) points out that Aristotle was simply not interested in problems of fate, determinism etc. His "causes" relate to looking for explanation - they have a very different function from the Stoic "causes".
\textsuperscript{40} Boeft 1970 p. 48 (but see also p. 42 on Calcidius' use of Stoic tenets to prove a Platonic point of view).
\textsuperscript{41} Cramer 1954 contains a good resumé of work on ancient astrology. See also Nilsson 1943. Drew 1927 pp. 80-81 notes that Augustus published his own horoscope and struck a silver coin stamped with his star, Capricorn. Sharples in his introduction to Alexander of Aphrodias' \textit{De Fato} pp. 18-19 suggests that Alexander refrained from attacking astrology so as not to offend the emperors to whom the book was dedicated (Septimus Severus and Caracalla). This is not to say that the practice was universally approved. Horace Odes I.11 suggests reservations: "Tu ne quaesieris, scire nefas, quem mihi, quem tibi? Finem di dederint, Leuconoë, nec
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Chrysippus for allowing it. Panaetius, one of the most important figures in middle Stoicism and responsible in large measure for establishing the philosophy at Rome, argued against divination, but Posidonius, the other famous Stoic of this period, reinstated it. Under the guidance of Panaetius and Posidonius in the second century B.C. the ethical dimension of Stoicism came to the fore, perhaps because this suited the pragmatic Romans, and Stoicism from then on became in the words of one author "the religion of educated Romans so far as they had one". Questions of divination


D'Alverny 1967 p. 33 notes that Augustine and Gregory the Great made use of Carneades argument against judicial astrology, though there was not such a total ecclesiastical rejection of "natural" or non-judicial astrology because of its relation with cosmologies that had been accepted in principle (1967, passim).

Spanneut 1973 pp. 45-55 recounts these developments within Stoicism. Colish 1985 I pp. 120-122 says that Cicero attacks the Stoic defence of divination in his De Divinatutone, but not the practice of divination itself, which he supports.

Brady 1958 p. 3 says "(Panaetius) successfully integrated the Roman code of conduct and Stoic philosophy, the later supplanting tradition as a justification for the former". Spanneut 1973 p. 177 says that Stoicism had its greatest effect in the Graeco-Roman world in the moral sphere, including imposing its terminology.

Mozley in his introduction to his Loeb translation of Statius' Thebaid 1928 p. xvi. He goes on to say that Jupiter, Nature and Fate (Fatum) were all seen as manifestations of the one ultimate power. Arnold 1911 pp. 19-20 talks of the "brilliant circle that gathered around Scipio Africanus the younger in the second century B.C." (Panaetius was a friend of Scipio) and of the men of the first century B.C. who espoused Stoic ideals such as Cato, Cicero, Brutus. Kennedy 1972 pp. 60-61 also describes the Scipionic circle and its Stoicism.

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are not in fact important in the Mathematics poem in spite of its title, but attitudes to it apparent in the poem are interesting. Questions of fate and freewill are central.

After Panaetius, who still taught at Athens where the Stoic school had been since its foundation by Zeno in the third century B.C., and Posidonius who taught at Rhodes, the centre of Stoicism shifted to Rome where it flourished through the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. and waned through the second and third centuries A.D. This Roman floraison is known as the late period; sometimes it is also called neo-Stoicism or Roman Stoicism to distinguish it from the earlier more speculative and theoretical variety. Many famous authors were affected by it to a greater or lesser degree, including Virgil. Cicero's *De Officiis* is a free translation of a lost work of Panaetius, and his *De Natura Deorum* gives the Stoic position on the world soul as elaborated by Posidonius or Cleanthes. Much of the information we have on the Stoics comes from the Latin belletrists of this later period, especially

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46 The fact that the attitudinal response to astrological prediction of otherwise consistent characters in the Mathematics is so variable (ranging in both father and mother from implicit acceptance to stupefaction when the prophecies come true) should indicate that the poet understands that the normal human feeling about fortune-telling is rarely completely rational even amongst those who profess firm beliefs one way or the other. It is unlikely to tell us anything about the poet's own beliefs, but may indicate that the issue was live at the time. This fits with other evidence. Burnett 1977 pp. 65-67 quotes a "Book of three judges" dealing with judicial astrology translated by Hermann of Carinthia in the first half of the twelfth century whose preface sets out to justify astrology to the Christian reader; d'Alvernny 1967 pp. 36-37 says Raymond of Marseilles in the astrological prediction tables he made in 1141 defends the truth of astrology against his adversaries. Even before the serious wave of astrological and astronomical translations from Arabic, at a lower intellectual level we find a fortune-telling manual of the eleventh-century paying lip service to ecclesiastical strictures by writing anti-divination fulminations as the answers to questions with numbers that could never be obtained in throwing the dice (Skeat 1954 p. 47). There is a plethora of evidence that twelfth century beliefs about astrology ranged widely - see for example Newell 1978 pp. 157-159, Hatinguails 1966 p. 422, Flint 1981 p. 222 and p. 232 - nor is it to be wondered at: if, as Dronke maintains (1976 p. 211), Peter of Blois could question the fundamental Christian notion of an after-life, the far more shaky doctrines of the place of the stars in God's ordering of the universe were wide open. For attitudes to astrology see Long 1982, for medieval ancient attitudes see Wedel 1920, though it presents the English situation which seems to be somewhat different from the continental.

47 The succès fou of Stoicism amongst the Romans has been attributed by many authors to a natural affinity. Brady 1958 p. 3 goes as far as to say that "Roman character had always been marked by a natural Stoicism ..." and Galinsky 1972 p. 127 even contends that "... the Romans were Stoics long before Stoicism became a philosophical system."(!) If indeed, as many scholars believe, there is some special nexus between the Roman character/personality/ethos and Stoicism, it makes it all the more difficult to distinguish what is Roman from what is Stoic, especially when working in a culture derived from both.


49 See Hahm 1977 p. 175 fn. 8 for the argument as to whether Cicero took this from Cleanthes or Posidonius. Hahm p. 140 opts for Cleanthes.
Cicero, as only fragments of most of the Greek Stoic writings survive. Stoic philosophers of this period include Musonius, a well known teacher of the first century A.D., and Epictetus, also of the first century A.D., a freed slave whose writings (in Greek) contain much thought on freedom, and in the next century Marcus Aurelius, the last flower of Stoicism. But above all these the writer whose work is of greatest interest in the context of the *Mathematicus* is Seneca.\(^5\)

Seneca can be labelled a Stoic in a way that Cicero, in spite of his obvious leanings in that direction, cannot.\(^5\) For though Seneca also is eclectic in his use of Stoic ideas,\(^5\) and one could almost speak of a special Senecan brand of Stoicism as a subspecies of Roman Stoicism,\(^5\) his explorations of philosophy in his letters and moral treatises breathe a distinctly Stoic spirit. A spirit not denied by his plays,\(^5\) and in the context of the *Mathematicus* and its relationships with declamatory practice and the nascent secular Latin drama of the twelfth century it is particularly interesting to consider the themes of the Senecan tragedies and their specific elaboration by Seneca in association with the manuscript tradition of the plays themselves as well as references in other works to these themes. It will be the subject of a later chapter (Ch. V) to

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\(^5\) Death and suicide are favourite topics not only of Seneca's letters but of the tragedies. There are ways in which the *Mathematicus* can be seen as a tragedy but careful definition of what constitutes tragedy is needed. It is not a tragedy in the style of Seneca's *Oedipus* for example, where there is no redemption, but if one allows the *Hercules Oetaeus* as a tragedy (Brady 1958 p. 230 suggests that it progresses from the realm of the tragic to that of the miracle play), then the *Mathematicus* might be allowed the same title. What constituted tragedy for a twelfth-century poet is another question - we have a schema given by John of Garland in the thirteenth century (*Parisiana poetria* ed. Lawler 1974 pp. 136-137) that includes high style, shameful actions and progress from joy to sorrow, but this is nearly a century after the likely date of the *Mathematicus*.

\(^5\) Colish 1985 I p. 4. Even in antiquity Seneca was regarded as in the mainstream of Stoic thought compared with Cicero. For a systematic account of Cicero's philosophical writings see Hunt 1954.

\(^5\) Seneca himself says he follows Stoic teaching only when it seems reasonable to him «non quia mihi legem dixerim nihil contra Zenonis Chrysippive committere, sed quia res ipsa paitur me ire in ilorum sententiam» (*Dial.* viii 3, 1, quoted from Arnold 1911 p. 115). Timothy 1973 re-creates the tenets of Stoicism directly from the words of Seneca alone.

\(^5\) Spanneut 1973 pp. 57-73 discusses Seneca's version of Stoicism including his emphasis on individual autonomy (pp. 67-69).

\(^5\) Brady 1958 in his preface concludes that Seneca's tragedies are conspicuously Stoic with minor variations in allowing greater freedom of will and some equivocation on the individual soul's survival after death. Significantly he finds in comparing the plays with their Greek counterparts "modification of plot and character that decisively contributes to the 'Stoicisation' of the original theme". Pratt 1948 details how Seneca's tragedies are informed by his Stoicism.
consider specifically the Stoic hero Hercules, particularly in the *Hercules Oetaeus*,\(^{55}\) vis-à-vis the *Mathematicus* - though the dominant branch of the manuscript tradition of the tragedies does not start until the thirteenth century, there are suggestive connexions in the subsidiary branch whose chief manuscript is Italian of the late eleventh century but which has relations with a ninth-century manuscript of northern France (Fleury?) containing extracts.\(^ {56}\)

The contentious issue of the tragedies aside, from the widely distributed works of Seneca such as the *Epistolarum morales* and some of the moral treatises such as the *De Beneficiis* that were well known in the early twelfth century \(^ {57}\) it is not difficult to reconstruct the particular if not idiosyncratic version of Stoicism espoused by Seneca. In particular Seneca found himself in the middle of what has rightly been judged to be a "cult" of suicide.\(^ {58}\) In the Old Stoa death had been regarded as a matter of indifference, not to be feared but neither to be courted. It should generally be allowed to arrive naturally, but there were circumstances in which a person had a right or a duty to hasten the day of his own departure.\(^ {59}\) In Seneca's time suicide was elevated to a point where it appeared as the final defence against a corrupt regime. In many cases the choice was not one between life and death, but between allowing oneself to be killed and killing oneself.\(^ {60}\) The subsequent Christian martyrs (whose relation with Stoic

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\(^{55}\) The attribution to Seneca has been questioned, but it is certainly agreed to be "of his school". Brady 1958 p. 10 says that if it not Senecan it is so close in thought and style to the other Senecan tragedies that is can be discussed with them. Marcus Wilson thinks some of it may have been written by Seneca but the whole is too prolix to be entirely his (personal communication). Interestingly for the present context, Wilson feels the *Oetaeus* may more legitimately be labelled a Stoic text than the other Senecan tragedies.


\(^{57}\) Reynolds 1965 p. 113 says Seneca was regarded as a foremost authority on ethics, not only as a result of his authentic works but from such pseudo-Senecan works as Martin of Braga's *De honesta vitae*.

\(^{58}\) The statistics of Grisé 1980 prove that it was not an epidemic amongst all classes of society but hardly disprove its "cult" status amongst a certain section.

\(^{59}\) See fn. 34 in this chapter discussing the difference in attitude to suicide of the Old Stoa and the later Roman Stoics.

\(^{60}\) Cf. Eliade 1954 p. 156-7 "modern man's boasted freedom to make history is illusory for nearly the whole of the human race. At most, man is left free to choose between two positions: (1) to oppose the history that is being made by the very small minority (and, in this case, he is free to choose between suicide and deportation); (2) to take refuge in a subhuman existence or in flight."
suicides may warrant analysis) had little choice, but to a Stoic the way was open. Given the political climate, it soon became a commonplace to discuss ways of killing oneself and a point of honour to display the Stoic indifference to go through with it. The emphasis on suicide and how to go about it in Seneca's letters is not so much the individual raving of a sick mind as an indicator of the collective despair of the thinking people of his age. The essence of the "cult" lies in making an art-form of the practice, wherein the final act of human freedom lies in embracing death.

Amongst the tragedies of Seneca, which are noted for their obsession with death and violence, there are five examples of suicide - even a child suicide, Hector's son, Astyanax, who throws himself from the height where he had been taken by Ulysses to be killed in full view of the victorious Greek army rather than let himself be killed. A closer model for Patricida when he has elected to suicide with or without the sanction of society is the Hercules of the *Hercules Oetaeus* who embraces death with similar ardour. It is this embracing of death that seems particularly Senecan and in fact to be infected with a degree of passion that purer strains of Stoicism would find excessive.

Other issues explored in the *Mathematicus* such as fate and freewill are also major issues in Stoic thought and are handled in the *Mathematicus* in typically Stoic fashion. There is no inkling of the kind of thinking we find in Christian explorations of freedom of the will from Augustine on, where the idea has to be handled in association with doctrines of sin and saving grace. The emphasis on the incarnation in the *Cur deus homo* literature such as Anselm's tract of that name and Hildebert's

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61 In fact some of the early Fathers condoned suicide in certain situations, as preferable to permitting rape for example, but it was more fundamentally against the Christian ethos with its doctrine of grace than against Stoic attitudes. See Ch. II of Vol. II of this thesis for some further data on this subject and Ch. V for the relation between Christ and Hercules.

62 *Troades* 1101-1103. The other four suicides are Phaedra, Jocasta, Deianira and Hercules (in the *Hercules Oetaeus*). There are also two characters dissuaded from suicide - Oedipus (in the *Phoenissae*) and Hercules (of the *Hercules Furens*).

63 Rist 1969 Ch. 13 (pp. 233-255) points out that Seneca's attitude to suicide was idiosyncratic, being distinct from that of earlier Stoics (pp. 246-250), to whose ideas the pendulum swung back after Seneca with Epictetus (p. 250). The Stoic antagonism to indulging the emotions is reflected in the twelfth-century *Aeneid* commentary (ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p.91 l.17-p.92 l.2) which quotes from Boethius and Horace against joy, hope, sorrow and fear.

64 Rist 1969a.
poem indicates that these doctrines were in the forefront of consciousness in the early twelfth century, and the great re-evaluation of sacramental logic that culminated in Hugh of St. Victor’s *De Sacramentis* proves that there was no abatement of concern by mid-century. It is interesting therefore to find a poem that seems immune to its Christian environment.

Apart from the larger issues at the centre of the poem, there are recurrences of many themes dear to the heart of Stoicism. The *ignis divinus* is repeatedly invoked: in the spark of the divine spirit that Patricida claims gives us the power to rise above our fate as well as in the "fiery stars" to which the soul returns. The *spermatikoi logoi* which the Neoplatonists took from Stoic thought obviously cannot be cited as a direct Stoic influence, since Neoplatonism was rife during the middle ages, unless it can be proved that the theme is being used in Stoic rather than Neoplatonic fashion - their presence nevertheless can fit into an overall Stoic framework. The argument for the plain unadorned style of speaking is pure Stoic logic, the philosophy behind it being to present nothing more than the truth, refraining from any attempt at persuasion. In association with this theme in the poem we find the myth of the golden age in which the stress, as in the Stoic version of this myth, is placed not on the dominion or power of man or his freedom from affliction but on his capacity to live a life of Stoic virtue and

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65 The idea of souls rejoining their stars when they leave their bodies is not restricted to Stoic philosophy - the *Timaeus* explicitly relates stars and souls on a one to one basis in their creation, and provides for the return of each soul to its own individual star (*Timaeus* 41E-42B ed. Waszink pp. 36-37). This is also the point of departure for Calcidius’ discourse on fate (transl. by Boeft 1970). Patricida at *Mathematicus* l. 801-802 echoes this idea (see commentary in Vol. I of this thesis). Arnold 1911 pp. 35-36 quotes a Stoic text which says that the spark of everlasting fire in each person’s body which constitutes the soul is dead while in the body and revives and resumes its proper life on bodily death. Arnold 1911 pp. 262-3 points out that the Stoic position on the survival of individual souls had its variations, but the soul was generally held to separate from the body on death and rise through the murky atmosphere to a brighter region above. Patch 1935 pp. 42-43 gives Boethius a high place in transmitting an interest in the stars, quoting Thorndike 1923 I p. 622: "His constant rhapsodising over the stars and heavens would lead (Christians) to regard the science of the stars as second only to divine worship". The particular emphasis on the fiery nature of the stars is Stoic - Aristotle did not even admit fire as their substance (Hahn 1977 p. 97).

66 See commentary at l. 112 in Vol. I of this thesis.

simplicity.\textsuperscript{68} There is also a Stoic emphasis on reason: "\textit{filia splendoris : id est ratio.}"\textsuperscript{69} Above all, the relationships between the people in the poem are permeated by the Stoic spirit of \textit{oikeiōsis}, an untranslatable Stoic concept but which can be approximately rendered as "a feeling of endearment", which according to Stoic thought extends first to oneself then to one's children and expands to include the whole human race.\textsuperscript{70} Though in its strictest sense the feeling is held to belong only to creatures of the same species, it is difficult not to see an extension of the concept in the Stoic feeling for living in harmony with nature \textsuperscript{71} and indeed in their emphasis on the fellowship of God and man rather than on the distance between.\textsuperscript{72} Especially if we hold with Pembroke that this concept of \textit{oikeiōsis}, first treated comprehensively in English as recently as 1971, is of central importance to Stoicism.\textsuperscript{73} This wide-embracing love,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{68} Arnold 1911 pp. 194-195 says Posidonius in particular developed the Stoic view of the golden age and that it is probably from him rather than from the Pythagoreans that Varro derived his picture, subsequently passed on by Ovid (\textit{Met. XV} 96-142). Baldry 1952 pp. 83-92 sets out the background of golden age mythology starting from Hesiod, and Elliott 1980 pp. 244-245 has some brief notes on the metals and moral qualities associated with the ages and their relationship to epic heroes.
\item \textsuperscript{69} \textit{Mathematicus} I. 786. Reason for the Stoics is the spark or particle of the divine fire in man bearing the imprint of the imago Dei. See Long 1971 p. 176 on reason as the basis for Stoic morality. (The words "\textit{id est ratio}" are inserted in the Migne edition of the poem but not in Hauréau's edition. This suggests it is a gloss in manuscript BN 5129, but without checking the manuscript it is not possible to know whether by the same or a later hand.)
\item \textsuperscript{70} Only recently elaborated by Pembroke in Long 1971 Ch. VI pp. 114-149. Long \textit{op. cit.} cites \textit{oikeiōsis} as "one of the most original and difficult" concepts in Stoicism, which might explain the tardy exposition of it, but we do have to remember that it is less than 100 years since the publication of the Stoic fragments which caused the revision of many traditional views and opinions, particularly on the early Stoics and their philosophy. Schaerer 1964 p. 170 says the doctrine goes back to Chrysippus, perhaps even to Zeno and is implicit in Plato \textit{Laws} 726a and \textit{Republic} 434c.
\item \textsuperscript{71} Watson in Long 1971 Ch. X pp. 217-236. In the \textit{Mathematicus} II. 559-560 the father tells his son that he deserves to be a king because he practises the (Stoic) virtue of life in accord with nature.
\item \textsuperscript{72} Cf. Silius Italicus \textit{Punica} IV 795: "\textit{Mite et cognatum est homini deus.}". Boeht 1970 p. 66 adduces texts from the Stoic fragments to show the Stoic emphasis on fellowship rather than distance. Bouwsma 1975 p. 9 gives as the great gulf between Augustinian Christianity and Stoicism "the difference between the biblical understanding of creation, which makes both man and the physical universe separate from and utterly dependent on God, and the hellenistic principle of immanence which makes the universe eternal, by one means or another, defies the natural order, and by seeing a spark of divinity in man tends to make him something more than a creature of God".
\item \textsuperscript{73} Pembroke 1971 p. 114.
\end{itemize}
which incidentally seeks no response, relates more closely to acceptance than most of the more positive varieties of love of man for God, God for man or man for man discussed in other ancient Western philosophies or in Christianity. The extraordinary gentleness and respect with which the members of the Mathematicus family treat each other in some fairly demanding situations seems more in agreement with this very Stoic concept than with any of the tenets of Platonism (or Neoplatonism) or Christianity.

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74 Pembroke 1971 p. 116. It might be permitted to remark that the distinguishing feature of Hercules' service to man was that of "a hero who chose to do the right irrespective of rewards or consequences" (Anderson 1928 p. 10). Cf. Seneca De Beneficiis 1.13.3 «Hercules nihil sibi vicit, orbem terrarum transivit non concupiscendo sed indicando, quid vinceret, melorum hostis bonorum vindex, terrarum marisque pacator». 
Chapter V

Mythopoeic background: the Hercules complex

"Now tragedy's a lucky sort of art.
First the house knows the plot before you start.
You've only to remind it, 'Oedipus'
You say, and all's out ..."

Antiphanes' comedy _Poisis_ transl. Edmonds, quoted from
Fantham 1977 p. 23

«... aurea enim mala si expetis, esto Euristeus alio fortiori, qui ut
Alcides suam pro nihilo reputet vitam.»

Fulentius _Vergiliana Continentia_ ed. Helm 1898 p. 84

Oedipus is the first name from ancient myth that springs to most modern minds
on reading the _Mathematicus_. There are obvious connexions, but also fundamental
differences that limit the relevance of these connexions in the overall mythopoeic
structure of the poem.1 Also, though Oedipus was known to the twelfth-century, the

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1 Oedipus was already mentioned in the Migne edition of 1893 (PL 171.1365-1366A-B) - the
connexions has been repeated by amongst others Vernet 1937 p. 170. Dronke 1974 pp. 128-130
lists parallels with the Oedipus legend. We note that the parallels cease as soon as Patricia
comes king. To this point is is legitimate to draw parallels, but these are only matters of
narrative detail, not of dramatic force. The story of Oedipus even under interpretations which
focus on father-murder as its most important theme has mother-incest essentially associated with
it. It is only in very recent decades and subsequent to the influential work of Erich Fromm
1948 that the importance of the mother-incest has been questioned (Mullahy 1948 esp. pp. 270-
278). Fromm however, in re-interpreting the myth to reduce Freud's emphasis on incest, does
not seem to take account of such witnesses to the tradition as Seneca's tragedy _Oedipus_ II. 15-22:
«Infanda timeo - ne mea genitor manu/periimatur. Hoc me Delphicae laurus moment; aliaudque
nobis maius indicunt scelus; Est maius aliquod patre maactato nefas?!Pro misera pietas (elqui
fatum pudet)!halamos parentis Phoebus et diros toros/nono natun impia incestos face; hic me
paternis expulit regnus timor», or again II. 629-630 «... maximum Thebis scelus/materunn amor
este», or Statius _Thebaid_ II. 64-70 which also seems to find the mother-incest at least as central
as the father-murder: «... trisdaeque in Phocidos arto/longaeum implic regem seque
prenetisiora senis, dum quaero patrem, si Sphingos iniquae/callidus ambages te praemonstrante
resolvi;si dulces juras et lamentabile matriis/conubium gavisusini<te> noctemque
nepfandam/saepe tuli ...». Statius' _Thebaid_ was well known in the twelfth century - Oedipus
himself recounts the whole story of his wretched life at _Thebaid_ I 56-87. Seneca's _Oedipus_ was
not so well known, but excerpts from it do appear in the _Florilegium Thuanum_ written in
central or northern France (perhaps at Fleury) in the second half of the ninth century (Reynolds
1983 pp. 378-379). The allegorising commentary of (pseudo)-Fulentius on the _Thebaid_ also
mentions both father-murder and mother-incest (ed. Helm 1898 p. 181 transl. Whitbread 1971
pp. 239-240) - Whitbread in discussing the authenticity of this work (p. 236) says the smattering
of Greek reminds us more of the twelfth-century _Aeneid_ commentary attributed to Bernard
Silvester than of Fulgentius. Whether this was by, or available to, our poet (which it may well
have been - there is a thirteenth century manuscript), the tradition of Oedipus as we know it at
the time seems to be vitally concerned with the theme of incest. Since Zeno says incest is not
so important and too much fuss has been made over Oedipus and Jocasta (Arnold 1911 p. 277
and p. 307) it seems this was also true in his time. Neither the _declamatio_ on which the poem
is based nor the _Mathematicus_ itself, though it creates a large role for the mother that was not in
the _declamatio_, suggests an incestuous relation between mother and son.
story was not the central myth of that era as it is of the twentieth, and the question can be raised whether a twelfth-century reader might have been more likely to think of Hercules or one of the heroes of the time with Herculean connotations including Aeneas and Christ.

Duff in his introduction to the 1961 Loeb edition of the *Punica* of Silius Italicus says: "Hannibal is the true hero of the story, though Silius evidently intended to cast Scipio for that part". This remark needs to be considered in the context of a scholarly debate that has suggested several contenders apart from Scipio and Hannibal, and as well a multiplicity of heroes or no hero. What is more interesting in the present context is that a modern commentator can categorically award the palm to a character other than the one he perceives the poet to have intended as hero. Anyone reading the scholarly literature of the last hundred years on the *Mathematicus* must similarly be made aware that the heroes of one age may not be the heroes of another. For, though the large structure of the poem follows a Herculean rather than an Oedipal model,

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2 An indication of the Oedipal obsession of our age compared with the twelfth century can easily be had by reference alone - almost any modern work, even those dealing with the twelfth century, will not go far before mentioning Oedipus - a random selection found Bloch 1983 p. 3 (in a context where the Oedipal overtones could only elicit comment from a mythically impoverished age) and Schaerer 1964 where the author already evokes Oedipus in a one-page preface, though the subject of itself, removed from its twentieth-century interpretations, might preferably elicit other myths. By comparison, a recent edition of the *Cosmographia* (Dronke 1978) shows Hercules cited 6 times and Oedipus not at all. All three Vatican Mythographers go on at great length about Hercules (ed. Bode 1834 pp. 18-23, 126-132, p. 140 and pp. 246-253). Oedipus is mentioned only by the Second (ibid. p. 124 and pp. 150-151).

3 Not to mention the more fundamental question of the shaping power behind the poetic intent, less restricted by its immediate cultural milieu than audience response, particularly for this aspect of poetry.


5 It is worth noting some of these, as Scipio may be an important link between Hercules and Patricida. Colish 1985 I pp. 286-288 gives three characters in the *Punica* that she thinks Silius has chosen to depict the Stoic heroic ideal - Fabius and Regulus as well as Scipio. Galinsky 1972 pp. 160-162 thinks Hannibal's self-identification with Hercules is presented by Silius as Hannibal's wishful thinking only and therefore he can only be a false successor of Hercules, the true heirs of Hercules in the *Punica* being the Roman generals culminating in Scipio. Bassett 1966 pp. 258-259 lists several more contenders including the *Fides* displayed by Rome but opts for Scipio or Scipio-Hercules. (Basset p. 268 thinks Silius held Hannibal unworthy to be associated with Hercules.)

6 Themes of infant exposure and parricide oracularly advertised either before or after the birth of the child are so common in other ancient literature - Priam for example attempts to have Paris destroyed on oracular advice received before the child's conception (Boutemy 1946-7 p. 269 gives Simon Aurea Capra's version which uses a dream), and infant exposure and parricide are ubiquitous themes in the declamatory literature that has come down to us - that it seems hardly likely that these themes alone should suggest Oedipal connotations except to an age as narrowly
this is reflected in fine detail of reference and allusion, no-one seems to have given any attention to Patricida's Hercules complex. Yet it would provide an explanation for various matters that have puzzled scholars not only about the *Mathematicus* but also about other works attributed to the same author. If, for example, one sets the *Mathematicus* in a tradition that includes Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus*, the perplexity felt by many readers of the poem and expressed by Dronke relating to both the ending of the poem and to its apparent change of focus near the end can be reduced. Both heroes progress from acceptance of death to the point of actively embracing it as a path to a higher existence among the stars. Nor might Wetherbee find the presence of Castor and Pollux in the *De Nuptiis* commentary quite so "gratuitous" in the light of their

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7 focussed as ours on one fairly limited myth. The Hercules legend as recounted by Rank 1914 pp. 44-47 includes a story of exposure by his mother which also relates his wondrous beauty. About the birth of the hero there are supernatural overtones in both myths, as there are in most associated myths as well as many that are not associated. See Rank 1914. We find for instance the Scipio of the *Punica* being told by his mother Pomponia when he meets her on his descent into the lower regions that it was not her earthly husband but Jupiter, who visited her in the form of a snake, that was his father (*Punica XIII 628-647*). Pomponia also tells Scipio she has been taken to heaven (she died when he was born) to sit with Alcmena (the mother of Hercules) and Leda (the mother of Castor and Pollux) thus reinforcing the Herculian tradition. Parallels of astrological and other divinatory forecasts are also numerous - for just one example we could cite Olympias, the mother of Alexander (a Hercules figure), consulting an astrologer on her barrenness (Anderson 1928 p. 20). Both Oedipus and Hercules prove their heroic mettle in growing to manhood - the big difference arrives in their responses to adult trials - Oedipus remains the passive victim of fate, Hercules strives and overcomes each problem that besets him, finally making a triumph of his necessary death. Patricida follows this pattern.

8 Hercules is mentioned by name at *Mathematicus* II.128 and 143. For other allusions see the commentary in Vol. I of this thesis. The *Aeneid* has many references to Hercules - Book VI mentions him three times by name (Alcides) at II. 123, 392 and 801, apart from allusions (see Austin's commentary). Neither the *Mathematicus* nor the *Aeneid* mentions or alludes to Oedipus.

9 Note the mention in the *Cosmographia* at I.II.185: «Herculis Oeta sepulcrum». Cambier 1962 p. 17 shows that Emarco of Mainz quotes from the *Hercules Oetaeus*.

10 Dronke 1974 pp. 134-139.

In the introduction to his translation of the *Cosmographia* 1973 p. 24.
place as two of the successors of Hercules in the very small pantheon of humans who have been deified for their services to humanity.\(^{11}\)

Two difficulties present themselves in dealing with Patricida's Herculean antecedents. The first is that unlike Oedipus, a character of narrowly circumscribed mythic significance, Hercules has come down to us in a complex, multi-strand literary tradition with attributes ranging from the broadest comedy to the highest tragedy and including multiple psychological and allegorical interpretations.\(^{12}\) To focus on the core of his being while keeping the multifarious aspects of his successive emanations from slipping out of the peripheral vision is vital, for his power results from the interplay of diverse and even conflicting characteristics. This is manifest in his position as a Stoic paragon, which results from the high levels of "tension" (the Stoic \textit{tonos}) achieved in the flux and reflux of opposing forces.\(^{13}\) Complexity is thus of the essence, and

\(^{11}\) Anderson 1928 p. 7 lists in the Greek pantheon Heracles, Dionysus, Castor and Pollux and occasionally Asclepius; the Roman canon generally deletes Asclepius and adds Romulus (\textit{ibid}, p. 32). (Cicero \textit{De Natura Deorum} 2.24.62 has the Stoic Balbus list a pantheon including both Asclepius and Romulus.) Anderson (p.8) also lists historical successors of Hercules as Alexander for the Greeks and Julius Caesar and Augustus for the Romans, Augustus being particularly promoted by Virgil and Horace. The hero, the demi-god (semi-deus) and the man-made-god are closely related in Greek and Roman literature and not without reverberations \textit{vis-à-vis} the Christian God-made-man of the incarnation and man-made-God of the triumphant resurrection and ascension. The deification of heroes was not a native Roman custom but introduced to Rome by the Greeks (Anderson 1928 p. 29), and the form and ceremonial of deification of Roman emperors was a combination of the pyre of Hercules and Hephaestion, the eagle of Zeus and Alexander, with hopes that the ascending soul would take the form of a star (Anderson 1928 pp. 27-28). It is a convoluted chain that brings Castor and Pollux from their association with Hercules in Aeneid VI 121 and 123 (note that only Pollux is mentioned by name) through the glossing of Hercules at Aeneid VI.287 as \textit{sapiencia} (comm. ed. Jones and Jones 1977 p. 71 I. 22) and at Aeneid VI.392 as \textit{virtus} (\textit{ibid}. p. 87 II. 9-10) to the mind/body dichotomy of Castor and Pollux at the commentary on Aeneid VI.121 (\textit{ibid}. p. 56 II. 1-2) reproduced in the \textit{De Nuptiis} commentary (ed. Westra 1979 f4ra 15-25).

\(^{12}\) Cf. Galinsky 1972 pp. 1-2: "Some mythological figures ... can be reborn only under a favourable psychological or historical constellation on the firmament of literary history. Oedipus is such a figure, and he would lose his identity if he appeared in one century as the great tragic sufferer, in another as the paragon of superhuman physical prowess and bravado, in another as the ideal nobleman and courtier, in another as the incarnation of rhetoric and intelligence and wisdom, in another as the divine mediator and a model of that way of life whose reward can only be heavenly, in another as a metaphysical struggler, and in yet another as a comic, lecherous, glutinous monster or as a romantic lover, and in still another as the exemplar of virtue". This gives some idea of the range of Hercules' persona explored by Galinsky. Allegorical interpretations of Hercules are not restricted to ancient Greece (where they flourished) - the Renaissance humanist Salutati produced a \textit{De Laboribus Herculis} which Robathan 1973 p. 205 sees as in the same vein as the French moralised (i.e. allegorised) Ovids.

\(^{13}\) Voelke 1973 p. 94: "\textit{... pour le stoïcien Céanthe, Héraclès n'est autre que <la tension universelle, en vertu de laquelle la nature est forte et puissante>}."
without it Hercules is reduced to the simple strong-man more obvious in the visual tradition of the plastic arts\textsuperscript{14} or to a dozen or more discrete and apparently meaningless labours. The danger with such a polysemous character is when the centre does not hold but diffuses into dissociated paradigms.

The second difficulty is that, far from having a bad press, the literary Hercules has virtually no press at all at the present time.\textsuperscript{15} This is unusual in literary history - most ages have found him acceptable in some guise or other, even if they have sometimes squashed him into a mould where he seems to fit ill. His fame has been continuous if not constant from Mycenean Greece to the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{16} In the context of the \textit{Mathematicus} we are of course interested in the twelfth century Hercules. That both he and Oedipus were known to the twelfth century is abundantly clear\textsuperscript{17} - what might not be so obvious without a detailed comparison of the sources is

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} Galinsky 1972 wisely commences his study by pointing to the difference between the Hercules of literature and his representation in art (p.1.) The usual twentieth century view stems more from the latter less rich tradition.
\item \textsuperscript{15} This was already noticed in 1911 by Arnold (p. 391), who attributed the antagonistic attitudes of modern criticism to Aeneas, Scipio, Rufus and Cato (of Utica) as well as Hercules' absence on the literary scene to a lack of sympathy for Stoic ethics. Arnold's appreciation of Stoicism has been questioned (e.g. by Sandbach 1975) in the re-interpretation of Stoicism of the last few decades, probably because the particular cultural limitations that restricted his vision have been superseded - certainly the extent to which Aeneas can be construed as a Stoic hero has been reviewed - nevertheless the generally "romantic" ethos that governed Arnold's time is still paramount, and its comprehension of and empathy with the Stoic position are very limited.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Galinsky 1972 traces the tradition but skips rather rapidly from late antiquity to the Renaissance (pp. 190-191)! This is in spite of Hercules' very obvious presence in medieval literature. The references to him in the \textit{Cosmographia} and the \textit{Aeneid} commentary have been given above - a well-known poem \textit{Olim sudor Herculis} occurs in two of the \textit{Mathematicus} manuscripts (Rom. Vat. Reg. lat. 344 f 36-36\textsuperscript{v}, and Oxf. Bod. A44 f 70-70\textsuperscript{v} (Wilmart 1941-1943 p. 62 - the same manuscript also has a \textit{carmen metricum super raptu Alcmene} f83\textsuperscript{v}-91\textsuperscript{v} followed by three Christianising \textit{sermones super hunc textum} (ibid. pp. 68-69).). These are just a few of many such.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Dronke 1974 pp. 128-129 fn. 2 gives a thoughtful analysis of some of the witnesses to the Oedipus legend, deriving insights from his intelligent but all too unusual capacity to make use of absence as well as presence in the data. Amongst written witnesses there are at least six twelfth-century manuscripts of a \textit{planctus} probably of the late eleventh-century of Oedipus over the bodies of his sons. Cicero had used the prediction of Oedipus' parricide to argue the generative act as amongst the Stoic \textit{confatalia} in the \textit{De Fato} (see Boeot 1970 p. 50), and the \textit{De Fato} survives in many manuscripts (Reynolds 1983 pp. 124-128) so should have been available to our poet. There are many partial versions of the Oedipus story - the pseudo-Fulgentius commentary on the \textit{Thebaid} for example (ed. Helms 1898 p. 181 transl. Whitbread 1971 p. 239) in its brief résumé of the narrative does not mention the oracle. The themes occur frequently in the declamations in combinations more or less close to the combination that makes the Oedipus story - Russell 1983 p. 29 cites a declamation with (unwitting) incest and parricide but not amongst kings and no mention of an oracle. The last 2 of the pseudo-Quintilian \textit{maiores} centre on mother-son incest. Saxl and Meier 1953 III.II, Plates XXI, XXXVI and XLI contain pictorial
that the esteem in which the two heroes were held was the inverse of their present positions.

Since there appear to be several strands of the Hercules tradition surfacing in the *Mathematicus* and since it may be difficult to chart the detailed transmission of some of them, it might be best to start by delineating briefly some of the attributes of Hercules and his successors in antiquity that seem to find echoes in the *Mathematicus*. We may not be able to resolve the effective cause between missing manuscripts, oral transmission or spontaneous combustion, but at least a "presence" can be noted. Hercules himself was apparently by far the most popular of Greek heroes since Mycenaean times, noted for his prodigious strength which he mostly used for good purposes for the benefit of mankind. Euripides internalised his struggles and labours, making him a tragic hero, and Pindar presented him as an ethical ideal, an ideal taken up by the Cynics and Stoics. But Hercules to the Greeks was not merely a human hero but carried connotations of divinity both because of the innuendo relating to his birth (Jupiter not Amphitrion being reputed to be his real father) and because of his representations but mostly fourteenth century. Witnesses to Oedipus' twelfth-century fame are however very limited compared with the ubiquitous testimony to Hercules. Partly this resulted from the preferred texts of the middle ages. Boethius' *Consolation* for example uses myths relating to "Ulysses, Orpheus, Hercules and their satellites" (Dwyer 1976 p. 19) and so do his Old French translators (Dwyer p. 53 cites authors who elaborated Hercules' labours for 300 lines) - there is no mention of Oedipus. The importance of the Senecan plays for understanding Boethius' poetic technique might be mentioned in passing (Lerer 1985 pp. 237-253). Valuable insights could be gained from a study of the formal influence of Boethius on the middle ages, a field hardly touched. Rupert of Deutz for example, who learned to write in ten different metres, chose a metre Boethius had used for a poem handling a similar subject (van Engen 1983 p. 34).

There is no room to elaborate here on the Greek tradition which had already gone through many changes in pre-Roman times. An account and further references may be found in Galinsky 1972 Chs. I-V (pp. 9-125). Suffice it to say that the Romans received Hercules as a multi-faceted image from the Greeks, and the different aspects explored by different Roman authors were already present in the Greek model. His popularity with the Romans was such as to make a Hercules episode "almost mandatory" in Roman epic (Galinsky 1972 p. 166 fn. 15, citing Lucan *De Bello Civili* I 45-63 as an example.).

Galinsky 1972 p. 128 cites Cicero, Epictetus and Dio Chrysostom using Hercules as the "perfect embodiment of Stoic wisdom and virtue". Brady 1958 sums up in the abstract of his thesis: "No individual character in the tragedies [of Seneca] is delineated as the incarnation of the Stoic sage except Hercules in the latter part of the *Hercules Oetaeus*" (see also pp. 227-230). Bassett 1966 p. 264 says Stoic details in the *Punica* include frequent direct and indirect allusion to Hercules. The leaders of both Romans and Carthaginians pray to him for help (f 504-514). Dick 1967 pp. 239-240 relates Cato, the only character in Lucan's *De Bello Civili* to escape the "mangling hold" of Fortuna, to Hercules. Stephens 1958 shows Hercules as the central figure of a not inconsiderable section of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in which he suggests the Stoic philosophy is not just superficial but integral.
subsequent apotheosis. At times and by some authors his humanity was stressed, elsewhere his divinity. The Greek author of paramount interest in the context of the *Mathematicus*, the sophist Prodicus, was one of those who emphasised his humanity. Prodicus was not only responsible for shifting the motive behind the labours of Hercules from one of simple piety - obedience to the decrees of the gods - to one of consciously chosen good, but also for the parable known as "The Choice of Hercules" in which virtue and vice contend for the hero’s favour. This has interest for our story from two angles - first because Silius Italicus repeated the parable, putting Scipio in the place of Hercules, and Scipio or Scipio-Hercules seems to provide a model for Patricida; secondly because Hercules in this parable foreshadows the *Everyman* of the medieval morality plays who is obliged to choose between vice and virtue, reminding us that not only in its antecedents but also in its subsequent our story belongs in a literary tradition that never wanders far from the dramatic mode.

To return to the antecedents of Patricida, if we pursue the career of Hercules from Greece to Rome we find him multiply reflected in and out of literature. Roman generals had a particular devotion to him as a god, and it is interesting to note Scipio’s name first amongst those who honoured him. Scipio in fact has a three-way

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20 Galinsky 1972 p. 135 says that in all Greek and Roman mythology Hercules was the hero par excellence whose virtue (πρέπει) was explicitly said to have raised him to heaven. He is used in the *Aeneid* for example, in preference to the more earthbound Aeneas (Drew 1927 p. 21) when Virgil wants to confer "deity" on Augustus. The ascent to the stars which in Platonic doctrine as well as for the Stoic hero belonged to those who had lived well was not a continuous theme in the varying fortunes of the Stoic hero Hercules. Though the mainstream tradition gives him a heavenly reward, usually in the shape of apotheosis, the stress on his humanity begun by Sophocles and Euripides that culminated in the fifth-century B.C. work of Prodicus denied him this transition from man to god (Galinsky 1972 p. 103). See Brady 1958 pp. 282-285 for the apotheosis of Hercules in Seneca’s *Oedipus* as a symbol for the triumph of the divine in man.

21 The relations with doctrines of human freewill within a deterministic cosmos espoused by the Stoics indicate the rationale for the choice of Hercules as the Stoic hero.

22 In other traditions also known as "Hercules at the cross roads" and linked by the word *trivium* with Hercules’ special connexion with the verbal arts.


24 *Punica* XV 18-128. Silius Italicus was not the first to cast Scipio in a Herculean mould. After Ennius in his Scipio, Cicero and subsequently Lactantius had made Scipio a successor of Hercules (Anderson 1928 p. 34). See also Basset 1966 for further detail.

25 Galinsky 1972 p. 127 says Roman generals from Scipio to Augustus worshipped him as a personal god.
connexion with Hercules - apart from the historical figure who hastened to sacrifice to Hercules, there is the fact that Ennius who succeeded in elevating Romulus to the number but failed;\textsuperscript{27} thirdly we have the Scipio of Silius Italicus' \textit{Punica} so closely modelled on Hercules that the hero of that poem can be held to be an emanation of Hercules in the person of Scipio, a Scipio-Hercules.\textsuperscript{28} There are obvious possibilities of connecting the \textit{Mathematicus} with the \textit{Punica} at a surface level, notably the Carthaginian setting of the battle where Patricida won his laurels. For the twelfth century, Carthage is not a common topic, Troy and Trojan Aeneas being far more frequently encountered. Our manuscripts contain several Troy poems, in whole or in part, but nothing of Carthage - though there is one story on the subject in a manuscript related to one of ours.\textsuperscript{29} Unfortunately we do not know where the manuscripts of the \textit{Punica} resided between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{30} Given the place of Hercules as a Stoic sage-saint-hero, the Stoic connexions of the historical Scipio are also of interest.\textsuperscript{31} 

Though Silius' Scipio could seem to provide a main line of descent between Hercules and Patricida we cannot assume that our author knew him. We can however fairly assume that he would have known \textit{Scipio's Dream}, and though Macrobius' commentary is neo-Platonic, the text itself is Ciconian and, as one might expect, handles ideas in Stoic rather than neo-Platonic fashion. Also Scipio is only one of

\begin{itemize}
\item[26] Anderson 1928 p. 29.
\item[27] Anderson 1928 p. 32. In spite of Ennius' failure, associations between Scipio and Hercules continued to be made by the poets. Lucan \textit{De Bello Civili IV} 593-655 for example describes Hercules' famous defeat of the giant Antaeus by lifting him off the ground that was the source of his strength and (ll. 656 ff.) immediately follows this long description with the remark that Scipio made the area where this happened even more famous by camping there after bringing Hannibal back from the citadels of Latium.
\item[28] Bassett 1966.
\item[29] The Carthage story is published by James 1914 pp. 260-261 from London, British Library manuscript Cotton Vespasian E 12 f100v-101r. It professes to come from the histories of "Flaccensus" and relates no sober history but a romance of oracles and enigmas. It also occurs in Oxf. Bod. 851 f73va-vb (Rigg 1978 p. 396). The \textit{Mathematicus} manuscript Oxf. Bod. A44 is related. An analysis of the fabulous story for its relation with Silius and other sources such as Livy might just possibly yield insights into the question of whether our author could have known Silius.
\item[31] See Vol. II Ch. IV of this thesis for Stoicism in the Scipionic circle.
\end{itemize}
several successors of Hercules that are mentioned or alluded to in various parts of the Mathematicus. The constant repetition of the «urbis et orbis» theme belongs not to the Scipionic descent but to a line devolving through Alexander and Romulus as cosmocrats. A third strand brings in Camillus, related to Romulus in being the second founder of Rome and directly related to Hercules in his capacity as saviour of the city. Virgil (Aeneid VI. 825) has already made his Camillus recover the Roman standards (signa) rather than the Roman gold of previous legend - Patricida is likewise presented as a saviour of the Roman standards, and the author would have known his

32 Alexander was the first historical Greek successor of Hercules, as Anderson 1928 pp. 19-29 makes clear in analysing the Greek Alexander Romance. [There is the likelihood also of an earlier date for the fragmentary Old French roman d'Alexandre than for Walter of Châtillon's 1181 Alexandreis. Holmes 1930 p. 142 says that before 1150 someone had turned Alberic's octosyllabic Alexander poem into 10 syllable laisses.] Frequently Alexander was not regarded as worthy of emulation in the middle ages, but ridiculed for his hubris. This characteristic is not absent from the makeup of Hercules. Galinsky 1972 p. 6 sees the roots of hubris in the self sufficiency of Hercules, and it is this characteristic that Galinsky (p. 9) claims resulted in the scant attention given to this most popular pan-Greek hero in Homer's epics. Homeric heroes belong to a social milieu in which they contend for the approval of their peers - they lack the lonely grandeur of a Hercules. (Anderson 1928 p. 10 notes Hercules as the type of hero who chose to do right irrespective of rewards or consequences, and honoured for this throughout Greek and Roman antiquity.) Already in antiquity the Roman Stoics had shown hostility to Alexander and resentment at his comparison to Hercules (Anderson 1928 p. 18 cites passages from Seneca). He was given no place in the Roman pantheon of man-made-gods.

33 Anderson 1928 p. 9 gives the dual roles of Hercules as (1) κοσμοκρατορ (world ruler) in which tradition Alexander and Romulus figure largely and (2) σωτηρ (protector of men, saviour, even messiah), a role more in tune with both the Stoic and later Christian heroes. It is Romulus of course, the first specifically Roman successor of Hercules, rather than Alexander that we find in the Mathematicus, the name itself or adjectives derived from it occurring five times.

34 There is some mystery about the connexion between Patricida and Camillus. It may be resolved by finding what Cousin (1840 p. 353) meant when he called the last two lines of the Mathematicus «un discours fort obscur d'un certain Camille». I have not yet been able to find this Camillus. Did he also speak in elegiac couplets? If so it would limit the field. Also, without inspecting the manuscript Cousin used (BN 6415), it is hard to know whether he refers to some other work or is merely quoting the last two lines of the Mathematicus in that manuscript - the variations from Hauréau's edited version (also found in Migne ed. from BN 5129) are slight - imperative rather than indicative verbs in a context where it matters little, and verum for vestrum where either can be made to yield a reading. Apart from his usual place as an example of the old Roman simple virtues (for which he is cited at Mathematicus l. 825) Camillus turns up in some unlikely locations - for example, as one of the few people Scipio meets in the underworld (Punica XIII 722, where he is called "peer of the gods in glory": «Superos aequantium laude»). Again we find Camillus associated with Quirinus, the legendary (pre-Romulaic) founder of Rome, at Punica XVII 651-652 (i.e. significantly vis-à-vis the Mathematicus on Cousin's information - in the third and fourth last lines of the whole poem) where Scipio is hailed as equal to Quirinus in glory (laudibus) and to Camillus in services (meritis). (Note the similes to Hercules and Bacchus in the preceding lines of the Punica - again we have the pantheon of men-made-gods.) Already Silius had assimilated Quirinus into the Herculean succession at Punica XV 79-83. (Duff's translation orders the succession as Hercules, Bacchus, Quirinus, then Castor and Pollux but this disturbs the order of the original which puts Quirinus after Castor and Pollux. Obviously more logical.)
Virgil and known it in fine detail indeed if he was also the author of the commentary on
the first six books of the Aeneid (which is largely a commentary on this very Book VI).
Livy's Camillus is also of interest in the context of the Mathematicus because of the
oratorical contexts in which he occurs - first in his own trial and later in the long and
carefully articulated speech in which he persuades the Romans not to move to Veii.35 If Livy saw history as a species of rhetoric, it is nowhere more apparent than in his
dealings with Camillus. However Livy provides no clue to the Camillus whose words
Patricida echoes at the end of the poem if Cousin is to be believed.

Apart from all these manifestations of Hercules, there is a Roman Hercules with
whom Patricida shows an affinity in some of the most challenging parts of the poem.
This is the tragic yet triumphant Hercules of Seneca's Hercules Oetaeus. Like
Patricida, this Hercules first sees suicide as a necessary evil in a particular situation, but
soon all thought of necessity or the situation vanishes in the overwhelming joy
experienced in the contemplation of a return of the soul to its true home among the
stars. Not only in the overall theme but in its details the Mathematicus echoes the
Oetaeus - Hercules for example tells his mother that her side of him, the part that is
mortal, will be given to the flames; what belongs to his father, the divine part, will go
to heaven.36 Patricida announces a similar division with another millenium of emphasis
on the body/soul dichotomy to reinforce his stance.

It will be the business of another chapter (Ch. VI) to consider the Mathematicus
vis-à-vis the Christian literary genre of passiones or saints' (martyrs') lives, but it
would be remiss in closing this chapter not to mention that Christ can be, and has been,
compared with both Oedipus and Hercules.37 It is the nature of myth as of allegory to

35 Livy’s Book 5 is focussed on Camillus from his own trial (the alternative suggestion of
Diodorus (Ogilvie 1965 p. 699) gives the charge as using white horses in his triumph (Cf.
Mathematicus II.261-2)) to his speech recommending a return to Rome. The main elements in
Livy’s version of the trial of Camillus were borrowed from the trial of the Scipios (Oxford
Classical Dictionary 1970 p. 199), adding to the resonances between the persona of Camillus as
transmitted by Livy’s literary "history" and the Stoic hero Hercules.
36 Seneca Hercules Oetaeus II.1966-1968.
37 Among many discussions one might cite Armens 1966 p. 86 on Christ/Oedipus and Galinsky
1972 pp. 188-195 and pp. 202-204 and Dwyer 1976 p. 75 on Christ/Hercules. The values
be open-ended - not only each age but each person has the right and the responsibility to interpret each poem in their own terms of reference - if the myth has value it will extend and deepen the terms of reference in the process. Poetry that does not do this has no function, only uses, and has failed to reach its mythopoeic potential. The greatest poems have the largest capacity for reflecting the human spirit in all its variety. Nevertheless it is the business of the historian not only to respond to the unchanging dimension of human experience which poetry seeks to render but to record its changing expression in time. We are faced with a poet writing in what purports to be a Christian culture of the twelfth-century whose poem is being interpreted in the Oedipal culture of the twentieth century - was the poet working outside the Christian determinants of his time and can we transcend the Oedipal determinants of ours in interpreting him?

common to the hagiographers and the pagan philosophic and ascetic traditions that underlie these connexions are discussed by Newbold 1984 esp. p. 208 in terms of field-dependence and guilt and shame as driving forces.
Chapter VI

Poetic composition: the never-ending story

«Numeros memini, si verba tenerem»
Virgil Eclogues 9.45

"I too will something make
And joy in the making...."
Robert Bridges All Beauteous Things

Researches on the Mathematicus bring to light nothing of substance that can be added to the very sketchy picture we have of its author, the legendary Bernard Silvester. He keeps his secret in spite of many recent attempts to find the man behind the legend - no tangles with ecclesiastical or secular powers have given him a place in history, no arguments with other literary figures have been recorded. Apart from the

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1 The most recent vita, given by Peter Dronke in his introduction to his 1978 single manuscript edition of the Cosmographia (pp. 1-15) rightly stresses Bernard's connexion with Tours rather than Chartres and outlines an established intellectual and scholarly tradition at Tours, including Berenger and Hildebert and attracting such scholars as Adelard of Bath (pp. 7-9), a tradition to which Bernard was heir. It might also not be irrelevant to note that Tours enjoyed a certain independence: in the ecclesiastical sphere, being an archbishopric while Chartres, Orleans and Paris were only bishoprics; in the political sphere as the headquarters of the expanding Angevin empire, and therefore at some remove from more specifically "French" affairs; and in the cultural sphere because of its connexions with the south and west (Poitiers being no further away for example than Orleans or Chartres). As the city of St. Martin it had long held an honoured position that gave it the moral authority to make use of the freedoms made possible by its geographical, political and ecclesiastical situations. Adelard of Bath gives a graphic description of the seductive power of the secular learning available there, where a learned man taught him astronomy, and of a dream-vision he had on the bank of the Loire (De oedem et diverso ed. Willner 1903 pp. 4-5). Bond in his introduction to the poetry of William of Poitiers and Aquitaine 1982 pp. xlii-xliv gives information of relations between the Loire poets and the monastic, scholastic and aristocratic cultures of Poitiers, instancing a charter of 1105 signed by William, Baudri of Bourgueil and Robert of Arbrissel (p.lxxi.) Chalmel I 1841 pp. 451-454 pictures the flourishing religious establishments in Touraine in the first half of the twelfth century and relates them to the peace the area enjoyed. Boussard 1950 pp. 33-34 however pictures incessant strife.

2 Bernard's connexion with Chartres seems to be based on the dedication of the Cosmographia which in fact does not say Thierry taught Bernard. The words are Terrico, veris sentinentarum titulis doctori famosissimo, Bernardus Silvestris opus suum (Dronke's ed. 1978 p. 6.) The expression used by Hermann of Carinthia in dedicating his translation of Ptolemy's Planispharium to Thierry: «divinitissime preceptor Theodorice» seems somewhat more familiar and could be construed to mean that Thierry taught Hermann, but in the context of the rest of the dedication is less likely to have this meaning. (See Hermann's Introduction to his Planispharium newly edited and translated by Burnett 1978 pp. 109-12.) Thierry may indeed have taught Hermann and/or Bernard but the dedicatory prefaces themselves would refute the idea that these dedications were acts of simple piety. See Flahiff 1942 esp. p. 8 on dedicatory prologues and prefaces as safeguards. Vernet 1952-53 p. 53 notes amongst the contents of a privately-owned manuscript containing Roma duos habuit and Moesta pares «... début d'un
Mathematicus which is fairly securely attributed to him, and the Cosmographia, his magnum opus, there is some doubt about his authorship of all the works with which his name has been associated. A postulated ars versificaria or poetica, which may be a figment of twentieth-century imaginations nourished on Faral's 1923 collection of such works - unless, as has been suggested, it is the Cosmographia itself,\textsuperscript{3} commentaries on the first six books of Virgil's Aeneid\textsuperscript{4} and the first two books of Martianus Capella's De Nuptiis\textsuperscript{5} which seem to share an author who may or may not be Bernard, and a smaller or larger part in the translation from Arabic of a geomantic treatise known as the Experimentarius\textsuperscript{6} are what is usually listed as his oeuvre.\textsuperscript{7} Documents of property transfer seem to indicate that he was dead by 1178\textsuperscript{8} some 30 years after the publication of the Cosmographia\textsuperscript{9} but as to the date of his birth we have no clue. The De Nuptiis

\[\text{poème philosophique placé sous l'invocation de Galon de Léon et de Thierry de Chartres ...}.\] It would be interesting to know what personal or donated authority Thierry carried that brought him these works for his imprimitur. The Chancellorship of Chartres which he held from about 1140 to 1148 at least (Ward 1972 p. 242), during which time these works were probably written, would not of itself confer any such especial authority. We do know a little more about Thierry than about Bernard Silvester, but much of the information about where and whom he taught is still inference (Dronke 1969 pp. 125-126, Ward 1972 pp. 263-266.) If there had been a significant connexion between Bernard Silvester and Chartres one might expect some mention of him amongst the information collected by Gaalcon 1974 on masters, books and the library at Chartres. There is none. Stock 1972 p. 36 had already noted that Bernard never taught at Orleans and is only connected to Chartres "by the thinnest of evidence".

\textsuperscript{3} Graebener in the introduction to his edition of Gervaise of Melkley's Ars Versificatoria 1965 pp. xxv-xxvii recounts some of the details in the growth of the legend of a lost ars by Bernard and traces them back to inference from a reading of Faral's (1936 p. 67) of summa in Gervaise where Graebener reads sentientiam and punctuation that attributed to Bernard what Graebener reads as by Gervaise. Graebener found a Liber de merificatura Bernhardi Silvestris optimi poete with a florivery introduction but all that followed was an elementary grammatical treatise. The confusion of several Bernards and their dictaminal treatises may soon be resolved by forthcoming publications from Spence and Camargo (advised Camargo 1984 pp. 25 and p. 27) and this should help untangle the problem of the existence of a lost ars by Bernard Silvester. The Flores Rhetorici recently edited by Camargo (in press) he thinks unlikely to be the work of Bernard Silvester, more likely a generation later, perhaps some student of Bernard's. See Worstbrook's review of Graebener's edition of Gervaise 1967 pp. 105-107 for further discussion, also Douglas Kelly in his forthcoming study of the Artes Poetiae. Kelly quotes the lines from Everard the German's Laborintus which raise the possibility of equating the lost ars with the Cosmographia: «Hos via dictandi recipit flores; dabit illambernardi maior summa minorque tibi.» (ll. 597-598).

\textsuperscript{4} ed. Jones and Jones 1977.

\textsuperscript{5} ed. Westra 1979.

\textsuperscript{6} ed. Savorelli 1959. Burnett 1977 discusses Bernard's likely part in this work.

\textsuperscript{7} Carmody 1956 p. 44 notes Hermann of Carinthia's 1138 translation from Arabic of Sahl's Fatidica attributed to Bernard in manuscripts Digby 46 and Ashmole 304, suggesting revision.

\textsuperscript{8} Dronke intro. to his ed. of Cosmographia 1978 p. 2.

\textsuperscript{9} Dronke intro. to Cosmographia ed. 1978 p. 2 suggests 1147-8 and Stock 1972a p. 160 suggests that parts of the poem may have been circulating even earlier.
commentary which he may have written has been located between 1130 and 1150 - the *Aeneid* commentary has not been dated by its most recent editors, who are inclined to doubt Bernard’s authorship anyway.\(^{10}\) Burnett has recently placed the *Experimentarius* in the 1160’s, which would make it a late work.\(^{11}\) On poetic grounds Dronke favours a mid-century date for the *Mathematicus*.\(^{12}\) Though this thesis seems to indicate that Bernard used the *Aeneid* commentary in writing the *Mathematicus* (it is interesting that Dronke finds "memories" of *Aeneid VI* also in the *Cosmographia*\(^{13}\)) this does not prove that he wrote the commentary. What emerges from all this is not the author as personality, but the scholar-poet creating within and at the service of a

\(^{10}\) One of the grounds on which arguments over the authorship depend is the vexed question of belief in waters above the firmament. Pico della Mirandola lists seven levels of allegory for this (detailed in Murin 1969 pp. 125-127) - it would be interesting to know how many of them he inherited from medieval allegory. Hamilton 1909 p. 173 notes also the ascription of a commentary on Theodulus to Bernard Silvester in a catalogue of 1212 A.D. It may be distinct from Bernard of Utrecht’s commentary.

\(^{11}\) Dronke in introduction to *Cosmographia* ed. 1978 p. 5.


\(^{13}\) *Ibid*. p. 23.
tradition.\textsuperscript{14} It may therefore be more profitable to start by looking into the tradition.

Bernard's place in the more fundamentally poetic tradition which says there are not six basic plots but only one great "Ur-poem"\textsuperscript{15} so to speak of which the Latin version exists in Virgil's \textit{Aeneid} and which later versifiers can only "copy" in some fashion has already been sketched in Chapter III of this volume. Ignoring for the moment this higher level of understanding as well as any attempt to discuss relations between Bernard's various real or attributed works, this chapter seeks to place the \textit{Mathematicus} in the more transient tradition of turning prose declamations into narrative poems. Very few survivors of this genre have been located, and we have only one known author. This author is Peter Riga. Peter not only wrote poems based on declamations but turned biblical themes such as "Susannah and the elders" into poetic \textit{controversiae} and \textit{suasoriae}.\textsuperscript{16} Of particular interest to this thesis is Peter's version in 242 lines of elegaic couplets of the story from the pseudo-Quintilian \textit{maiores} No. 13 of the poor man who sued the rich man who had poisoned the flowers in his

\textsuperscript{14} The only direct witness we have to Bernard close to his own life time apart from John of Salisbury's is the testimony of Matthew of Vendôme that he had taught him (Dronke \textit{Cosmographia} introduction p. 1). By the thirteenth-century he is cited both for his literary qualities (Gervaise of Melkley 1215-1216 A.D.) and for his learning (Henri d'Andeli 1242 A.D. who cites him as knowing "all the arts and all the sciences"). This is probably the two (the sciences of philosophy and theology) and the seven (liberal arts) credited to Alan of Lille in the famous epitaph - "He knew the two, he knew the seven" (Alan cites Bernard's \textit{Cosmographia} in his \textit{Prosa de Angelis} commentary (ed. d'Alverny 1965 p. 212)). The vexed question of the authorship of texts attributed to Bernard and the shadowy figure of the poet may not be unrelated to similar (but larger) problems about Alan of Lille, for which Ward 1987 has recently proposed a constructionist solution. The problem seems to be fairly narrowly focused in time and applies not only to Latin but to vernacular authors, and certainly has nothing to do with modesty. The author of the \textit{Roman de Thèbes} for example (another mid-century text and the earliest of the three \textit{romans d'antiquité}) is conscious of his immortality though he refrains from giving his actual name (Crosland 1956 p. 72). We do not have such hidden personalities for earlier Latin poets like Hildebert, Marbod and Baudri, though some of the works of the first two were subsequently anonymised. Again though there is a degree of confusion over the authorship of many later poems as well, no such mystery seems to surround the historical personages of many poets of the next generation, Peter Riga, Simon Aurea Capra, Walter of Châtillon for example, poets a generation younger than Bernard but perhaps only a decade younger than Alan. See also Flahiff 1942 and Legge 1963 p. 8 who finds from the study of Anglo-Norman texts that the concealment of names from motives of prudence was not so necessary in the early twelfth century as it became after mid-century.

\textsuperscript{15} Fulgentius' belief (de Lubac II.II 1964 p. 235) that every epic poem, provided one knows how to read it, must concern man and his destiny is related to this concept.

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Aurora} ed. Beichner 1965 pp. 360-367.
garden so as to kill the poor man's bees. Peter most probably got the story directly from the declamation - it is closer in structure to the declamation than another poem based on the same story - like the declamation, it gives only the poor man's speech, though the poor man frequently quotes the rich man's words in direct speech. This is also true of the declamation.

The other version of the poor man's bees gives the rich man a speech of approximately equal length after the poor man. Instead of Peter's elegiac couplets, this version consists of hexameters rhymed in couplets with double internal rhyme within each line as well - a form more usual in the eleventh than the twelfth century.

Given Peter's proclivity for taking other poets' works and expanding and elaborating

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17 Ed. Boutemy 1949 pp. 292-297 from the version of Peter's earlier work the *Floridus Aspectus* of about 1160 A.D. found in the manuscript Arsenal 1136. Boutemy 1948 pp. 110-111 notes that some of the *Floridus Aspectus* manuscripts delete all the poems associated with judicial disputes, which are many and various. The original declamation of the poor man's bees (pseudo-Quintilian *maiores* No. 13 ed. Håkanson 1982 pp. 264-286) itself has interesting aspects - one being its inherent bias in favour of the poor against the rich, a bias which pervades all the *declamationes* that have come down to us. Thus no moral stigma seems to attach to the poor man's act in deliberately (and rather gleefully) choosing bees to cultivate so that, unhindered by the fences the rich man has raised against the poor man's marauding cattle, they can make use of the rich man's garden. The rich man on the other hand is held in moral contempt for his acts in buying out small landowners to increase his acreage. The *narratio* of the original declamation includes a graphic description of the misery caused to the poor by the alienating of land from their use by rich landowners' enclosure of it.

18 e.g. *Vestra peritia, dum regit omnia, sidera tangit; Deum domat effeta, munitas aspera, fortia frangit.* These are the first two lines of the poem (the *effeta* and *aspera* are properly speaking assonanced rather than rhymed, but this is rare - mostly there is real rhyme of 2 syllables). It is attributed in Migne PL 171,1400 B - 1402 B to Hildebert but not included in the modern attributions to Hildebert (ed. Scott 1969).

19 Though, for fairly obvious reasons, not common at any time. It is not the complexity that causes the problem - at least some of the poets of both the eleventh and twelfth centuries revelled in complexities of rhyme and metre (and/or rhythm) that have not even been noted, let alone analysed, by nineteenth and twentieth century scholarship - the structures of the eight lyrics that Whicher 1949 proposes as Abelian for example display a complexity almost unparalleled in any age or language. Rather it is the near impossibility of overcoming the galloping monotony of the form, a monotony increased when the variety allowed in the metric version by the choice between one long syllable and two shorts is abandoned, as it is in the 17-syllable line of Bernard of Morley's *De Contemptu Mundi* (ed. Hoskier 1929). There is a sense in which it is possible to view much twelfth-century metric poetry as a revisionist or conservative or antiquarian return to the basic metres in which rhyme was not an important parameter but an occasional ornament compared with the efforts of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries to marry rhyme and metrics. One has only to compare the eleventh-century *Vita Mahumeti* (which precedes the *Mathematicus* in BN 5129) with internal rhyme in both the hexameter and pentameter (ed. Cambier 1962) against the unhymed elegiacs of the *Mathematicus* to understand the unlikely probability of success for such a marriage. The privately owned manuscript reported by Vernet 1952-53 pp. 52-53 which seems to have poetry of the early twelfth century though the manuscript is early thirteenth century also contains some tortured rhyme schemes including a re-working of Marbod's *Me miserum! quid agam? porto sub pectore plagam* to multiply the rhymes: *<Ve! quid agam? plagam sub mesto pectore gesto.*
them, it might be thought that it was not the declamation he was working from but this other poetic version, but it would be most unlikely that he would get back so close to the original declamation. Also given Peter's proclivity for calquing his work on Hildebert, whose biblical epigrams form the spring board for much of the Floridus Aspectus, it seems a shame to deny the Hildebertian ascription Migne gives for Vesta peritía, except that it is sorry stuff compared with genuine Hildebert, and for textual reasons as well none of Hildebert's more recent editors concern themselves with it.

This earlier version of the poor man's bees occurs in two manuscripts apart from the Tours one (now lost) from which the Migne version was taken. One of these, St. Omer 115, is of particular interest for our study because the poem is immediately followed by the two declamation-based poems that are frequently found with the Mathematicus viz. Roma duos habuit and Mæsta pærens.20 The other is BN 6765, a manuscript which also contains nine of the 17 poems in Serlo of Wilton's Versus de diversis modis versificandi,21 but in a very different order from that in our Mathematicus manuscripts BN 3718 and Rom. Vat. Reg. lat. 344. Both BN 6765 and St. Omer 115 belong to the second half of the twelfth-century. Neither contains the Mathematicus. St. Omer 115 is a collection taken from a variety of sources, and can give minimal information on the likely author; but BN 6765 is, after Oxford Digby 53, the principal source for the poetic works of Serlo of Wilton who died in 1181.22 It contains, as well as some Senecan prose and a few other poems from late antiquity and the medieval period, 23 poems of Serlo23 in one group and 10 in another, as well as pieces of another Serlo poem interspersed with other material. The Vesta peritía is the

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20 Fiervile NE 31.1 1884 pp. 126-129 discusses the three poems and publishes the St. Omer 115 version of Roma duos habuit. It may be noted that the Vesta peritía version of the Poor Man's Bees gives no judgment though it gives speeches of the poor man and the rich man.

21 Öberg who recently edited Serlo's work questions whether Serlo himself put the poems in the order the Versus de diversis modis versificandi gives them and says it is sometimes difficult to perceive the theoretical formula that each poem is meant to illustrate (1965, p. 51).

22 Öberg 1965 pp. 11-12. Öberg (p. 16) describes BN 6765, dating it to the end of the twelfth-century.

23 Four of the first group of 23 and four of the second group of 10 are used in the De diversis modis versificandi.
third of a group of four poems separating the two known Serlo groups. Given its location and the fact that Serlo was more interested in leonine and similar forms than most poets writing as late as he, the poem may be Serlo's though Serlo's latest editor Öberg does not think so. The Tours manuscript which was used for the Migne edition based on Beaugendre and was once owned by Du Poirier is now lost. If any reliance can be placed on Beaugendre's arrangement of works from this manuscript (which is dubious) the poem Vestra peritia is seen to be associated with the Floridus Aspectus poems of Peter Riga. However the metre is not one favoured by Peter Riga anywhere in his large œuvre, and the Du Poirier manuscript intersperses other authors amongst Peter's work. The connexion with Serlo of Wilton is far more likely. St. Omer 115 gives the poem 148 lines compared with 103 for BN 6765 and 106 in Migne.

Before looking in more detail at the declamation poems found in Mathematicus manuscripts, it might be worth noting that Peter Riga seems to have had access to the Senecan controversiae as well as the pseudo-Quintilian maiores because he has also given us in his Floridus Aspectus the case of the husband who wishes to divorce his wife because she inherits the wealth of a merchant whose advances she says she has in fact repulsed. This is Seneca Contr. II. 7. Peter's poem is again in elegiac

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24 Of the 17 poems in the Versus de divers modis versificandi only three are not leonine hexameters or leonine elegiac couplets or more complex variants of these (the remaining three are unrhymed elegiac couplets).
26 Fierville NE 31.1 1884 pp. 127-8.
27 Öberg 1965 p. 19.
28 Migne PL 171.1400 B - 1402 B.
29 The woman is represented by an advocate. The poem is given in Migne PL 171/1453-1455 as belonging to Abbott Philip of Bona Spes (otherwise Philip of Harvengt) but Boutemy 1948 pp. 103-106 has convincingly proved that it is in fact Peter Riga's. Boutemy believes that the Floridus Aspectus in its more developed form as in Arsenal 1136 is the basic text and that manuscripts such as the Du Poirier have subtracted works rather than the other way around. In particular the Du Poirier manuscript seems to have removed all litigious poems (debates etc.) according to Boutemy (ibid. p. 96 and again pp. 110-111), though Migne prints the Vestra peritia from this manuscript. Boutemy includes the Apes Pauperis amongst the Floridus Aspectus poems left out of Beaugendre's Du Poirier manuscript, but presumably he means Peter Riga's version, not Vestra Peritia.
30 Closer study could determine whether it comes from the full version or the extracted version, or could come from either.
couplet with speeches for both sides, but this time he does not let the case rest but adds a judgment.\textsuperscript{31} This is not usual\textsuperscript{32} (the declamations of course give no judgments), but it also occurs in the St. Omer 115 version of \textit{Roma duos habuit}.

A study of three versions of \textit{Roma duos habuit}\textsuperscript{33} shows how necessary it is to examine the entire text in dealing with these poems in different manuscripts. The St. Omer 115 version of this poem published by Fiervelle has 78 lines of which the last two are the aforementioned judgment,\textsuperscript{34} leaving 76 lines, the same number as in Werner's publication from the Zurich manuscript 58/275\textsuperscript{35} and having the same \textit{Inc.} and \textit{Expl.} Hence the remark that the St. Omer poem adds two lines to the Zurich version would seem to be a fair summary of the situation. The reality however is not quite so simple. Of the 76 lines, the poems in fact share only 68, and the expanding and contracting that goes on in between looks like a very pretty example of the "variations on a theme" approach to literary composition that has become a commonplace when discussing medieval poetic theory. The equalities and inequalities between St. Omer 115 and Zurich 58/275 are shown in Table I, as well as the associated 68 lines of Wien 609. (These 68 are again not the common 68 of St. Omer 115 and Zurich 58/275). In fact it

\textsuperscript{31} Migne PL 171.1453 B - 1455 C, where the husband has 72 lines, the advocate for the wife 56 and the judge two compared with 78, 80 and six in Arsenal 1136 (Boutemy 1949 p. 162). This poem along with many other from the \textit{Floridus Aspectus} occurs in our \textit{Mathematicus} manuscript Berlin cod. theol. oct. 94 at f115\textsuperscript{v} (Wattenbach 1895 p. 146) with the same short prose preface it has in Migne (who publishes it from Chamart's ed. of Philip of Harvengt's works) but the Berlin manuscript adds four lines after Migne v. 18 elaborating on the \textit{curricula} as a subject of vulgar jest.

\textsuperscript{32} Though unusual in the poems based on the declamations it seems to be the rule rather than the exception amongst medieval debate poetry in general according to Walther 1920 p. 93. It would be interesting to discover whether it is more common in later manuscripts. Mozley 1933 p. 216 finds this pattern, two rival speeches and a judgment by the poet, also in a number of debate poems that he thinks are Matthew of Vendôme's from an early thirteenth century manuscript (Bod. Misc. lat. D 15).

\textsuperscript{33} This is the case of the mother of twins who took the father to court because he allowed the killing of one twin when both were ailing, on medical advice that this could find the cause and thereby save the other. It derives from pseudo-Quintilian \textit{Declamationes maiores} No. 8 (ed. Håkanson 1982 pp. 151-174).

\textsuperscript{34} Boutemy 1943 p. 28 (24) says these last 2 lines «qui n'ont manifestement rien de commun avec l'ouvrage, en sont séparés dans le manuscrit [St. Omer 115] par le signe F et par une grande initiale rouge. Leur isolement, constaté par l'auteur même de la notice, dans le ms 710 de Saint-Omer, fol. 118\textsuperscript{vo} (p. 153), aurait dû lui éviter d'en faire la conclusion de la déclamation». There is nothing however to prevent their use as a judgment for the case, and their fortuitous occurrence in St. Omer 115 at this point seems past coincidence.

\textsuperscript{35} Werner 1905 pp. 55-58.
is rather "variations of a poem" than "variations on a theme", and the question of how valid or important the concept of an Ur-text may be remains unresolved when one is confronted by this particular version of literary creation. The reworking is nowhere near as wholesale nor as arrogant as Aegidius' reworking of Peter Riga's *Aurora* for example. Obviously we are dealing with three recensions of the same poem, and those that came later do not appear to be trying to outdo or improve on the first so much as to "create" other versions. It is impossible not to be reminded of the advice given by the poetic theorists of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries to linger where another author has hastened and skip quickly over what another author has elaborated. It would also be fascinating to know how long such precepts were being taught orally before they were enshrined in handbooks, but we lack sufficient exactness in dating of manuscripts to use these particular examples to advance this question. All three manuscripts are dated to the second half of the twelfth century. A close examination of other early manuscripts such as BN 6415 and Tours 300 might be informative. *Roma duos habuit* would possibly be the most rewarding of the declamatory poems to study (outside of the *Mathematicus*) since it has at least nine manuscripts of a

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36 See the versions of Susannah and the Elders given in Beichner's 1965 edition of the *Aurora* for a good example of Aegidius' methods (pp. 359-367 and pp. 372-374) including a detailed allegorical explanation. For Aegidius' arrogant revising of the *Aurora* see Beichner in his introduction pp. 21-24.

37 However if all three are reduced versions of some longer original, as suggested later, a different set of determinants may be operating.

38 Geoffrey of Vinsauf spells it out in his *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi* ed. Faral 1923 transl. Purr 1968 Ch. II. § 133.

39 BN 6415 is given by Cousin 1840 p. 354 as 88 lines, as is Tours 300 in the catalogue of Gollan (Gollan also calls it a poem of the foundation of Rome - so may not be very trustworthy). These seem to be the longest (reinforcing other evidence that would make these manuscripts worthy of further study), and Wien 609 at 68 the shortest "complete" version (personal communication from John Ward confirms Werner 1905 p. 55).
"complete" version and at least one of an abbreviated version, and several of the "complete" manuscripts are quite early.\textsuperscript{40}

Though the Zurich manuscript 58/275 has been described as the work of a slovenly scribe so that it sometimes does not even make sense,\textsuperscript{41} as far as \textit{Roma duos habuit} is concerned there is no question of "scribal error" being involved in the variations from the St. Omer 115 and Wien 609 versions. In the Vienna manuscript 609 we have a variation that could not have derived directly from either Zurich 58/275 or St. Omer 115 without the aid of the other, for some of its couplets are in Zurich 58/275 alone and some in St. Omer 115 alone. By the same token, Zurich and St. Omer cannot be independent expansions of Vienna 609 because they share some couplets that are not in the Vienna manuscript. The best guess that can be made with the information to hand is that all three might devolve from some longer version such as Tours 300 or BN 6415 with their 88 lines.\textsuperscript{42}

It is interesting to analyse the relationships between the various versions of \textit{Roma duos habuit} as a prolegomenon to manuscript studies of the \textit{Mathematicus} because there is more printed information available on \textit{Roma duos habuit}, and the shorter poem may represent in little the kinds of variations to be expected amongst versions of the \textit{Mathematicus}.\textsuperscript{43} On the \textit{Mathematicus} itself we have very little of

\textsuperscript{40} BN 6415 and Tours 300 are definitely twelfth century. Douai Di f 105 (Walther 11596a) contains a 30 line version. The only other version of which I have any details to date is a later manuscript, Rom Vat. Reg. lat. 370, which Wilmart in his catalogue gives as having 80 lines, having two lines added after Werner's 1.24 and another two after Werner's 1.50 (thus no correlation with St. Omer 115 or Wien 609 variations). I ignore, pending verification, Walther's listing of a Leiden manuscript BPL102 (11th C.) f27v-41, for it hardly seems likely that the poem could have been expanded to cover so many folios (such a length fits more with that of the original \textit{declamatio}, but this manuscript, unless numbers have changed, has not been noted as a \textit{declamatio} manuscript, though Leiden is a good source for early \textit{declamatio} manuscripts). \textit{Roma duos habuit} shares three of its manuscripts with the \textit{Mathematicus}.

\textsuperscript{41} Scott 1968 p. 49.

\textsuperscript{42} From Gollan's catalogue of Tours 300 we know only the first couplet which is common to all 3 of the others and the last which is the same as Zurich and Vienna. St. Omer adds the judgment. BN 6415 has the same \textit{inc.} and \textit{expl.} as the Tours, Zurich and Vienna manuscripts (Cousin 1840 pp. 354-355 confirmed Ward 1986 - see his description in Vol. II Ch. VII of this thesis). The possibility that St. Omer 115, Zurich 58/275 and Wien 609 all derive from Tours 300 or BN 6415 reinforces the feeling derived from the catalogue and other descriptions that these being earlier than the others could be interesting manuscripts for \textit{Mathematicus} studies.

\textsuperscript{43} It is interesting for example that BN 6415 also gives a longer version (848 lines) of the \textit{Mathematicus} than that Migne (PL 171, col. 1365 B - 1380 D) prints from BN 5129 (834
such information - Hauréau in his 1895 edition dispenses with scholarly footnotes and merely says that he has moderated the text of Migne (taken from Beaugendre who used a single manuscript, BN 5129) by reference to three other manuscripts, BN 3718, BN 6415 and Cambrai 875 (now 977). In fact his printed edition varies little from the Migne edition apart from having 20 more lines, unless altering the divisions of the poem be regarded as important. The Migne edition from BN 5129 divides the poem very definitely into 15 cantus labelling each one, whereas Hauréau divides it into 17 unlabelled divisions which seem to bear little relation to the divisions of Migne edition. The divisions vary in length as widely as the laisses in the Chanson de Roland. The 20 additional lines in Hauréau's edition can all be seen as simple amplificatio, or abbreviatio if they are subtractions, four being one couplet at a time and three of two couplets at a time. Two of the latter include the couplet «Per superùm, per si qua manet reverentia nostril/Quicquid id est, regi, porrige, Roma tuo,» making this couplet...

44 The Hauréau edition based on BN 3718 and Cambrai 977 (875) as well as BN 5129 and BN 6415 has even more (854 lines). If the transmission of the Mathematicus follows what seems to have happened to Roma duos habuit i.e. subtracting of lines rather than adding them, Tours 300 and/or Cambrai 977 (875) might give the earliest extant version. It is also possible that these studies of Roma duos habuit can assist in the relative dating of manuscripts, as might further studies of Mathematicus manuscripts along the same lines. The excerpts in florilegia and quotations by other authors can indicate the provenance of various versions - Gervaise of Melkley for example (ed. Graebner 1965 p. 80 ll. 23-24) agrees with Migne against Hauréau at ll. 57-58, indicating that he used a manuscript related to BN 5129, but with Hauréau against Migne at ll. 20-21, indicating a relation with one of the other three manuscripts.

45 Just why the Mathematicus text was transmitted as faithfully as it appears to have been is an interesting question. Were some texts held to be in some way sacred, and was the Mathematicus one of these but not such pieces as Roma duos habuit? This question needs study of the manuscripts before it should even be asked, let alone answered.

The additions (or subtractions) consist of lines 325-6, 387-8, 513-4, 571-2, 667-670, 689-692 and 733-736 in Hauréau's line numbers. The lines 513-4 expressing belief in astrology (by the mother) could have been deleted for doctrinal reasons, but this could not apply to any of the other lines. They mostly repeat what was already said, possibly in a different form, or pile up examples. Lines 733-736 for example expanding on Patricida's statement that nothing in the wide world can add to his worldly glory (ll. 731-732) go on to list the worldly goods that cannot help him - Phrygian gems, Eastern pigments, the golden sands of the Pactolus, Tyrian finery, Spanish horses, Indian ivory or ebony. There may be some reason for deleting all these and leaving the work of Myro which is all that is left of the list in Migne (BN 5129) but it is not immediately apparent.
which is now repeated four and a half times instead of two and a half something of a rallying cry. Whether this adds to the value of the poem as poetry is one question - there is no doubt that the «repetitio continuo» adds to the dramatic force of the declamation. «Repetitio continuo» is not absent elsewhere in both editions of the Mathematicus, - at (Hauréau) Il. 381-392 we have the classic example of five or six couplets all starting with «Filius ille tuus». There is however very little information to be gained from the few small variations between the two editions, especially since we do not really know which manuscripts provided which additions and what Hauréau might have ignored in the manuscripts where he did not feel it added anything to the value or meaning of the poem. The catalogues rarely give the number of lines, and from the evidence of Roma duos habuit even this is a statistic of limited value, so that it becomes obvious that the entire poem needs to be studied in manuscript to advance

46 If line 666 (Hauréau) is taken into account as 1/2 the couplet. See note in commentary on the possible numerical significance of the distances between the repetitions. If this number pattern was intended by the author, it is interesting that it would not have been perceived by certain copyists. Just what kind of things were being hidden in texts and whether certain patterns of knowledge were being promulgated at a certain time and subsequently lost, or whether there was only a small cognoscenti at any time that was meant to recognise them are interesting questions.

47 Five in Migne, six in Hauréau.
work on its transmission. This is outside the bounds of this thesis, though it has been possible to suggest which manuscripts might be closest to the original, and for lost manuscripts such as Berl. 94 ancillary studies of this kind are all that can be done.

The other short poem that travels around in company with the Mathematicus and Roma duos habuit has not the same interest for textual studies relating to the Mathematicus as does Roma duos habuit. This is Moesta pares which is based on the Senecn controverstia V.I relating to the man who hanged himself and was cut down and saved from death by a passer-by whom he later sued for his interference. The poem is a slighter work altogether, less than half as long as Roma duos habuit, and though it appears to be based on a more probable real-life situation than the rather fantastic and somewhat macabre story of the ailing twins it lacks the mythopoeic

That it may have been transmitted more faithfully than Roma duos habuit could be suggested by the transmission of a poem of similar length that has recently (1962) been edited with detailed notes on the variants of all 16 of its manuscripts. This is the Vita Mahumeti of Embrico of Mainz, which, though it shares only one manuscript with the Mathematicus, BN 5129 - the source for the Beaugendre editions of both poems reproduced in Migne PL 171 (cols. 1343-1366 and 1365-1380), has a somewhat similar set of manuscripts, several of which have relations with Mathematicus manuscripts - Berlin Ph. 1694 in particular with Berl. Cod. theol. oct. 94 (not the same manuscript). The latter is the manuscript which adds to the Mathematicus a 26 line dialogue to try to resolve the ending which both in the middle ages and in recent centuries has bothered some readers by its apparent lack of narrative closure. Berlin Ph. 1694 which yields the longest version of the Mahumeti could be perceived as an expanded version of some recension such as BN 5129 (or BN 5129 as a contracted version of Berlin Ph 1694), but the expansion/contraction is limited and consists of couplets added/subtracted here and there for simple amplificatio/abbreviatio, as in the difference between the Hauréau and Migne editions of the Mathematicus. Berlin Ph 1694 which Cambier used as the base for his edition of the Mahumeti has only 12 more lines than BN 5129 and only 14 more than the shortest of the 10 full length manuscripts whose line count Cambier gives. This is of the order of 1% of the whole poem, similar to the percentage difference in the Mathematicus editions and only of the order of 1/10 of Roma duos habuit variations (viewed as a percentage of total length). What is more significant, the kind of variation is different - there is not the deliberate re-structuring of Roma duos habuit. In fact half the additional/omitted lines are interpolated/into/removed from a short envoy (10 lines in the edition) that occurs in the poem after the prologue and before the start of the narrative proper, which is even separated and given its own title in one of the manuscripts (St. Omer 115); Auctor cuidam amico suo (Fierville NE 31.1 1884 pp. 87-88). If, on examination of the Mathematicus manuscripts, the transmission turns out to be more like that of the Vita Mahumeti, it might be worthwhile to look at some of the differences in these types of transmission, why Roma duos habuit seems to be subject to substantial alteration, apparently abbreviating in general, while the longer poems have a relatively faithful transmission.

Suicide by hanging seems to have been a common practice in antiquity if the number of such occurrences in the declamatory literature is any indication, though perhaps not as fashionable in some circles as opening veins or falling on swords; poison occurs in the declamations more for murder than for suicide. Suicides committed by hanging were specifically excluded from burial in one law (Bonner 1949 p. 101).
dimension of the latter. It revolves about the comparatively superficial question of an individual's right to terminate his own existence whereas Roma duos habuit works at the deeper poetic level relating to the sacrifice of life. While the cut down hanged man theme (laqueus incisus as Seneca calls it) of Moesta pares focuses on a legalistic question and has no power to stir deeper levels of feeling, Roma duos habuit reverberates amongst the stuff of which myths are made - the sacrifice, frequently futile at a rational level, that lies behind Roland, Custer's last stand, the Anzacs, not to mention Jesus Christ and the Christian martyrs. The fact that it was a baby in Roma duos habuit that was killed and that the poem revolves around the dilemma of the parents does nothing to decrease the sacrificial aspect and in fact enhances it by the poignancy of the setting.

Sacrifice is also central to the literary genre with which the Mathematicus poem seems to have the closest affiliation, the passio. This had been for centuries an important part of hagiography both in Latin and the vernaculars. The earliest known literary works in Old French mostly consist of passiones, the ninth-century passion of St. Eulalie, the tenth century Clermond-Ferrand Passion and St. Leger, the eleventh century St. Alexis (which though labelled Vie de St. Alexis belongs to the passio tradition); and in Old Provencal the earliest known work is also a passio, the eleventh century Chanson de St. Foy. There were Latin versions of all of these and all have relations with dramatic and narrative versions of Christ's passion. There are scholars who feel the Chanson de Roland is more in the passio tradition than the epic mould, and several of the Mathematicus manuscripts contain Latin passiones, amongst them St. Agnes, St. Laurence, St. Victor, St. Maurice and friends. Though

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50 Stoic philosophy which dealt with suicide in more detail than many other philosophies still regarded it as not a very important question per se. See the discussions in Chs. II and IV of this volume.
51 The place of the planctus Mariae in the dramatic passiones (which Sticca 1966 pp. 296-319 has shown was shorter in the early passiones and later elaborated into a separate art form) can be matched by the planctus in saints' lives such as the three that are a noted feature of the Vie de St. Alexis.
52 E.g. Pei 1966 p. 104.
the St. Agnes in all probability postdates the *Mathematicus*, being a work of Peter Riga's, the other three mentioned were all probably earlier with Marbod the likely author of some if not all of them. In both Latin and the vernaculars, the *passio* was one of the most popular genres amongst middle length narrative poems in the first half of the twelfth century.

Given the freedom from any overt Christian sentiment in the *Mathematicus*, it might seem strange to link the poem with such an avowedly religious genre, but voluntary death - suicide - martyrdom - was not the prerogative of the Christian religion: it had a long prehistory in ancient philosophies being a subject of particular interest amongst the later Stoics. The poet Lucan and his uncle Seneca the younger (the author of the tragedies and the letters) deal frequently with situations in which they perceive suicide to be the preferred solution - hardly idle chatter since both preferred it in the end. Though the Senecan tragedies may not have been available to the *Mathematicus* poet, at least the first 88 of Seneca's 124 letters probably were, and Lucan's *De Bello Civili* was one of the most popular poems. The replacing of Christian arguments for martyrdom with the Stoic arguments for suicide creates as it were a secular *passio*. Stoic arguments for suicide were already dramatised as speeches in Lucan, thus putting them in a form parallel to the *Mathematicus* sub-text, also a speech arguing for suicide.

Looking at *Moesta pares* and *Roma duos habuit* in juxtaposition with the *Mathematicus* one can readily see that the appeal of the *Mathematicus* relates to this sacrificial dimension rather than to the more superficial question of individual right to suicide. Whether *Moesta pares* survives in fewer manuscripts because of its more

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53 One may also note the lack of Christian sentiment in the twelfth-century *Aeneid* commentary which de Lubac II.2 (1964) p. 237 describes as "no more Christianising than Fulgentius".

54 Though regarded, like death, as a matter of little interest by Zeno and the earlier Stoics (Rist 1969 p. 238 and see discussion in Ch. IV of this volume).

55 Savorelli 1965 p. 182 has described *Roma duos habuit* and *Moesta pares* as *poemetti allegorici*. Dronke in the introduction to his 1978 edition of the *Cosmographia* p. 6 says they are not. However allegory is difficult to discern until it is revealed. It would be interesting to know what allegory Savorelli finds in these poems, given the allegory of the *Mathematicus*. 

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trivial nature would be difficult if not impossible to determine. Its form should have commended it - elegaic couplets had become the dominant metre for middle length poems in the latter half of the twelfth century, hexameters being reserved for such long epics as Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandris*. (*Roma duos habuit* is by contrast in hexameters). *Moesta parens* is listed in six manuscripts compared with 10 for *Roma duos habuit* and 14 for full length or approaching full-length versions of the *Mathematicus*.56 *Moesta parens* shares two of its six manuscripts with both the *Mathematicus* and *Roma duos habuit*, one more with the *Mathematicus* alone and two more with *Roma duos habuit* alone and occurs in one manuscript that contains neither of these.57

There is no firm evidence to attach Bernard Silvester's name to either of these poems. The tradition that puts his name to the *Mathematicus* is by comparison quite strong, and very specific at least from the early thirteenth century.58 The idea that he may be the author of *Roma duos habuit* and *Moesta parens* rests on circumstantial evidence and derives from their occurrence together in manuscripts.59 However this could as easily relate to source and/or genre. They derive from declamations. They

Of the 17 *Mathematicus* manuscripts dealt with in this thesis, three contain what can only be referred to as shorter or longer extracts (up to 66 lines). The other 14, though some contain not much more than half the poem, are obviously attempts at full length versions (see Ch. VII of this volume for details).

The two printed versions, Vernet 1946 p. 257 (from Aux. 243) and du Meril 1847 pp. 9-10 (from BN 6415), vary only in the addition of four extra lines in Aux. 243 describing the bringing of the case (ll. 23-26 in Vernet's edition). Without closer knowledge of the manuscripts it is difficult to see what significance if any may attach to this. Another small poem *Esse quidem dicam* derives some interest from the fact that in Aux. 243 it immediately follows the *Mathematicus* and precedes *Moesta parens*. It is a 10 line paraphrase in hexametric rhyming couplets of a single verse from Ovid's *Heroides* I.12 (Vernet 1946 p. 256 prints it). The only other place where it has been found is BN 6415, which it shares with *Moesta parens* and the *Mathematicus* but in this case other material separates it from these poems. One couplet is missing in BN 6415 (ll. 7-8. Cousin 1840 p. 356 prints the BN 6415 version).

e.g. Gervaise of Melkley quotes it several times with his name (ed. Graebener 1965). A twelfth century manuscript of the *Policraticus* has his name in the margin in a contemporary hand against the couplet quoted from the *Mathematicus*. Hauréau lists most of the evidence in the introduction to his 1895 edition and Vernet confirms and adds to Hauréau's evidence (1946 p. 254).

Another elegiac poem based on declamatory material *De Nato Ethiope* which occurs in Aux 243 has closer associations with the *Mathematicus* which it seems to echo very specifically, sometimes (lines 3 and 7) at the same line number. Like the *Mathematicus* it also extends the original story of the *declamatio* on which it is based. Unfortunately it is only known in this one manuscript (Vernet 1946 pp. 258-259).
are frequently found in association with debate poems: for example - *Roma duos habuit* is followed by a Jew/Christian *dialogus* in Vienna 609, the *Mathematicus* itself is followed in B.M. Sloane 2499 by Hildebert’s *Querimonia seu conflictus de carne et spiritu*, both *Moesta parens* and *Roma duos habuit* follow *Vestra peritia* (the poor man’s bees) in St. Omer 115. All the manuscripts in which they are found contain works of other poets in association with our poems - even when they follow the *Mathematicus* quite closely there is usually some other poem in between. In short if there is evidence to give them to Bernard, it has not yet come to light.

The relation between the *Mathematicus* and other works attributed to Bernard Silvester is a large study outside the scope of this thesis, which has chosen to focus narrowly on the poem itself. The study has revealed a relation, seemingly derivative, with the *Aeneid* commentary. This proves use rather than authorship. To say anything here about the *Cosmographia* would only be to repeat information or interpretations made by those who have studied that poem more closely, and would not advance knowledge. With the printing of Westra’s edition of the *De Nuptiis* commentary, more thorough study of this and the *Cosmographia* itself should be possible. At the same time texts are appearing, as mentioned at the start of this chapter, which could help resolve questions about a possible lost dictaminal treatise and/or a lost poetics. These studies might in turn bring to light information which could allow us to say something more about Bernard’s share in the *Experimentarius*. On another front, such studies might help us to formulate questions about what Bernard perceived himself to be doing, and to what extent the copyists of subsequent generations understood his poetry and/or his poetic intent. There is a paradox about author-labelling in the twelfth century - with the reverence for *auctoritas*, and personal *auctoritas* not only attached to the *antiqui* but also to the *moderni*, how is it that so many texts lack or have a false ascription? This paradox may have a simple resolution related to changed attitudes at

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60 Which has arrived in Australia too late for use in this thesis. The quotations are from his dissertation of 1979.
different times in the twelfth century - for example, the construction or reconstruction of the œuvre of Alan of Lille61 a generation after Bernard Silvester may be an entirely different process from the deconstruction (if that is what happened) of the œuvre of Bernard Silvester. This may all be explained by social determinants such as ecclesiastical censorship overt or covert,62 and certainly this line of enquiry needs to be pursued. However the solution to the paradox may not lie in events extraneous to the poetry or in the cultural milieu of the contemporary audience, but in a deeper understanding of the varieties of poetry across time and across cultures.

Table I
Correspondences between lines in four versions of *Roma duos habuit*

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<th>St. Omer 115 (from Fierville 1884)</th>
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Note: Lines 61-62 Zurich 58/275 are the same as lines 67-68 St. Omer 115 and 57-58 Wien 609. The information for Rome Vat. Reg. lat. 370 specifies only that the poem adds two lines after Zurich 58/275 I. 24 and two after I. 50, has the same inc. and a total of 80 lines. The other lines are probably the same as those in Zurich 58/275.
Appendix
Vienna Hs. 609 (Hist. Eccles 154) Tabulae I pp. 105-106
Description: Ward 1985 personal communication
Dimensions 179x120 mm.
1r-9r Adamnarus Abbas Hyensis. De locis terrae sanctae, cum prologo Arculfi.
9r-18v descriptio urbis Hierosylmorum
19r-23v descriptio Palaestinae.
Neat 12th C. hand, with use of red; long lines, and f8v, a neat illustration of a church.
24r - verses on the apostles and evangelists
24v-37v <incipit edicio de situ Rome> = descriptio urbis Romae. Same presentation.
Then in same hand, follow <versus de Roma> by Hildebert and others, presented as verse, long lines, with ornamental distancing of 1st letter of each verse and last few letters where they form rhymed end syllables common to two lines. These poems have alternate red sentence capitals, a larger red capital to start them, red headings and red squiggly lines linking each line in the couplet with its final common syllable where relevant.
40v <versus magistri Petri de symonia> (red)
41v <item de eodem> inc. (red) <flete per horrete> expl.< pateat foveatur>
42v (top of page with large red capital 'R') <Roma duos habuit ...> and next to it, as for previous items, a red heading, in this case <De duobus fratribus>. Same presentation as previous, 27 long lines per page.
<Roma duos habuit res est non fabula vana
Actores perhibent et pagina quintiliana ... >
Ends half way down 43v (14 lines):
< ... diffinitivit eam sententia iudicialis>
Folios 44-45v are in another ink and hand (though probably contemporary) and there is no use of red; they contain a poem <dialogus Judaei cum Christiano caeco, qui sanatur> inc. <[R]omuleum quondam ...> set out as verse and finishing at 1st 3 lines of f45v. Rest of page blank.
Chapter VII

Cultural dissemination: the manuscript tradition

"How can we know the dancer from the dance?"
W.B. Yeats Among School Children

It will have become apparent by now that the authorial bias in this thesis is towards the executant rather than the audience and to the original artefact rather than its reproductions. The study did not start out with this intention, and the chosen paths represent a personal bias rather than any substantially greater intrinsic interest, and possibly also a reaction against the audience-oriented criticism of recent decades. However though the Mathematicus, for reasons that will become clear, is amongst medieval texts particularly well-suited to executant-artefact biased studies, there is much valuable knowledge to be gleaned from a study centred on its audience and reproductions. (Furthermore such a study could hope to throw light back onto the original author and his poem!) In the event the study has helped confirm the hypotheses as to the "Ur-text" derived in previous chapters, but has failed to entice its author out of the shadows in which he hides. Further work along these lines is more likely to provide information about the cultural contexts in which the manuscripts were written than the cultural context in which the poem was composed. These may be very different - though we have good early manuscripts, the dating of the poem rests on circumstantial evidence, and it could be significantly earlier than the earliest manuscript; secondly, the interpenetration of a variety of lay and ecclesiastical "cultures" which yet retained distinct characteristics at the time and place where the poem is likely to have

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1 Finnegan 1977 in a study drawing material not only from her own studies of African poetry but also from a wide range of mostly oral traditions offers insights applicable also to written traditions into the limitations of this kind of criticism. She points (p. 260) to the "free-floating" nature of literature vis-à-vis culture - it is too "flexible" she says "to be directly and closely determined by the societal forms of the culture in which it is being used". More technical writing - handbooks for example like the medieval aries poetiae - have a higher correlation with the societies which give them birth, which perhaps can explain the scholarly attention paid to these works which seems out of all proportion to their merit, compared with the relative neglect of the far more intrinsically interesting poetry of the era. It is however difficult to explain the neglect of the secular drama of the time in these terms of reference, whatever its intended mode of performance. Any analysis that looks at a poem in some non-poetic context is bound to do violence to the poem, especially historical criticism which fixes in time what purports to transcend time.
been written and copied makes it possible that a poem written in one cultural milieu was being copied in another. The investigation about to be reported here is thus looking forward as well as back. Looking back it has some limited value to studies of the Mathematicus poem itself and the time when it was written - looking forward, it provides information that can be used with other data to reveal aspects of the later age when it was copied.

Though some of the manuscripts of the Mathematicus are of greater interest for forward-reaching studies and some for the backward glance, this preliminary study analyses all the manuscripts from the same angle, apart from florilegia which contain extracts culled from the poem for purposes quite extraneous to its function as poetry. One result of this sledge-hammer approach is to reveal its limitations, but at least it can indicate some areas where further study might prove profitable. In the large, there are some very obvious characteristics of Mathematicus manuscripts, and here this macroscopic assessment can have its values - they are mostly "French", they are mostly "early", and they are mostly full of poetry. These words are here used macroscopically: "French" means no specific English, Italian or German provenance;

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2 The variety of manuscripts involved makes it necessary to consider not only institutions centrally focussed on teaching and learning such as monastic and cathedral schools but the courts and patronage of lay and ecclesiastical rulers with their more diffuse broadly-based cultivation of "humanist" values. There is no room in this thesis to detail the interconnected set of monastic, scholastic and courtly cultures that characterise the early twelfth century - all reflected in the poetry of the time - nor the differences in this complex from place to place. However the manuscripts which contain the Mathematicus though of a later era show in their diversity something of this rich and varied culture. None belong specifically to the centre of the teaching trade - the Mathematicus, though quoted, is hardly ever bound with artes poetriae for example, (the only case being Erfurt Ampl. 15) and some of the collections in which it appears seem unrelated to the business of the "schools".

3 The term florilegia is used here for collections of small extracts as distinct from poetic anthologies that publish whole poems or substantial parts. The florilegia are analysed in this thesis only very briefly and with a narrow focus on the Mathematicus extracts themselves and their immediate neighbours in the manuscripts. To go into detail about the other works in these florilegia would throw no light on the Mathematicus itself and is a different kind of study from what this thesis attempts.

4 This contrasts markedly with Dronke's statement (Cosmographia introduction 1978 p. 12) that: "The first wider success of the Cosmographia appears to have been in England, in the later twelfth century." Without access to Vernet's 1937 thesis it would be idle to discuss the manuscript tradition of the Cosmographia (the published summary of the thesis gives no details except that they number at least 50 (Vernet 1937 pp. 172-173)).