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# Fruits of Learning

## The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages

EDITED BY

Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and  
Kees Dekker

STOREHOUSES OF WHOLESOME LEARNING IV



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# The Harvest of Ancient Learning: Healthy Fruits or Rotten Apples?

Mariken Teeuwen and Sinéad O’Sullivan

When one accepts that marginalia, glosses and commentary traditions are to be considered proof of a rich and intense study of a particular text, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that Martianus Capella’s *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* was one of the most read and most studied books of the ninth century. It survives in many ninth-century copies, its dense glossing is unrivalled, and at least three different commentary traditions have been created in the course of the ninth century to accompany it in its many copies.<sup>1</sup> In this paper, which presents the conclusions of a four-year project on the earliest commentary tradition on Martianus Capella’s *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, the question will be analysed, *why* Carolingian scholars were so interested in *De nuptiis*, a starkly pagan text, written in a difficult style and transmitted with many textual problems.<sup>2</sup> Its commentary tradition gives us striking insight into the specific interests (and disinterests, for that matter) of the scholars who read, studied and used the text. To study a glossed manuscript can give one the sense of looking directly over the shoulder of the monk at

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<sup>1</sup> On the history and manuscript tradition of the text, see C. Leonardi, ‘I codici di Marziano Capella’, *Aevum* 33 (1959), 443–89; *Aevum* 34 (1960), 1–99, 411–524; J.-G. Préaux, ‘Les manuscrits principaux du *De nuptiis* de Martianus Capella’, *Lettres latines du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, ed. G. Cambier, C. Deroux and J.-G. Préaux, Collection Latomus 158 (Brussels, 1978), 76–128; C. Lutz, ‘Martianus Capella’, *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries. Annotated Lists and Guides*, ed. P. O. Kristeller, F. E. Cranz et al., Vol. II (Washington DC, 1971), 367–81; M. Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres. The ars musica in Ninth Century Commentaries on Martianus Capella’s De nuptiis*, MST 30 (Leiden, 2002), 60–150; *Glossae Aevi Carolini in Libros I–II Martiani Capellae De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. S. O’Sullivan, CCCM 237 (Turnhout, 2010), i–cxxx.

<sup>2</sup> The Martianus Capella project was a collaborative effort to create a complete edition of the oldest commentary tradition, based on one of the most important manuscripts: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLF 48. This edition is published online (in a digital environment developed by Huygens ING – KNAW) at <http://martianus.huygens.knaw.nl>. The project was funded by the Netherlands Organisation of Scientific Research (NWO) for the period 2003–2007 and concluded by a symposium in September 2008. Its proceedings are published: *Carolingian Scholarship and Martianus Capella*, ed. M. Teeuwen and S. O’Sullivan, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 12 (Turnhout, 2011).

work, scribbling his thoughts in the margins and between the lines. Surely, this sense is deceiving us at times, for glosses are, just as the main text, more often than not part of a written transmission. They are copied from one manuscript to the next, as writing and reading errors prove, or indeed as the copying of symbols tying lemma and gloss illustrates. Moreover, the same illustrative drawings and tables are found in multiple manuscripts, which proves, once again, a process of copying, and excludes an *ad hoc* enrichment of the text by an individual scholar or an oral transmission of knowledge. Unlike marginal annotations in modern books, the marginalia encountered in ninth-century Martianus Capella manuscripts are only very rarely the spontaneous or original remarks of a reader reacting to the text he is studying. Nevertheless, this material takes us as close as possible to observing the intellectual processes of such a distant period. It is the oldest material we have, moreover, that reflects the reception of ancient myth and learning in the medieval West, predating the writing of, for example, treatises on the *ars musica* or the *ars astronomica* in the early Middle Ages. They are, therefore, our starting point for the study of an intellectual tradition that ultimately shaped our own.

The oldest commentary tradition on Martianus Capella comprises a body of glosses and annotations built around the late antique text, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, written in the first third of the ninth century by anonymous authors who seem to be, in some way, attached to the learned circles of the Carolingian courts. The centrality of this particular text in the intellectual world of the ninth century has surprised many, since some of the Martianus material is difficult to match with the spirit of scholarly, monastic Francia under Carolingian rule. The ancient legacy of myth, in particular, has aspects which were definitely frowned upon by Carolingian scholars: apart from the multiple gods and pagan philosophies, themes such as adultery and lust are prominent in many of the ancient stories to which Martianus refers, and could not possibly fit the profile of a good education for young (or old, for that matter) monks. The light that this throws on the context or possible use of the text, or perhaps the limited access this suggests for the text, have been the subject of another paper.<sup>3</sup> The enthusiasm which Carolingian scholars showed for Martianus is even more puzzling when we realise how it is bracketed on the one side by the seemingly unimpressive pre-Carolingian reception of the work, and on the other side a quick fading of the text, if we are to judge from the number of copies made in the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>4</sup> Modern scholarship, moreover, has tended to put more emphasis

<sup>3</sup> M. Teeuwen, 'Seduced by Pagan Poets and Philosophers: Suspicious Learning in the Early Middle Ages', *Limits of Learning: the Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. L. Teresi and C. Giliberti, *Mediaevalia Groningana* ns. 19 (Leuven, Paris and Walpole, 2011), 63–80.

<sup>4</sup> D. Shanzer, 'Felix Capella: Minus sensus quam nominis pecudalis', review of *Martianus Capella, De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. J. A. Willis (Leipzig, 1983), *Classical Philology*, 81 (1986), 62–81;

on the scorn poured on *De nuptiis* from the time of Scaliger and other humanist scholars onwards, who were more appalled by both the content and style of the work, than they were impressed by the ninth-century enthusiasm for it. In this paper, a more open view is taken, and the focus is not so much the hesitance or difficulty this text could cause (and did cause) in Carolingian learned circles, but rather on the aspects of the text that genuinely interested these scholars. A close look at the content of the oldest commentary tradition reveals which aspects attracted and affected them, and convinced them that this text was a treasure trove, not only of learning, but indeed of wisdom, *sapientia*.<sup>5</sup> Many annotations speak of this wisdom, which was completely in accordance with the central message of *De nuptiis*: through learning, one can reach true insight into wisdom — perhaps even divine wisdom.

#### THE MEANING OF NUMBER

Most illustrative of this aspect are the annotations which convey a very Pythagorean view of earthly existence. By the term Pythagoreanism we refer here to the firm belief in a universe created and ordered by a divine force according to numerical ratios. *De nuptiis* has deep roots in this belief, as is shown by the nature of the allegory itself, in which number is never without meaning. The marriage, for example, is calculated as the marriage between the numbers three and four, between learning and eloquence, which leads, ultimately, to wisdom.<sup>6</sup> Several gods are greeted by a calculation of the numerical values of their names, which are laden with meaning.<sup>7</sup> The theme of the harmony of the spheres

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M. Teeuwen, 'Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*: a Pagan "Storehouse" First Discovered by the Irish?', *Foundations of Learning I: the Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. R. H. Bremmer Jr and K. Dekker (Leuven, 2007), 51–62; F. Lemoine, *Martianus Capella. A Literary Re-evaluation*, *Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung* 10 (Munich, 1972).

<sup>5</sup> C. M. Bower, 'The Transmission of Ancient Music Theory into the Middle Ages', *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. T. Christensen (Cambridge, 2002), 136–67, esp. 158; C. M. Bower, 'Quadrivial Reasoning and Allegorical Revelation: 'Meta-knowledge' and Carolingian Approaches to Knowing', *Carolingian Scholarship*, ed. Teeuwen and O'Sullivan, 57–73.

<sup>6</sup> *De nuptiis*, I.101–8, ed. Willis (Leipzig, 1983), 29–31. On the interpretation of the marriage in *De nuptiis*, see G. Nuchelmans, 'Philologie et son mariage avec Mercure jusqu'à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Latomus* 16 (1957), 84–107; L. Lenaz, *Martiani Capellae De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii Liber secundus* (Padova, 1975), 101–20; S. Gersh, *Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism: the Latin Tradition*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, 1986) II, 597–646, esp. 601–5.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., the number seven is given to Minerva in *De nuptiis* VII.738; the number eight is assigned to Vulcanus (in *De nuptiis* VII.740); the number nine to Mars (in *De nuptiis* VII.741), etcetera. In *De nuptiis* VII.729, Martianus describes how lady Arithmetic was constantly making signs with her fingers; in fact these signs were greetings to the gods surrounding her by their numerical identities.

is very prominent, especially in Books I and II. When the maiden Philology ascends through the heavenly spheres, the planets are depicted as bringing forth the ideal musical harmony because of their divinely ordered and measured movements through the cosmos.<sup>8</sup> The book on Arithmetic (Book VII) is of course central for our understanding of the Pythagorean nature of the whole.<sup>9</sup> It is not at all a book on calculus, on practical reckoning, but focuses almost exclusively on the philosophical aspects of numbers and ratios, a focus known as 'arithmology' or 'arithmosophy'.<sup>10</sup> Examples from this book, therefore, best illustrate the depth of Martianus's Pythagoreanism.

#### LADY ARITHMETIC

Book VII opens with the introduction of the lady Arithmetic in the company of the gods, gathered for the wedding of Philology and Mercury in the highest heavenly sphere above the planets. The goddess Paedia (the personification of Learning) leads her in front of the newly-wed couple. Martianus comments on her 'pristine origin' — she is older than Jupiter himself. A strange light shines from her forehead [VII.728]:

quae etiam miraculis quibusdam capitis reverenda videbatur; nam primo a fronte uno sed vix intelligibili radio candicabat, ex quo item alter erumpens quadam ex primo linea defluebat; dehinc tertius et quartus, tuncque etiam nonus decuriatusque primus honorum reverendumque verticem duplis triplisque varietatibus circulabant. sed innumerabili radios multitudine prorumpentes in unum denuo tenuatos miris quibusdam defectibus contrahebat.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> E.g., *De nuptiis* I.27; II.169–99. See Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres*, 190–232; M. Teeuwen, 'L'armonia delle sfere nel nono secolo: nuove prospettive su fonti antiche', *Harmonia mundi. Musica mondana e musica celeste fra Antichità e Medioevo*, ed. M. Cristiani, C. Panti and G. Perillo, Micrologus' Library, 19 (Florence, 2007), 95–114.

<sup>9</sup> Book VII has been edited, translated into French and commented upon by J.-Y. Guillaumin, *Martianus Capella, Les noces de Philologie et de Mercure, Tome VII, Livre VII, L'Arithmétique* (Paris, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> C. L. Joost-Gaugier, *Measuring Heaven. Pythagoras and His Influence on Thought and Art in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 2006), 101–11; S. Gersh, *Concord in Discourse. Harmonics and Semiotics in Late Classical and Early Medieval Platonism* (Berlin and New York, 1996).

<sup>11</sup> *De nuptiis*, VII.728, ed. Willis, 261; trans. W. H. Stahl, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, Vol. II: *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury* (New York, 1977), 274: 'Certain strange manifestations on her head gave her an awesome appearance. For from her brow a single, scarcely perceptible, whitish ray appeared, and from it emanated another ray, the projection of a line, as it were, from its original source. Then came a third and a fourth ray, and on to a ninth and a tenth, the first decade — all radiating from her glorious and majestic brow in double and triple combinations. But even as the rays emanated in boundless profusion, so they gradually diminished again in a remarkable way, and she reduced them to one.'



In the following passage Arithmetic's robe is described, and how she is constantly making finger calculations so fast that one can hardly discern what she is doing ('her fingers vibrated with a speed that blurred the vision').<sup>12</sup> In fact, it is explained, she is greeting the gods by their numerical names. Pythagoras comes forward from a group of philosophers attending the marriage and accompanies Arithmetic to the abacus, where she starts to expound her discipline.

In the commentary tradition the ray emanating from Arithmetic's head received a wealth of annotations and comments. The commentators explain the singularity of it by relating it to the Pythagorean and Platonist concept of the *monas*, the number one or unity, from which the World Soul was created. Several times they remark that this *monas* is something which can only be understood by the mind, and not actually seen, heard, smelled, tasted or touched by the senses. Even the mind, they say, is only barely able to understand *monas*, the unity from which all other things are created. Once this unity, they say, has progressed to lower numbers, and has, so to speak, descended into lower things, they become corporeal and sensible — within reach of the senses.<sup>13</sup> The Greek philosophers used the word *idea* for this phenomenon, they say, fleshing out the concept of *monas* with a Platonic notion.<sup>14</sup> One particularly telling gloss runs as follows:

RITE monadem. Philosophorum de monade tres opiniones inveniuntur: aut enim primordialis perfectaeque naturae emissio sit, aut eiusdem primordialis naturae species inseparabilis, aut ipsius primordialis est antequam nulla natura inveniri potest. Si secundum

<sup>12</sup> *De nuptiis*, VII.729, ed. Willis, 261: 'digiti vero virginis recursantes et quadam incomprehensae mobilitatis scaturigine vermiculati'; trans. Stahl, *The Marriage*, 275.

<sup>13</sup> See, e.g., oldest commentary tradition, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLF 48, 66v, gl. 30; 36; 41; 56; 148; 149; 159; 160; 163; 180; 184; 186 (ad *De nuptiis*, VII.728–31). In this paper, citations of glosses from the oldest commentary tradition are taken from the online edition of the text: <<http://martianus.huygens.knaw.nl>> (accessed February 2011), or (for glosses added to Books I–II) to *Glossae Aevi Carolini*, ed. O'Sullivan.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. J.-Y. Guillaumin, 'Quelques thèmes récurrents dans les gloses du 'plus ancien commentaire' sur Martianus Capella VII (manuscrits de Leyde, VLF 48)', *Carolingian Scholarship*, 177–92. See, e.g., oldest commentary tradition, VLF 48, 66v, gl. 159 (ad *De nuptiis*, VII.731): 'SPECIES omnis species relativa dicitur. Nam species non sibi est species, sed alicuius principio subsistentis naturae species est. Est ergo species accidens substantie ac per hoc, si substantia numerorum in monade est, sequitur ut binarius quaedam species sit ipsius substantiae et princeps omnium numerorum. Sed cur princeps? Quia prima procreatio numerorum est, ex monade inchoans, cuius exemplar omnes numeri secuntur. Monas est igitur intellegibilis omnium numerorum proprietates, quae Grece sermone *idea* vocatur. Principalis autem ipsius monadis progressio, i. primitiva species, *idea* intellegitur.' 'SPECIES: every species is called relative, because a species is not a species by itself, but it is a species of a certain pre-existing nature. Thus a species is an accident of substance. It follows that, if the substance of numbers is in the monad, the number two would be a certain species of this same substance and the first of all numbers. But why the first? Because it is the first creation of numbers, starting from the monad, the example after which all numbers follow. The monad is thus the intellegible property of all numbers, which is called *idea* with a Greek word. So, the first

primam opinionem, quae emissio primordialis naturae monas putatur, monas et Iovis unum sunt.

Sin autem iuxta iustam opinionem, species est primordialis naturae, cogitur ut monas Iovi anteponatur. Secundum vero tertiam opinionem nihil ante monadem ponitur, sed est ipsa principalis et primordialis natura, quam alii ipsum Iovem, alii fontem ipsius Iovis putant.<sup>15</sup>

More long expositions on the *monas*, unity, the nature of numbers, the question whether numbers truly exist in the corporeal world or are only part of the metaphysical one, and whether they are the source of all things or the first thing created can be found in the glosses of the oldest commentary tradition. In many of these glosses, the Christian God is conspicuously absent, but that is not the case in all of them. When Arithmetic speaks (in VII.733) about the number three, and how this number is perfect, one annotation reads:

MUNDANA PERFECTIO: Quod vero dixit perfectionem mundane unitatis in tribus contineri — in deo et in informata materia et in idealibus— ita intellegendum est: ut deus extra mundum intellegatur, a quo tamen est perfectio mundi. Materies vero est illa informitas secundum quosdam philosophos. Secundum alios vero orta est et creata, qui melius sapiunt. De idealibus vero formis duplicum intellegendum: sunt enim ideales aeternae in deo, secundum quas omnia formata sunt; sunt etiam ideales in creatura, quae sicut ipsa materies informis (*sic, lege informis?*) create sunt.<sup>16</sup>

Annotations like these resonate with Ambrose and Augustine on matters relating to creation, ideas, forms and matter.<sup>17</sup>

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progression of this monad, that is the first species, is understood by idea.' Unless otherwise specified, all translations are ours.

<sup>15</sup> Oldest commentary tradition, VLF 48, 66v, gl. 163 (ad *De nuptiis*, VII.731). 'From the philosophers three hypotheses are found on the *monas*. Either it is an emission of the original and perfect nature, or an inseparable species of this same original nature, or it is from this original (nature) itself, before which no nature can be found. If (we follow) the first hypothesis, viz. the *monas* is considered an emission of the original nature, then *monas* and Jupiter are one. If, however, (we consider) the second hypothesis to be true, viz. it is a species of original nature, it is thought that the *monas* existed before Jupiter. According to the third hypothesis, nothing existed before the *monas*, but she (*monas*) is the first and original nature, whom some consider to be Jupiter, others the source of the same Jupiter.'

<sup>16</sup> Oldest commentary tradition, VLF 48, 67r, gl. 82 (ad *De nuptiis*, VII.733). 'When he said that 'the perfection of earthly unity' is found in three things: in god, in unformed matter and in 'ideals', this should be understood as follows: that god is understood (to be) outside the world, from which the perfection of the world (is created). Matter is that shapelessness according to some philosophers (from which the world is created). According to others, however, who know better, it is born and created. About the forms of ideals two things must be understood: they are eternal ideals in god, according to which everything is shaped; and they are ideals in creation, which are created, just as that shapeless matter.'

<sup>17</sup> Ambrosius, *Hexameron* I.1.1–4, ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 32/1 (Vienna, 1896), 3–4; Augustinus, *De Diversis Quaestionibus LXXXIII*, Q. 46, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CCSL 44A (Turnhout, 1975), 70–3. Both texts are treated in Gersh, *Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism: The Latin Tradition*, I, 397–413.

More contemporary to the glosses from the oldest commentary tradition are the discussions on ‘Nothing’ and ‘Darkness’ that were held at the court of Charlemagne, to which the treatises of Fredegisus of Tours and the astronomer Dungal testify.<sup>18</sup> Fredegisus’s *De Substantia Nihili at Tenebrarum*, apparently written at the behest of Charlemagne himself around the year 800 and addressed to the scholars of his court, discusses these concepts in a way that echoes Aristotelian-Boethian philosophy of language in much the same way as the glosses on matter and creation do. Just as in the glosses, Fredegisus too argues that nothing existed prior to the first corporeal matter. He further argues that since this was the case, ‘nothing’ must indeed be great and noble, in essence divine and beyond the grasp of the human intellect.<sup>19</sup>

The two annotations from the oldest commentary tradition on *De nuptiis* mentioned above are characteristic of the tone and content of many glosses, not only on the *monas* and on creation, but also, for example, on even and odd numbers,<sup>20</sup> on the concepts of simple, complex or composite numbers,<sup>21</sup> on the matter of the different kinds of mean (*medium*) (geometrical, mathematical, musical) one can establish in between numbers,<sup>22</sup> etcetera. In several glosses it is emphasised that numbers are pre-existing, metaphysical truths (*idea* or *idealis* are frequently used terms), only to be grasped by the intellect, not by the senses. These glosses strongly echo Boethius’s words at the beginning of his treatise on Arithmetic:<sup>23</sup>

This, therefore, is the quadrivium by which we bring a superior mind from knowledge offered by the senses to the more certain things of the intellect. There are various steps

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<sup>18</sup> On Fredegisus and Dungal, see M. Colish, ‘Carolingian Debates over *Nihil* and *Tenebrae*: a Study in Theological Method’, *Speculum* 59 (1984), 757–95; S. Haverkamp, ‘Making Something from Nothing. Content and Context of Fredegisus of Tours’s *De substantia nihili et tenebrarum*’, Unpubl. MA Thesis (University of Utrecht, 2006) (<<http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/student-theses/2006-0524-200331/UUindex.html>>).

<sup>19</sup> Fredegisus, 22–4: ‘Haec enim est quae predicat ea quae inter creaturas prima ac praecipua sunt ex nihilo condita. Igitur nihil magnum quiddam ac praeclarum est quantumque sit unde tanta et tam praeclara sunt aestimandum non est. Quippe cum unum horum quae ex eo genita sunt aestimari sicut est ac definiri non possit.’ ‘For this is what it [Scripture] preaches: that those who were the first and foremost among the creatures were created from nothing. Therefore nothing can be something great and excellent, and why it is so great and excellent is not for us to fathom. Indeed not even one of these things which have been begotten from it can be understood as it is and defined.’ Haverkamp, *Making Something from Nothing*, 13 and 19.

<sup>20</sup> Oldest commentary tradition, VLF 48, 71r, gl. 57.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 68r, gl. 66, 69, 71; 71v, gl. 17.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 67v, gl. 32, 35.

<sup>23</sup> Boethius, *De institutione arithmeticae* I.1, ed. G. Friedlein (Leipzig, 1867), 10–11: ‘Hoc igitur illud quadrivium est, quo his viandum sit, quibus excellentior animus a nobiscum procreatis sensibus ad intelligentiae certiora perducitur. Sunt enim quidam gradus certaeque progressionum dimensiones, quibus ascendi progredique possit, ut animi illum oculum, qui, ut ait Plato, multis oculis corporalibus salvari

and certain dimensions of progressing by which the mind is able to ascend so that by means of the eye of the mind, which (as Plato says)<sup>24</sup> is composed of many corporeal eyes and is of higher dignity than they, truth can be investigated and beheld. This eye, I say, submerged and surrounded by the corporal senses, is in turn illuminated by the disciplines of the quadrivium.

The echo of Augustine's *De musica*, Book VI, is perhaps even stronger, and is, in fact, made explicit in several annotations from the oldest commentary tradition on *De nuptiis*.<sup>25</sup> In the last book of his treatise on the art of rhythm and metre, Augustine leaves behind the practicalities of the art, and promises to continue to a deeper meaning. He explicitly addresses those who are well read in the secular arts, but not yet familiar with the true path of Christianity — 'the mysteries of Christian purity', as Augustine calls them. He writes: 'For this has been written for those who, devoted to secular literature, are entangled in great errors and wear out their good minds with trifles, without any idea of what they enjoy in them. Should they recognise this, [then] they would see how they could escape these nets and what would be the place of the most blessed security.' The dialogue between Master and Disciple that follows opens with: 'answer me, my friend, with whom I am now discussing, so that we may move on from the corporeal to the incorporeal ...'.<sup>26</sup> Thus Augustine introduces his student into the mysteries of the metaphysical world hiding in the physical one, and explains the order of God's creation hidden in the order of things we can hear, see or perceive with our senses.

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constituique sit dignior, quod eo solo lumine vestigari vel inspici veritas queat, hunc inquam oculum demersum orbatumque corporeis sensibus hae disciplinae rursus inluminent.' Trans. M. Masi, *Boethian Number Theory. A Translation of the De Institutione Arithmetica*, Studies in Classical Antiquity 6 (Amsterdam, 1983), 73.

<sup>24</sup> Boethius refers to Plato's *Republic*, Sec. 527D, quoted (in a version that differs from any known version) by Nichomachus. The section reads: 'You amuse me because you seem to fear that these are useless studies that I recommend; but that is very difficult, nay impossible. For the eye of the soul, blinded and buried by other pursuits, is rekindled and aroused by these and these alone, and it is better that this be saved than the thousands of bodily eyes, for by it alone is the truth of the universe beheld.' (Masi, *Boethian Number Theory*, 73, n. 10.)

<sup>25</sup> The name of Augustine is mentioned in the oldest commentary tradition, VLF 48, 7v, gl. 69; 35r, gl. 19; 66v, gl. 30; 67r, gl. 29; 68v, gl. 47; and 82v, gl. 127. In some cases a reference is made to *De civitate dei*, but in the case of, e.g., 66v, gl. 30 and 67r, gl. 29, it is clear that the glossator refers to *De musica*.

<sup>26</sup> Augustinus, *Aurelius Augustinus. De musica liber VI*, ed. M. Jacobsson, *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 147 (Stockholm, 2002), 8–9: 'His enim haec scripta sunt, qui litteris saecularibus dediti magnis implicantur erroribus et bona ingenia in nugis conterunt, nescientes, quid ibi delectet. Quod si animaduertent, uiderent, qua effugerent illa retia et quisnam esset beatissimae securitatis locus.'; 'Quam ob rem tu, cum quo mihi nunc ratio est, familiaris meus, ut a corporeis ad incorporea transeamus, responde ...'.

## THE ALLEGORICAL MEANING OF THE CELESTIAL REALM

The Platonist and Pythagorean tone of *De nuptiis*, especially evident in Carolingian annotations on Books VII and IX, and vividly demonstrated by glosses on the *monas* and harmony of the spheres, finds an important focus in the allegorical books. A brief examination of how the allegory functioned for the glossators will illumine these key interests and demonstrate some of the reasons why Martianus's work was so attractive to its ninth-century readers. Martianus's dense allegory provided the glossators with an evidently welcome opportunity to uncover hidden meaning, and to do so in perfect accord with the undercurrents mentioned above. In other words, the allegory encouraged Carolingian glossators to see in *De nuptiis* a quest for the incorporeal and a search for higher truth ultimately leading to the divine.

That the allegory should function in this way for its Carolingian readers is not surprising. Here the metaphysical context of *De nuptiis*, demonstrated by its framing story, was crucial. In this story Philology, a mortal, reaches the celestial abode of the Olympian Gods through various means and stages: mystagogy, theurgical initiation, apotheosis and astral peregrination. There she is privy to higher or sacred understanding and is joined in a hierogamic union to the god Mercury. The glossators avidly explored Philology's interplanetary journey through the regions of the sky, as well as her vision of the entire universe and cosmic order. They found in the allegorical narrative an opportunity to discuss the topography of spiritual space and the locus of wisdom/learning.

In addition, these Platonic and Pythagorean undercurrents provided an important focus on transcendent reality that is brought out in the glosses on Books I and II. For example, Platonic philosophical ideas are at the heart of annotations on the heavenly realm, the supreme deity, and the division between the sensible and intelligible.<sup>27</sup> Such ideas are reflected in glosses on the sphere in Book I and the cup of Immortality in Book II. In both instances, the glossators interpret these images as symbols of corporeal and incorporeal reality, with specific references to Plato and the Platonic forms. They comment on the sphere as follows:

HIS – NATVRA: Hactenus qualitates et quantitates mundi sensibilis describit. Nunc incorporeum describit mundum, i. intellegibiles omnium formas quas Plato ydeas uocat.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> See S. O'Sullivan, 'Martianus Capella and the Carolingians: Some Observations Based on the Glosses on Books I–II from the Oldest Gloss Tradition', *Listen, O Isles, unto Me: Studies in Medieval Word and Image in Honour of Jennifer O'Reilly*, ed. E. Mullins and D. Scully (Cork, 2011), 28–38.

<sup>28</sup> *Glossae Aevi Carolini*, ed. O'Sullivan, 200 (ad *De nuptiis*, I.68). 'Thus far he describes the qualities and quantities of the sensible world. Now he describes the incorporeal world, that is, the intelligible forms of all things which Plato calls *ideas*.'

As for the cup of Immortality, the glossators see in it an essentially Platonic model of the universe divided between visible and invisible reality. They interpret its outer parts as the 'imagines corporum' ('images of corporeal reality'), manifested in fantasies and dreams; its inner parts as the 'summa intellegentia rerum incorporalium' ('the highest understanding of incorporeal things').<sup>29</sup> Its significance is further underscored by an accompanying diagram in a number of manuscripts, where a drawing of an egg appears with an outer circumference and inner centre (Plate I).<sup>30</sup> One sees the same Platonic impulse in glosses on the supreme deity. Described by Martianus as dwelling in an 'empyrio ... intellectualique mundo' (empyrean realm of pure understanding), Carolingian glossators commented on this realm as an intellectual one in which no bodies or images of bodies are to be found ('ubi nulla sunt corpora neque imagines corporum sed intellectuales').<sup>31</sup>

The Pythagorean nature of the allegory further licensed Carolingian exploration of the heavenly and the divine. It is clear that the glossators regarded number as the unifying principle of the cosmos, the key to the universe and the means of probing its secrets. We have already seen this in the glosses on lady Arithmetic, who appears at the beginning of Book VII and whose numerical calculations the glossators link with the unifying principle of the monad, itself a manifestation of the Platonic forms. That arithmology was the quintessential explanatory practice — that is, the most economical, complete and perfect way of explaining both the rational order and the hidden secrets of the universe — is a theme of great importance in *De nuptiis* and one that was not lost on these glossators.<sup>32</sup> Thus, for example, they are quick to explain the numerical significance of the nuptial union in Book II, highlighting the meaning of Philology's calculations and linking the numbers three and four with the basic harmonic intervals — the duple ratio or octave (2:1), the hemiolic ratio or fifth (2:3) and the sesquitercian ratio or fourth (4:3). They match the number three to the threefold harmonies in

<sup>29</sup> 'ROTVNDITATIS: Per exteriores partes ipsius oui intelleguntur imagines corporum, quae in fantasiis siue in fantasmatis seu in somnis speculantur. Interiores autem ipsius oui partes summa intellegentia rerum incorporalium qua per totum separatur a rebus corporalibus intellegimus esse' (ad *De nuptiis*, II.140), *Glossae Aevi Carolini*, ed. O'Sullivan, 350–1. 'ROUNDNESS: By the exterior parts of this egg we understand the images of the bodies, which appear in fantasies, phantoms or dreams. We must understand the inner parts of the same egg, however, as the highest understanding of incorporeal matters, from which we are altogether separated by corporeal matters.'

<sup>30</sup> For example, in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1987, 17v; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 88, 25v; and Trier, Bibliothek des Priesterseminars, 100, 81v.

<sup>31</sup> *Glossae Aevi Carolini*, ed. O'Sullivan, 425, 84–5 (ad *De nuptiis* II.204).

<sup>32</sup> S. O'Sullivan, 'Obscurity, Pagan Lore, and Secrecy in Glosses on Books I–II from the Oldest Gloss Tradition, *Carolingian Scholarship*, ed. Teeuwen and O'Sullivan, 99–121.

music<sup>33</sup> and four to all the proportions with which these harmonies are produced.<sup>34</sup> Numerous annotations on cosmic harmony further underscore the significance of the nuptial union and the importance of number.<sup>35</sup>

The glosses on the sun provide further excursus into the Pythagorean realm, in which the sun represents the ultimate principle of unification and harmony. Once again, number lies at the heart of this celestial representation and is picked up by the glossators. Martianus associates the number 608 with the sun, connecting this number with three alphabetic letters (but does not specify them). Unsurprisingly, the Carolingian glossators supply them: the Greek letters *T*, *H* and *T*, which have a numerical value of 608 according to a conventional assignment of values to letters.<sup>36</sup>

#### A MORAL INTERPRETATION OF ALLEGORY

In all these examples the Platonic and/or Pythagorean import of the ninth-century annotations is clear and serves to emphasise the orientation of *De nuptiis* to the transcendent and sublime. For the glossators, however, the allegory is much more than a passive indicator; they use it actively as a means to uncover higher truth. Take, for

<sup>33</sup> TRES – SYMPHONIAS: i. diatessaron, diapente, diapason (ad *De nuptiis*, II.105), *Glossae Aevi Carolini*, ed. O'Sullivan, 267, 1–2.

<sup>34</sup> 'SVIS PARTIBVS: Plenitudo totius musicae tribus simphoniis continetur, quae sunt diatessaron, diapente, diapason, quarum rationem inter quaternarium contineri manifestum est. Nam sicut quaternarius ad ternarium, ita est diatessaron, i. maior numerus ad minorem et tertiam partem minoris in se colligit, sic extremi soni simphoniae diatessaron. Similiter ut sunt tria ad duo in ratione sesquialtera, sic diapente in extremis suis sonis. Habet enim maior minorem et dimidiam partem minoris intra se. Quemadmodum autem sunt duo ad unum in dupla proportione, sic extremi soni diapason simphoniae. Habet enim maior minorem bis. Hinc igitur inter quaternarium numerum et ternarium plenitudo artis musicae continetur. Nulla enim musicae ratio extra has tres simphonias protenditur. Quicquid enim extra has est, ex his compositum est' (ad *De nuptiis*, II.107), *Glossae Aevi Carolini*, ed. O'Sullivan, 272, 3–15. See also Teeuwen, *Harmony*, 258–9. 'The plenitude of all music is comprised in three intervals: the fourth, the fifth and the octave, and it is clear that their ratio is comprised within the number four. For 4 to 3 is a fourth, that is, the larger term combines in itself the smaller term plus a third part of the smaller, and so do the outer pitches of the interval fourth. Similarly, just as 3 is to 2 in the ratio sesquialter, so are the outer pitches of the interval fifth. The larger term consists of the smaller term plus half the smaller term. In what manner the numbers 2 to 1 are in the double proportion, so are the outer pitches of the interval octave. The larger term consists of twice the smaller one. And so it follows that the plenitude of all music is comprised in the numbers four and three. Because not a single musical ratio is stretched forth outside these three intervals. Because any (interval) besides these three, is composed from them.'

<sup>35</sup> For the importance of the music of the spheres in *De nuptiis*, as well as its association with concepts of numerical harmony, see Teeuwen, *Harmony*, 190–232; *eadem*, 'L'armonia delle sfere'.

<sup>36</sup> 'OCTO – TRINA: T ccc, H viii, T ccc' (ad *De nuptiis*, II.193), *Glossae Aevi Carolini*, ed. O'Sullivan, 414, 10.

example, the moral truths teased out in plentiful commentary from the mythical figures of Books I and II, e.g., on the personification of Virtue, who assists Mercury in finding a bride. The annotators explain that without Virtue, eloquence, symbolised by Mercury, is rendered ineffective.<sup>37</sup> We witness the same moralising tendencies in the glosses on the Greek goddess, Pallas Athena, whom Martianus depicts resplendent with a seven-rayed crown. It is the glossators who explain that her seven-rayed crown is an image of purity: the number seven, they comment, begets no number and is begotten by no number. In Pallas Athena's emergence full-grown from the mind of Jupiter they read an image of virginity. Hence to them the goddess, embodying physical purity, is a symbol of heavenly wisdom.<sup>38</sup>

The glossators' interest in ethical interpretation certainly has an obvious contemporary resonance. Prominent scholars like Hrabanus Maurus wrote about the importance of the four cardinal virtues as a force against vice.<sup>39</sup> And evidence of Carolingian scholarly interest in works of moral instruction abounds, for example, Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*, Ambrosius Autpertus's *De conflictu vitiorum atque virtutum*, and detailed commentaries on ethical texts, such as Prudentius's *Psychomachia*. Carolingian political thought reflects the same habit of mind, as is apparent in the ninth-century proliferation of highly didactic tracts that emphasise the correct *mores* by which a king should rule, for example, Smaragdus's *Via regia*, Jonas of Orleans's *De institutione regia*, Sedulius Scottus's *De rectoribus christianis* and Hincmar's *De regis persona et regio ministerio*.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> 'AC TVNC – PERMITTIT: Allegorice autem idcirco dicitur Virtus Cillenio adherere, quia sermo nisi uirtuti misceatur per se uagus et nullius est utilitatis' (ad *De nuptiis*, I.9), *Glossae Aevi Carolini*, ed. O'Sullivan, 49, 2–4. 'By means of allegory, then, it is said that Virtue is attached to Mercury, because speech is inconstant and is of no usefulness, unless it is intermingled with Virtue.'

<sup>38</sup> 'SEPTEM RADIORVM CORONAM: Nam septenarius numerus Palladi est adscriptus, quia nec gignitur numerorum mixtura, i. multiplicatione, nec gignit aliquem numerum intra primum ordinem numerorum. Primus ordo numerorum est denarius, secundus centenarius, tertius millenarius. Sicut ergo septenarius numerus nec gignit, nec gignitur, sic Pallas non est nata de copula nuptiarum, sed de solo uertice Iouis nata. Nec obit, nec prolem gignere potuit, unde et in significatione summae sapientiae ponitur' (ad *De nuptiis*, I.40), *Glossae Aevi Carolini*, ed. O'Sullivan, 162, 6–14. 'The number seven is ascribed to Pallas, because it is neither born from a mixture of numbers (that is a multiplication), nor does it bring forth another number within the first order of numbers. The first order of numbers is the decade, the second the hundred (or: numbers up to 100), the third the thousand (or: numbers up to 1000). So, just as the number seven does not give birth, nor is born, so is Pallas not born from a wedding bond, but born from the top of Jupiter's head alone. She does not die, she cannot bring forth offspring, and therefore she is also taken in the sense of the highest wisdom.'

<sup>39</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, *De ecclesiastica disciplina*, PL 112, col. 1240BC.

<sup>40</sup> For example, see Sedulius Scottus's *De rectoribus christianis*, which was composed for Lothar II between 855 and 859. E. G. Doyle, *Sedulius Scottus: on Christian Rulers and The Poems*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 17 (Binghamton, 1983), 18.



## HIDDEN TRUTHS

One especially interesting focus of the allegorical books, a focus which dovetails very neatly with the Platonic and Pythagorean undercurrents of the text, is the link between higher truth and hidden knowledge. The first two books provided Carolingian readers with a wealth of dense allegorical imagery, abstruse references and arcane allusions, interlaced with rare and unusual words. In essence, Martianus furnished his ninth-century readers with a treasure-trove of obscurity. And this obscurity enabled them to uncover hidden meaning.<sup>41</sup> Secrecy and concealment were integral to *De nuptiis* and often discussed by the glossators, especially in their glosses on the liberal arts, learning, knowledge and wisdom.<sup>42</sup> For both Martianus and his ninth-century glossators, higher truth and wisdom were firmly situated in a realm that was not only insensible, ethereal, asomatous, extramundane and divine, but also hidden, secret, concealed, esoteric and arcane.

The pagan context of *De nuptiis* provided further opportunity for glossators to demonstrate that Martianus's allegory could function as a vehicle for hidden or higher truth. Their understanding of this is made explicit in glosses on Book III (Grammatica) where references to clothing and adornment function as metaphors for figural interpretation and poetic truth.<sup>43</sup> For the glossators, the first two books, then, furnished clues to be followed, not just puzzles to be solved once and for all. To this end, they clothed Martianus's pagan imagery in additional layers of information, that is, with etymological and allegorical interpretation, Greek terms and words, and citations from and references to Classical and Christian authorities, sometimes rationalising Martianus's myths, at other times exploring their higher significance, as in the case of Perseus, who becomes a symbol of steadfastness and strength, or Minerva, an image of wisdom.<sup>44</sup>

To conclude, Carolingian interest in the allegory of Books I and II, with its Platonic and Pythagorean undercurrents, is clear from their glosses to Martianus's work. The tendency to go for underlying, 'hidden' meaning and higher signification, already an integral feature of medieval figural interpretation and biblical exegesis, found a perfect,

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<sup>41</sup> B. S. Eastwood, *Ordering the Heavens: Roman Astronomy and Cosmology in the Carolingian Renaissance*, History of Science and Medicine Library 4 (Leiden and Boston, 2007), 183, remarks that the first two books of *De nuptiis* furnished 'an atmosphere of secret knowledge'.

<sup>42</sup> For examples of which, see O'Sullivan, 'Obscurity, Pagan Lore, and Secrecy', 111–21.

<sup>43</sup> See especially H. Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany: the View from Cologne* (Oxford, 2007), 210 and 226–7; and also O'Sullivan, 'Obscurity, Pagan Lore, and Secrecy'.

<sup>44</sup> 'FONS GORGONEI – CABALLI: Perseus Grece, Latine uirtus. Cum auxilio Mineruae interfecit, quia uirtus auxiliatrix sapientia omnes terrores uincit' (ad *De nuptiis*, II.119), *Glossae Aevi Carolini*, ed. O'Sullivan, 301, 36–7. 'Perseus in Greek, "virtus" in Latin. With the help of Minerva he (Perseus) killed (Medusa), because with the help of wisdom virtue conquers all fears.'

fertile ground in the allegory of *De nuptiis*, which orientated Carolingian readers towards the incorporeal and divine.

#### CONTRADICTIONS AS PART OF THE ATTRACTION

Apart from the extravagant style and strange combination of colourful myth and dry learning, humanists and modern scholars scorned Martianus for the sloppiness of his teaching on the liberal arts. He seems to have combined several manuals without properly smoothing out their differences, or, as his harshest critics say, without in fact fully understanding them himself. This, however, seems not to have put off our Carolingian scholars. Not that they were too ignorant to notice the errors or incongruities — on the contrary, they seem to have cherished the opportunity to point them out, time and again. They gratefully took them up as stepping stones to refer to other authorities on the same subject. When reading Martianus's account of the quadrivial arts, they weaved strands from Boethius's treatises, Augustine's *De civitate Dei* or his *De musica*, Macrobius and Chalcidius into their fabric. When explaining the allegory of ancient mythology, they refer to Virgil, Servius, Prudentius, Fulgentius, etcetera. The method of comparing authorities on a single question results in phrases such as 'secundum quosdam ... secundum alios vero'.<sup>45</sup> In several annotations Martianus is deliberately pictured as the deviant opinion on some matters, for example:

Tamen huius operis manifestissime secundum aliorum auctoritatem ratione usus est.<sup>46</sup>

Sed notandum quod auctor huius artis in hoc loco contra aliorum auctoritate utitur.<sup>47</sup>

Notandum quod Martianus quamvis cum aliis in multis habuerit concordiam auctoribus, in multis tamen aliorum auctoritatem confundere suoque proprio usus fuisse. Nam secundum alios a multiplici forma incohat, quae est aequalitatis prima species, sed superparticularem et superpartientem quasi in unam formam confundit quae secundum auctoritatem Boetii ab invicem separantur, et quod gravius est bis eandem rationem ponit, quod nullus alius fecisse invenitur. ...<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> E.g., Oldest commentary tradition, VLF 48, 67r, gl. 82 (ad *De nuptiis* VII.733).

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 69r, gl. 42 (ad *De nuptiis* VII.752). 'But very clearly in this work he follows a reasoning against the authority of others.'

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* 69v, gl. 69 (ad *De nuptiis* VII.757). 'It must be noted that the author of this art in this place disagrees with the authority of others.'

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 70r, gl. 18 (ad *De nuptiis* VII.759). 'It must be noted that Martianus, although he has many things in common with other authorities, is also known to have confused the authority of others with his own in many cases. For according to some, he begins from a complicated form, which is the first species of *aequalitas*. But he blends together "superparticular" and "superpartients" as if they were one form, which according to the authority of Boethius should be separated. And, which is worse, he posits twice the same ratio. Nobody else is found to have done this. ...'

This tone of discussion characterises the entire commentary tradition and underlines an important point: the commentary tradition is not a work which serves an educational purpose. It is not primarily designed to turn *De nuptiis* into an appropriate schoolbook. It is a work of scholarship, a reflection of scholarly debate. It has a dialectic tone, gathering authorities on specific subjects in the margins, not only for the purpose of helping the interpretation of the particular text at hand, Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*, but also to serve as a gateway to other opinions and hypotheses. Manuscripts of *De nuptiis*, then, served as works of reference for the understanding and expounding of other texts.

## CONCLUSION

The Pythagorean tone of the numerous annotations helps answer the question why our Carolingian scholars studied Martianus Capella. They sought to find a reflection of metaphysical truths, hidden in the lies of a pagan fable-teller. They knew they were looking through a distorting mirror, like the shield of Perseus distorting the image of Medusa. But they also knew that the truth was just as unperceivable to us as Medusa was dangerous to look at for Perseus. They highly valued the distorted image, it being the only kind they had. Their many annotations bear testimony to their quest for valuable pieces of knowledge, which they could tie to other sources of information. Moreover, they seem to have been especially attracted by the fact that Martianus clothed his truths in enigmatic allusions, mysterious passages, cryptic references and oracular tone. Ancient learning as embodied by the arts was not only ancient and venerable, it was also arcane and hidden. It had been guarded, stored and disguised. It had been lost to mankind, and could only be retrieved from the memory through deep study. We see this in the glosses on the secret sanctuaries of the Egyptians where wisdom is preserved,<sup>49</sup> in annotations on the three Fates who safeguard knowledge in sacred boxes or secret chests,<sup>50</sup> and in annotations on the central role of the memory in man's search for wisdom.<sup>51</sup> The paradox of a striving for divine enlightenment which can by definition never be reached in earthly existence is prominent and striking.

<sup>49</sup> E.g., 'PER AEGYPTIORVM ADYTA: Quia omnis sapientia cum perdita esset ab Aegyptiis recuperata est.' (ad *De nuptiis* II.137), *Glossae Aevi Carolini*, ed. O'Sullivan, 343, 20–1. 'Because all wisdom, when it was lost, was recovered by the Egyptians.'

<sup>50</sup> (ad *De nuptiis* I.65), *Glossae Aevi Carolini*, ed. O'Sullivan, 187, 27–30.

<sup>51</sup> A. Luhtala, 'On Early Medieval Divisions of Knowledge', *Carolingian Scholarship*, ed. Teeuwen and O'Sullivan, 75–98. See, e.g., part of the long gloss on *De nuptiis* IV (Dialectica), 347, VLF 48, 32r, gl. 57: 'Omnis igitur naturalis ars in humana natura posita et concreata est. Inde conficitur ut omnes homines habeant naturaliter naturales artes. Sed quia pena peccati primi hominis in animabus hominum obscuratur et in quamdam profundam ignorantiam devolvuntur. Nichil aliud agimus discendo nisi easdem artes

Whether our Carolingian scholars, in the end, thought of Martianus's strange handbook as healthy and filling, or as food which corrupted and upset the stomach, we cannot tell. They may very well have thought both. When Remigius of Auxerre put together his long commentary on Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*, we can observe a changed tone. Instead of exploring and collecting, we see him expounding and organising the learning attached to the work, like a true schoolmaster treating the text in his classes. If he sought to anchor Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis* deeper into the school curriculum, however, he seems ultimately to have failed. The text was not suitable for treatment in a school, so it seems, and quickly disappeared from view. In the twelfth century, the 'neoplatonists' from the school of Chartres re-discovered *De nuptiis*, but their attention focused almost exclusively on the allegory of Books I and II.<sup>52</sup>

Nevertheless, the reading of *De nuptiis* left lasting traces in the writings of the Carolingian intellectual elite. We find Martianus's influence in their vocabulary, their rich knowledge of the mythological tradition, and their familiarity with multiple and dissenting ideas on themes such as the nature of unity, the origin of creation, the order of the planets and the music of the spheres. We can find the extent of their interest in the work illustrated in a detailed drawing from the thirteenth century: an illustration of cosmic harmony in a manuscript now kept in Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, 672 (Plate II). The contents of this manuscript are not Martianus Capella or Boethius, but a *Liber pontificalis*, a book collecting biographies of popes, councils and decretals. Oddly enough on 1v a drawing comprising the entire page depicts 'harmony' using a completely pagan set of images: as a central figure, Aer holds on to the directions of the four winds. The three authorities on music from the ancient tradition, prominent in Martianus's Book IX, are presented in the inner circle: Pythagoras, Arion and Orpheus; in the outer circle, the nine muses are drawn. The image provides vivid demonstration of the illustrator's intimate knowledge of Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*, and reflects traces of the text's long, lasting impact on the intellectual history of the Middle Ages.

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quae in profunde memoriae repositae sunt in praesentiam intellegentie revocamus. Et cum aliis occupamus curis, nihil aliud agimus artes negligendo nisi ipsas artes iterum dimittere, ut redeant ad id a quo revocatae sunt.' 'Every natural art is part of human nature, co-created with it. From this follows that all humans by nature possess the natural arts. But as a punishment for the first man's sin it was obscured in the minds of men and they were immersed in a certain deep ignorance. By learning we do nothing but recall those same arts that are stored deep in our memory and bring them back to the presence of our mind. And when other concerns occupy us, we do nothing else, by neglect, but sending those arts away again, so that they return to that place from which we had recalled them.'

<sup>52</sup> On Martianus in the twelfth century, see H. J. Westra, *The Commentary on Martianus Capella's De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii attributed to Bernardus Silvestris* (Toronto and Leiden, 1986); H. J. Westra, with assistance of C. Vester, *The Berlin Commentary on Martianus Capella's De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, Book I*, MST 20 (Leiden, 1994); H. J. Westra and T. Kupke, *The Berlin Commentary on Martianus Capella's De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, Book II*, MST 23 (Leiden, 1998).

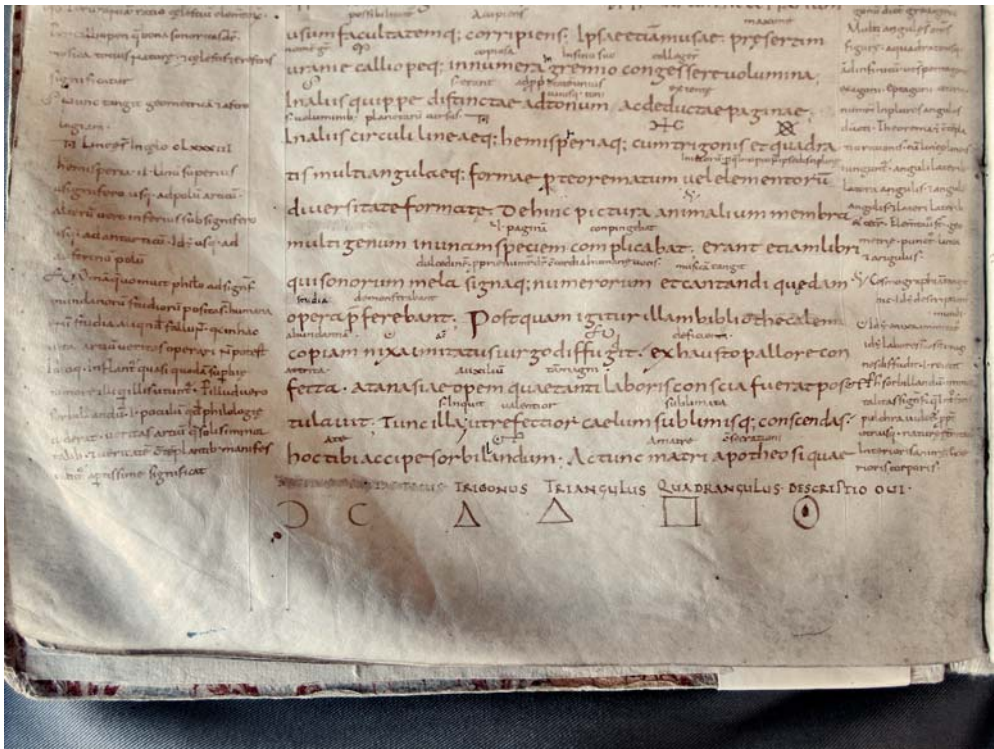


Plate I: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 88, 25v, detail (published by permission).

