CHURCH and COSMOS in EARLY OTTONIAN GERMANY

The View from Cologne

HENRY MAYR-HARTING

MVSICA · ARITHMETICA · GEOMETRIA · ASTROLOGIA

OXFORD

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To Caroline

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Preface

This book was originally conceived as the result of a mistake! In their catalogue of the Cologne Cathedral manuscripts, Jaffé and Wattenbach printed the glosses to Ms. 75, a copy of Augustine's *City of God*, Books I–XI, as an appendix. I came across these in the mid- to late 1970s while making a trawl of manuscript catalogues for my work on Ottonian art, and was struck by how similar some of them were to statements made by Ruotger, the brilliant but shadowy biographer of Bruno of Cologne. Not knowing then that the manuscript with its glosses originated in the monastery of St Amand, and was in any case ninth-century rather than tenth, I thought I was hearing the voice of Ruotger. But by the time I knew my mistake, it had already raised what seems to me a valid question in my mind. Could one extend one's perception of the thought-world of Ruotger and Bruno himself by studying the glosses of their tenth-century period in Cologne manuscripts? Or vice versa. Could one extend one's understanding of the glosses and annotation in the margins, showing how some of the great works of the Latin West were read, and with what interests, in tenth-century Cologne, by studying them with an eye on Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*?

Was there what one could call a Cologne thought-world, or a Cologne intellectual approach, which crossed these glosses and marginalia and Ruotger's work? Thus was born an idea at first for an article which gradually during the 1990s developed into a project for a book.

I had to shelve any further work on this project until I had finished my book on Ottonian art. The initial impetus to take it up actively was a contribution to the Festschrift of my friend and Liverpool colleague, the late Margaret Gibson. My paper was written in late 1991 and was published in June 1992. It had to be done in a hurry because of the state of Margaret's health at the time. It was done in too much of a hurry, and although its substance remains as Chapter 3 of the present book, it has needed much alteration and some additions. When I thought the book was nearly finished in 1997 it was held up by my suddenly becoming Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford and, with it, a lay canon of Christ Church Cathedral. As such I had to give many talks and lectures in various places, often on specified themes and for subsequent publication; and I had to give many sermons, a difficult genre in which I

was previously quite unpractised. However, the delay was probably not all disadvantageous, because for better or worse I have read and thought much more than if I had published six or seven years ago.

Although nothing of the present book has been published before, besides what is contained in the Margaret Gibson Festschrift, I have given versions of the Prudentius, Arithmetic, and Martianus Capella chapters or parts of them as seminar papers or lectures at the universities of Cambridge, Glasgow, Heidelberg, London, Münster, Oxford, and the University of the South (Sewanee, Tennessee); and I have been fortunate in the stimulating discussions at all these places.

This work has involved a great deal of help and support from many libraries, grants bodies, and individuals.

From all the libraries listed in the Index of Manuscripts I have received nothing but kindness and experienced always the utmost efficiency. I want to mention in particular Juan Cervello-Margalef, and more recently Heinz Finger and Harald Horst, and the wonderful staff of the Dombibliothek at Cologne. To work there often for a week or two at a time was to be received into a delightful community. Also I had much good advice from Bernhard Schemmel and Werner Taegert at Bamberg, J. D. Gramer and S. Vermetten at Leiden, and Mme Lakhdar-Kreuwen, who even came to the railway station to meet me at Verdun. My stay of a month at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (and I am grateful to Ian McLean for initiating this for me and to Jill Bepler for organizing it), was enlivened by Frau Braun and Frau Giermann in the manuscript reading room there. I owe a very great deal to the kindness of the staff in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

I have benefited from the generosity of several bodies, who have given me research grants to visit libraries abroad: several from the British Academy, two from Christ Church, Oxford, and one each from the Modern History and Theology Faculties in Oxford.

Many people have helped and encouraged me in all kinds of ways, and I only regret that what has come out of so much help at the end may seem a rather small mouse. I apologize to anyone whom I have inadvertently overlooked and name the following: Stuart Airlie, Diane Anderson, Rutherford Aris, Walter Berschin, Wulf Berschin, Theo Cristchev, Richard Gameson, David Ganz, †Margaret Gibson, Hartmut Hoffmann, David Howlett, Hagen Keller, Michael Lapidge, Conrad Leyser, Henrietta Leyser, Michelle Lucey, Jill Mann, Caroline Mayr-Harting, Sinéad O'Sullivan, Stella Panayotova, Malcolm Parkes, Alison Peden (née White), Petra Prinz-Wiechers, Jeremias Schröder,

Lesley Smith, Herwig Wolfram, †Patrick Wormald, and Jonathan Wright. Although I have relied not only on the knowledge but also the judgement of many of these, any errors of fact or judgement are mine alone. In addition to the above, the reader will see that I have depended on the published work of a large number of marvellous scholars. Moreover, as my work progressed I became increasingly aware of the publications of a group of American Ottonianists, some of them risen, some still rising, who are making a significant contribution to this field. They include John Bernhardt, Adam Cohen, Patrick Geary, Stephen Jaeger, and David Warner. Recently, three readers/assessors of my book for the Oxford University Press have made very many criticisms, often quite radical, and many corrections, which I have approached in no minimalist spirit. They have vastly improved my book, but are not responsible for any faults which remain. I have a shrewd idea of the identity of all, but in thanking them warmly, it seems better to preserve their anonymity. *Sciunt ipsi qui sunt.* Most recently, a final reader, at whose identity I can also guess, has been most constructive and generously reassuring. I have received much help and kindness in the OUP from Anne Gelling, and more recently from Rupert Cousens, Tim Saunders and Kate Hind.

Of all those whom I have mentioned above, I must specially mention the following. Wulf Berschin took many palaeographical photographs for me at Cologne, not in easy circumstances, though the library staff were as helpful as they could be, and these photographs have been invaluable for my work. David Ganz, besides helping me in innumerable matters, spent two whole days with me in the Cologne Library, where we looked at many manuscripts together; no two days in my whole life have advanced my education more, quite apart from his having been excellent company. Conrad Leyser, always staunch in his support, on one occasion actually rang me from Sheffield, when I was in Cologne, to answer some queries. My wife, Caroline, has given me much support and good judgement, and into the bargain she heroically got the bibliography with all my scrawls onto the computer.

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Contents

Plates

All plates are from manuscripts in the Dombibliothek, Cologne. Reproduced with kind permission of the Library.

1A. Ms. 81, opening page of Prudentius, *Psychomachia*, early 11th century, fo. 65v

1B. Ms. 94, *Letters* of Pope Gregory the Great, initial letter S, early to mid-10th century, fo. 4v

2. Ms. 94, marginalia, early to mid-10th Century, fo. 149v

3. Ms. 94, marginal note, early to mid-10th Century, fo. 150r

4. Ms. 186, Boethius, *De Arithmetica*, solution to an arithmetical problem, added after the main text, late 10th century, fo. 70r

5. Ms. 186, part of the text of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, late 10th century or *c*.1000, fo. 72r

6. Ms. 193, Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, glosses at the end of Book II referring to lines at the beginning of Book III on the opposite side of the opening, 10th century, fo. 31v

7. Ms. 193, fo. 32r. The *signes de renvoi* before the glosses on fo. 31v may be seen above the words *Nihil*, *Infracta*, and *Lepori* in lines 6, 8, and 9 on the left

8. Ms. 194, part of the text of Remigius of Auxerre's *Commentary on Martianus*, Book III, *c*.1000, fo. 58r

Introduction

The present book is about the intellectual culture of rule under the Ottonians in the tenth century, as represented at Cologne. At Cologne, Bruno of Cologne combined being archbishop with being duke of Lotharingia from 953 to his death, aged 40, in 965. Bruno was one of the most intelligent, educated, and dramatic figures in Europe during the third quarter of the tenth century. Incidentally, he was probably also one of the tallest.[1] He was also the younger brother of the emperor Otto I, which gives both his political activity and his intellectual culture, insofar as we can discern it at Cologne, a special importance. A distinguished biography of him was written at Cologne in the late 960s, soon after he died, by a learned monk and master, one Ruotger. In the twelfth century an anonymous writer wrote the so-called *Vita Altera*, *The Other Life of Bruno*.[2] Although this work has the occasional original detail, it is largely based on Ruotger's *Life*, and since I am not writing a biography of Bruno, but rather am attempting to construct a world of ideas at Cologne in the third quarter of the tenth century, the twelfth-century *Vita Altera* has little relevance for me.

Bruno was much involved with his brother Otto I in rule. He had less than a shared kingship but was more than an ordinary duke. Hence Cologne, though not in the highest flight of tenth-century European learned centres, is an interesting place for my purposes. It has the combination of a central political and ecclesiastical figure; an arresting biography of him, propagandist but alert and brilliantly presented; and, as a third element, some surviving manuscripts which make a rewarding study, especially in conjunction with Ruotger's biography. What I have tried to do, therefore, is to place in an intellectual context an important segment of tenth-century politics.

Each of Chapters 3, 4, 6, and 7 is concerned with one or more manuscripts which were demonstrably or almost certainly at Cologne in the second half of the tenth century, most of all the *Letters* of Pope

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[1] *Vita Brunonis Altera*. [Full references to all titles cited in the notes are given in the Bibliography.]

[2] For the openings of Bruno's tomb in 1747 and 1892 (to which must be added that of 1958), Oediger, 150. The *Vita Altera* comments on his tallness, c. 6, p. 272.

Gregory the Great, Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, Boethius' *De Arithmetica*, and Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*. Each of these manuscripts, or in the case of the early eleventh-century Prudentius a tenth-century forerunner, had come to Cologne from elsewhere. Each, when it arrived, had glosses or marginal annotations added to it at Cologne in the second half of the tenth century; or in the case of the Boethius it was probably acquired for the interest of the glosses already in it. I have devoted much attention to the marginal annotations as a way of trying to advance knowledge of *how* the works in these manuscripts, well-known works in that period, were read and understood, and what concerns governed the reading of them in the tenth century. Each manuscript shows up what sort of interest was taken at Cologne in these texts. Each, therefore, enables us to see something of the Cologne intellectual culture of the period.

It should be stated at the outset that since 2001–3 almost every page of almost every Cologne manuscript can be found on the splendid website of Cologne manuscripts at http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de, a wonderful instrument for the study of these manuscripts. My own work on them was virtually complete, as will be clear from my Preface, well before this development occurred. But, however glad I am that this website gives an opportunity to my readers to follow me into the manuscripts themselves and to check what I have written, I am not altogether sorry about this on my own account. Wonderful an instrument as the website is, it is not always an adequate instrument for the study of marginal glosses and annotations. Such glosses and annotations are sometimes so small that the most satisfactory response is to take a magnifying glass to the actual parchment page, where it is also easier to detect different hands or different colours of ink. There are other dangers in relying on the website images alone. For instance, in the manuscript of Martianus Capella (Cologne Ms. 193, fo. 31v) there is an important gloss which begins with the words, 'Si veritas sola'. The middle of the word *veritas* (truth) is interrupted by quite a large natural hole in the parchment. But one cannot see that there is a hole from the website. On the left of the hole are the letters *veri* (to make things more difficult, the *i* is placed rather indistinctly above the *r*), and to the right are the letters *tas*. This is tenth-century writing where word separation is not always strictly observed, so the letters *tas* are close to the next word *sola*, seeming to the unwary to make the plausible but in fact unknown Latin word *tassola*! (see Pl. 6, and for the gloss below, pp. 210, 226–7). The main point is

that it is much harder to discern the word *veritas* from the web than from the actual parchment page.

Always I have treated the Cologne annotations or the concerns behind them in parallel with Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*; I have held each up to the light, so to speak, against the other, to help understand the meaning of both in the ideas of Cologne scholars. I suppose that some of these parallels will seem to the reader more convincing than others, but *in toto* I hope that they help to establish some of the shared interests and thoughts of scholars at Cologne. Moreover, my study is comparative not only as between Ruotger and Cologne manuscripts, but also as between Cologne and manuscripts of the same works from other centres in many other libraries, in a bid to determine where Cologne stood in its understandings, where it was distinctive and where it was not. Who, or what, is meant by 'Cologne', as in the sentence above, I discuss further in Chapter 2, on methods. Here I would only warn against taking 'Cologne' to mean anything intellectually or organizationally monolithic. Of scholars at Cologne in Bruno's time we can name only Bruno and Ruotger themselves and a few of the scholars who were Bruno's pupils. We cannot put a name to any of the glosses or marginal annotations which I am going to study. What these glosses show, therefore, are the shared interests and approaches of a group, perhaps a small group, of largely anonymous scholars. But the interests and approaches are distinctive and they also characterize, as we shall often see, Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*.

Chapter 5 is about the liberal arts at Cologne in Bruno's time. The reason for its being placed where it is, is that Boethius and Martianus (Chapters 6 and 7) are purely liberal arts texts, the former about arithmetic, the latter about all seven liberal arts (the trivium of grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric; the quadrivium of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music), whereas the *Letters* of Gregory and the Prudentius (Chapters 3 and 4) are not so. It is because insofar as there was a school at Cologne in the mid-tenth century it was a liberal arts school, that I have left the discussion of this subject until Chapter 5.

It may seem that the sample of works and their annotations studied in this book is a small one. Or rather, since it is not based on a sample, because I have drawn in every manuscript that I knew of which seemed relevant, a critic might say more simply that I had not got much to go on! There may be some force in this criticism, particularly considering the losses of manuscripts which I discuss in Chapter 2. My response is along three lines. First, although we have lost much, and in addition I may

have had oversights amongst what survives, there is enough to be able to characterize a thought-world, especially when taken in conjunction with Ruotger. In other words, what I have appears characteristic if not comprehensive. For that reason, secondly, if we had, or had discovered, more I doubt that my picture would be radically contradicted, though it might be considerably expanded. Thirdly, the works whose annotations I discuss—and they include several other works besides those instanced above—were all very widely read in educated tenth-century circles. They represent a goodly sector of the common culture of these circles. One by-product of my book, I hope, is a small advance in the knowledge of Platonism as an important element in tenth-century intellectual culture, in the century which was once disparagingly called the *siécle de fer*, the century of iron, partly to indicate its low intellectual level.

The lengthy first chapter is not about manuscripts and annotations, but, for the most part, about the real politics, the politics on the ground, in which Bruno of Cologne was involved, as well as being about the principal source for Bruno, Ruotger's *Life*, and about the culture of which Ruotger's *Life* was a part. To a historian, it would seem almost an absurdity to study an intellectual culture of rule, without first giving an account in concrete terms of what that rule was. It would be like the grin of the Cheshire Cat remaining when the Cheshire Cat itself had disappeared. Moreover, in this chapter I have been unavoidably drawn into adumbrations of what is to come later.[3]

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[3] It may be of interest to add a word about the subsequent veneration of Bruno at Cologne itself. There is little or no evidence of any medieval cult outside St Pantaleon, Cologne, the monastic church which Bruno refounded and where he was buried. At St Pantaleon there are faint signs of a twelfth-century miracle cult, but it seemingly came to nothing. Such a cult was indeed precluded by Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*, which deliberately presented its subject as a moral example rather than as a wonder-worker. On 11 January 1871, however, after Bruno's beatification in 1870, the *Kirchlicher Anzeiger* for the archdiocese of Cologne announced that by a regulation of Archbishop Paul Melchers, Bruno's feast (11 October) would be celebrated as a 'double minor' in the Cologne calendar. In 1892 his tomb was opened for the first time since 1747, and in 1895 he was canonized as a saint. Amongst the possible reasons for the moves particularly of 1870–1, the likeliest has been put to me by Jonathan Wright, distinguished biographer of Gustav Stresemann. It is that this being exactly the time when the mainly Catholic Rhineland was moving into the Protestant, Prussian-dominated, German Federation and into the Second Reich (1871), the church of Cologne sought to reinforce its identity by the new veneration of a great medieval German and Catholic archbishop of Cologne.

Abbreviations

CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout)
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (Turnhout)
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna)
DO I	*Diplomata Ottonis* I
EHR	*English Historical Review*
Fm St	*Frühmittelalterliche Studien*
MGH SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*
PL	J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1857–66)
SC	*Sources Chrétiennes* (Éditions du Cerf, Paris)

Chronological Table

| 967–9 | Ruotger composes the *Life of Bruno*. |
| 973 | Death of Otto I. |

Archbishops of Cologne after Folcmar

Gero	969–76
Warin	976–84
Everger	984–99
Heribert	999–1021

Map of North-West Europe in the Time of Bruno of Cologne, 925–965

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Bruno of Cologne and Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*

1.1. OTTONIAN POLITICS I: GENERAL

The Ottonians were rulers of the East Frankish kingdom in the tenth century. The empire of the Frankish Charlemagne had been divided into three parts during the ninth century, to provide kingdoms for three grandsons: a West Frankish kingdom, the embryo of France; an East Frankish kingdom (east of the Rhine), the embryo of Germany; and a Middle Kingdom, consisting roughly of Lotharingia in the North, Burgundy, Provence, and the old Lombard Italian kingdom. This Middle Kingdom was much fought over in the tenth century, as later; and that explains why Lotharingia is so important to this first chapter of the present book. The story of the East Frankish kingdom in the tenth century is about how a Saxon dynasty, the Liudolfings, came to dominate it as rulers, beginning with Henry I (919–36), and continuing son by son with Otto I (936–73), Otto II (973–83), and the young Otto III (983–1002). Hence the name 'Ottonian' to describe these rulers. The last of this Saxon dynasty, who left no heir, was Henry II (1002–24). Otto I had two younger brothers, Henry, duke of Bavaria (947–55), and Bruno, archbishop of Cologne and duke of Lotharingia (953–65).

Under the Carolingians royal brothers could generally each receive somewhere to be king of. They could have a shared kingship. Under the Ottonians they could not. That was partly due to the lack of similar extent of territory, and partly to the strength and deep roots of the families who held the duchies in the East Frankish kingdom, such as the Liudpoldings of Bavaria. Such families could not at will be subordinated to an outsider claiming a kingship of their region. Hence the Liudolfings became feud-ridden as between father and son, brothers, and cousins, fighting for the one kingship which each believed (or made

himself believe) was his by right of inheritance.[1] There was a dangerous rebellion against Otto I led by his brother Henry and Eberhard, duke of Franconia, in 939; and an even more dangerous one led against Otto by his son, Liudolf, in 953. Disputes and feuds over inheritances were the very stuff of Ottonian politics. The grievances of lesser men fuelled the rebellions of members of the ruling dynasty, for only by channeling their grievances through such royal claimants to the throne could other aristocrats hope for redress. With the exception of one probable blemish on his record in 954, Bruno's own loyalty to his elder brother was unimpeachable. But his efforts to achieve reconciliation in Liudolf's rebellion figures large in Ruotger's *Life*.

There were five duchies in the East Frankish kingdom: Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia, and Lotharingia (the last acquired by Henry I in the 920s). The first four all had the identities of ancient peoples but with the *ducatus* or military leaderships superimposed on them in Carolingian times. They were important for the raising of Ottonian armies. Bavaria and Lotharingia, from having been under-kingdoms, were downgraded to the level of duchies in the early tenth century, just as Swabia/Alemannia was upgraded to that level. If the duchies constituted a military strength for Otto I in times of crisis, such as the Hungarian incursions which ended with their defeat at the battle of the Lechfeld in 955, they also posed a problem for his rule. For by his time dynasties of the regions had established something of a hereditary claim to dukedoms which could not be ignored by the king. Otto's approach was to insert members of his own family into dukedoms, such as his brother Henry into Bavaria in 947, and his son Liudolf into Swabia in 949. Each married a daughter of his predecessor; thus at one level he ruled by hereditary right. This has caused Timothy Reuter to say that Otto's handling of the duchies 'was more of a family settlement than an institutional expression of Ottonian rule'. Even so, regional aristocracies still had great power which could not simply be broken by bringing in 'outsiders' as dukes. The Liudolfings had to put in much hard work in terms of face-to-face politics, association with the cults of bishoprics and abbeys, and grants of land or privileges to aristocrats. The forfeited lands of failed rebels helped with the latter.

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[1] Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 9–22, and esp. 15–17. I have discussed this book and its main themes in Mayr-Harting, 'Leyser', esp. 612–18, and *Ottonian Book Illumination*, i. 12–13. See also Leyser, 'Ottonian Government'.

Lotharingia was unlike the other four duchies in not having the identity of an ancient people. It was an artificial political creation of the ninth century, although there have been those to argue that it had a certain geographical coherence. Moreover, whereas the other duchies were ineluctably part of the East Frankish kingdom, however much their dukes might rebel, Lotharingia had an aristocracy largely settled from, or validated in their lands by, the West Frankish kingdom. After the rebellion and death of a Reginar duke (I deal with the Reginars below, pp. 24–6), Giselbert, in 939, and of Eberhard, duke of Franconia, the duchy of Franconia was suppressed as such and was ruled directly by Otto I, and the Franconian count, Conrad the Red, became duke of Lotharingia (944) and married Otto I's daughter, Liutgard (947). The Conradiner, however, kept much of their land in Franconia and were still a power to be reckoned with there.[2] Bruno of Cologne became duke of Lotharingia, alongside being archbishop of Cologne, when Conrad the Red rebelled together with Otto's son Liudolf in 953. There was no alternative for him—and that not only because he was a churchman who could not marry—but to crush Conrad and the Reginars in Lotharingia.

Ottonian politics is not easy for us moderns to grasp. Quite apart from its being so much about inheritances and feuds within or between kinships, it largely lacked anything which we can recognize as an administration or a bureaucracy, such as historians have tended to think of as the spine of any body politic which they study. Ottonian rule was not, in Max Weber's terminology, bureaucratic but patrimonial. It was not based on a constitution or on representation of the central power by officials in the localities. There was no capital, such as Constantinople was in the East, where administration was centred and the major political events occurred. Its politics were in large degree face-to-face politics, and they were based on the royal itinerary. The royal court was constantly on the move, accompanied by a large entourage of chaplains and drawing in the aristocracy and churchmen of the regions through which it passed. The itinerary was partly economic in point—to exploit effectively the rulers' estates in the regions; but it was partly political. In face-to-face politics the king's periodic presence was vital. There was yet another

[2] For this and the previous two paragraphs, I am most indebted to Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 17, 28–9 (esp. on the grievances of lesser aristocrats); Gillingham, *The Kingdom of Germany*, 17–19; Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, esp. 154; Arnold, *Medieval Germany*, 48–51; and Ehlers, *Entstehung des Deutschen Reiches*, esp. 29.

point to the itinerary. It was sacral. The king was constantly drawn into inheritance disputes as judge, but many aristocrats cared more for what they conceived to be their rights than for royal judgements which went against them, and often the king himself could not be perceived as remaining above the fray because he was himself a kinsman of aristocratic disputants or feuders. No wonder he felt the need to bolster himself with sacral mystique![3]

Sacral kingship, however, was no easy or short-term answer to political turmoil and rebellion. To achieve it was a slow process, requiring hard work and perseverance. Constant attendance at church festivals, public crown-wearings, collection of saints' relics for the royal chapel (which travelled on the itinerary), representations of the ruler in art and in forms of buildings, gift-giving, especially to churches, memorials in royal burials and tombs in churches, hagiographies of saintly members of the dynasty, were all part of the build-up. So, very much, was the itinerary. Itinerant kingship was a highly ritualized business. The itinerary could itself be conceived as a sacral procession, moving from one solemn entry into a city or church to the next; from one church festival to the next; from one solemn crown-wearing to the next.[4] I once heard Karl Leyser say, in a paper read to a student society which was never published and could not be found after his death, that if one had the itinerary, the chapel, and the crown-wearings, one had the three main elements of Ottonian rule.

Perhaps the heights of sacrality were reached for the Ottonian kings with their being crowned Roman emperors (Holy Roman emperors as they would have been called from the twelfth century on) by the popes in Rome. Historians often argued in the past that the emperorship had a practical political usefulness for the Ottos in helping them to establish their rule in Italy, or their rule over German churches, or their conquests and missionary aims amongst the Slavs to the east of the River Elbe. This may sometimes have been an element in their thinking, but today few historians would rate such practical purposes above those of mystical aura and sacrality. Otto I's imperial coronation, however, occurred in 962, less than four years before Bruno's death, so that although Bruno

may have played some part in laying the ideological foundations of the Roman emperorship,[5] this was not a front-line issue in his life as a whole. Royal sacrality was, as we shall see below, for he was himself part of the sacral build-up.

How much effect the development of sacral kingship had in curbing aristocratic rebellion we cannot say. Probably very little, except for the important point made by Karl Leyser that failed rebels found it easier to submit to a sacral ruler than to a non-sacral one. Saving of face is always a vital consideration in politics, but never more so than in face-to-face politics.[6] Much of the ritual of public submission and reconciliation under the Ottonians was posited on this fact. One must always remember that the rituals of sacrality could never be conceived as a depression of the aristocracy, for kings depended on the good-will of the majority of aristocrats, so that these rituals were much more an attempt to represent consensus in the elite culture of kings, aristocrats, and churchmen.[7]

By a paradox, sacrality was of the utmost practical importance to the Ottonians in itself. It boosted their self-confidence as rulers, and held up an image of themselves to which they could aspire; it gave their rule a semblance of being coterminous with Christendom (leaving aside the problematical Byzantine), especially but not only after the imperial coronation of 962; and it canonized the power they had achieved, at least in their own eyes.

1.2. OTTONIAN POLITICS II: THE CHURCH

Ruotger's *Life of Bruno* is by far the most important piece of writing known to have come out of tenth-century Cologne. No single text gives clearer expression to the ideal of what historians have called the Ottonian Imperial Church System. In highly charged and confrontational language, well removed from *sermo humilis*, the *Life* of this younger brother of Otto I described his education, his efforts to secure peace in the East Frankish kingdom and especially in Lotharingia by combining the offices of archbishop and duke, his reform of monasteries and his

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[5] See below, pp. 45–6.   [6] Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 95.
[7] Althoff, *Macht der Rituale*, 71–6, and his 'Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung'; Keller, 'Ritual, Symbolik und Visualisierung', esp. 53; Warner, 'Thietmar of Merseburg on Rituals of Kingship', 56–7.

building-works such as at St Pantaleon of Cologne, his pastoral conduct and desire to establish good pastors in other Lotharingian sees, his death—at length, in accordance with time-honoured hagiographical traditions—and his testament, one of the ways in which the influence of Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* shows through, another being the work's taut composition and brevity.

The fact that Ruotger devotes so much energy to countering the views of those who considered that worldly rule and ecclesiastical office should not have been combined in the way Bruno combined them, that above all he as a churchman should not have turned himself into a military commander in order to secure peace in Lotharingia (which Ruotger justifies by the actual peace he achieved), shows that by no means all contemporaries shared the ideal which he was putting forward.

If the Ottonian Church System means anything, it refers to rule on behalf of the king by bishops and abbots in the regions and localities. This supposed 'Church System' is a historians' construct. Churchmen were the rulers' means to counteract the supposed hostility of the lay aristocracy. Kings kept a tight hold over appointments to bishoprics and royal abbacies. Under Otto I many bishops were chosen who had been the pupils of Bruno himself; after his death they had mostly come up as chaplains through the royal chapel.[8] Large amounts of royal wealth and wide governmental powers were transferred to bishops and abbots, who thus acted as vice-gerents of royal power in their regions. This construct goes back to the late nineteenth century,[9] and represents a longing to find a constitutionalist underpinning to Ottonian rule by scholars living in the Germany of the Second Reich, with its striving after constitution and legal system.[10] It also represents a satisfying use of the magnificent late nineteenth-century editions of the diplomas, or documents, of the Ottonian kings published by the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Systematic research into these fine editions lent itself to the idea that there was a system behind the issue of documents making grants to churches, as though the structure of edited documentation became the structure of history itself. Leo Santifaller's monograph of 1964 on the Ottonian/Salian *Reichskirchensystem* has an introduction of forty pages, which incidentally mentions neither Bruno nor Ruotger, followed by excursus upon excursus consisting of lists of royal diplomas for

[8] Fleckenstein, *Hofkapelle*, ii. 55–9.
[9] Reuter, 'Imperial Church System', 347–8.
[10] See John, *Politics and the Law in Late Nineteenth-Century Germany*, esp. chs. 3, 4, 7.

various churches, granting royal protections, jurisdictional powers, and economic benefits.[11]

The whole notion that there was such a 'System' has been modified in recent decades by German scholars. Rudolf Schieffer has still regarded it as not perhaps a system but as a consistent approach to rule, one however which evolved over a long period and was not already there in final form under Otto I. He also has emphasized how much most Ottonian bishops depended not only on royal choice but also on their aristocratic standing and connections. Hence there could be no question of kings using churchmen as counterweights to the secular aristocracy, although royal influence in episcopal elections could strengthen the unity of the Reich.[12] Modifying the notion from an entirely different angle, Hagen Keller has brought out how the granting of royal diplomas should be seen as solemn and ritual demonstrations of royal favour as well as simply having the intention to transfer rights and benefits.[13] Their issue was itself a part of the development or royal sacrality. This shows the characteristic eye of Keller, for when Ottonian politics was public drama.

The most serious challenge to the notion that there ever was any such a thing as the Ottonian Church System has come from Timothy Reuter. He made some effective criticisms of the whole idea, his strongest argument being that Ottonian rulers could practically never appoint specially groomed chaplains to bishoprics wherever they pleased, without regard to their acceptability to, or actual connections with, the regional aristocracy. He also pointed out that much of the apparent transfer to bishops and abbots of rights to rule was not of rights which the kings could otherwise have exercised themselves.[14] But in this matter we must be careful that the baby does not go out with the bathwater. The fact that there was no rational bureaucratic system of episcopal appointments, with bishops backed up by legally defined constitutional powers, does not mean that there was little sense in which bishops were instruments of royal government. What Ruotger conceives is a kind of rule exercised by the less formal but nonetheless real powers of the 'holy man'.[15] This was not so much holiness in the way that the curialist bishops of William

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[11] Santifaller, Introduction, 11–49.

[12] Schieffer, 'Der Ottonische Reichsepiscopat', 291–301.

[13] Keller, 'Schriftgebrauch und Symbolhandeln', esp. 12–15.

[14] Reuter, 'Imperial Church System', esp. 352–6, 359–60.

[15] Brown, *Society and the Holy*, 103–65; Ewig, 'Milo et eiusmodi similes', esp. 430–2, using the word *Tremendum* (the T of bishops based not only on material resources) at p. 430; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, ii. 58–60. Not every Ottonian

Rufus's England conceived it in the 1090s, when they told St Anselm that he should continue to pray while they looked after church/king relationships,[16] but in the way of one who could build expensively and give generously (like St Aethelwold in tenth-century England),[17] who could inspire terror amongst the powerful as well as love amongst the poor, who could acquire treasures and saints' relics in impressive quantities,[18] who could command a large personal following of ecclesiastics and fighting men (as Reuter does emphasize), and, in short, who could not only express supernatural power by his inner virtues but also ostensibly (to a tenth-century aristocratic society) control it by his external actions and gestures. That was the image or ideal which Ruotger sought to put across. I write in terms of an image or ideal; for, as David Warner rightly remarks, there was a lack of a precise or stable language of political theory in Ottonian times, which, he adds, is not surprising considering the itinerant nature of government and 'institutions that could be transported about the realm on the back of a horse'.[19]

The royal itinerary, however much ground it covered, was bound to be more thinly spread over some areas than others. A 'holy man' bishop, most particularly one of the royal blood, had the capacity to help fill a gap here, with his own face-to-face politics, and with his power of personality not to say his military resources to outface opponents. Cologne itself was not infrequently visited; we know of at least three occasions when Otto I came there during Bruno's pontificate (958, 960, and 965). It is quite possible that a visit to Aachen or Duisburg would have involved a stop in Cologne as well. There were several visits to Aachen attested for the 940s (showing the importance to Otto I of Charlemagne's imperial centre long before he himself was crowned Roman emperor), when there is no specific evidence of a stop in Cologne. But however much we extend the possibilities of Cologne as a staging-post on Otto I's itinerary to their limits, the itinerary can never have covered its region nearly as densely as it did that of East

bishop, of course, was an *Adelsheilige*, or Holy Man Bishop, but it is remarkable how many were considered to be.

[16] Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule, Rolls Series (London, 1884), 33.

[17] For other analogies, see Wormald, 'Aethelwold and his Continental Counterparts'.

[18] For relics, see Ruotger, c. 21, p. 22, ll. 16–17; c. 27, p. 27; c. 31, p. 31; c. 31, p. 32; c. 48, p. 51. And Oediger, 126–7, 128 (attempt on St Omer), 134, 141, 143 *bis*.

[19] Warner, 'Saints and Politics', 8.

Saxony, for instance. And of course during Bruno's pontificate Otto was in Italy for virtually the whole of the three years 962–4.[20]

How typical was Bruno as an Ottonian churchman? His royal blood and his sharing in the royal sacrality obviously placed him at one level apart. When Ruotger has Otto I say, 'in the bitterness of my affairs I am especially consoled when I see that by the grace of Almighty God a royal priesthood (*regale sacerdotium*, Peter 2: 9) has been added to our empire',[21] he assuredly meant this in no mere metaphorical sense. He meant that royalty added a new dimension to Bruno's episcopacy. But we should not exaggerate the difference that royalty made. Other Ottonian churchmen are described as having the powers of holy men, such as Udalric of Augsburg (923–73) or Wolfgang of Regensburg (972–94);[22] others are described as fostering schools and being resolute pastors, such as Adalbert of Magdeburg (968–81) or Eberacher of Liège (959–71), the latter a protégé of Bruno;[23] others are described as interesting themselves in monastic reform or the collection of saints' relics, such as Egbert of Trier (977–93);[24] others were notable builders and were strongly orientated towards Rome in the way they sought to develop their cities, such as Conrad (934–75) and Gebhard of Constance (979–95).[25] It was not given to other Ottonian bishops to combine spiritual authority with military power to the degree of holding also a dukedom, but it was a commonplace for bishops as for abbots to raise cohorts of fighting men from their estates and lead them into battle.[26] So far as the principal aims of Ottonian bishops were concerned, therefore, Bruno's were the same as others.

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[20] For Cologne visits, *DO* I, 194–5, 210–11, 288–92; for Aachen, *DO* I, 70, 82, 88, 100–2, 110 (and Nimwegen, 111–12). Important observations about this in Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship*, 179, 185. For Otto I and Charlemagne, see Folz, *Le Souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne*, 47–68; and Keller, *Ottonische Königsherrschaft*, 81, 127–8, 161, 246, n. 76.

[21] Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 17, 86–9; Ruotger, c. 20, p. 19, ll. 17–20.

[22] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, ii. 58–60. Warner, 'Saints and Politics', 16–21, has a perceptive discussion of Bruno of Cologne and Udalric of Augsburg together.

[23] Thietmar of Merseburg, iii. 11. 108–10. Although Archbishop Adalbert and Ohtric, his *scholasticus* at Magdeburg, did not hit it off, Ohtric was a distinguished appointment to make as schoolmaster, ibid. 110–12, and Gibson, 'The *Artes* in the Eleventh Century', 121–3. For Eberacher of Liège, see below, pp. 32, 169, and Lutz, 'Schoolmasters of the Tenth Century', 19–22.

[24] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, i. 78, 218, n. 71; ii. 79–80.

[25] Maurer, *Konstanz als ottonischer Bischofssitz*, esp. 58, 60, 71–7.

[26] See e.g. Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg*, ch. 7.

1.3. RUOTGER'S *LIFE OF BRUNO* I: CONTENT

Since Ruotger's *Life* will remain important for the rest of this book, I shall begin with a brief digest of its principal subject-matter. After the Prologue to which I shall return, Ruotger begins by setting Bruno's birth (925) in the context of his father's (Henry I's) restoration of peace and repression of barbarians, as if this explained Bruno's lifelong striving for peace, 'the food of other virtues'.[27] The leitmotif of the *Life* is already heard from the start. At the age of about 4, continues the *Life*, Bruno was sent to Utrecht to study the liberal arts (introducing another important theme) with its bishop, Balderic, probably a relative on his mother's side, though on his father's side a high Lotharingian aristocrat. To Balderic of Utrecht, it seems, Bruno owed his introduction to the early Christian Spanish poet Prudentius (see Chapter 4). Utrecht had been badly affected by Viking raids, and the mere presence of the royal child was seen as a means of rebuilding the shattered see ('through him, though as yet unknowing, the Christian people now free from their enemies exulted in the praises of God').[28] Ruotger sees here the first stirrings of Ottonian charisma and sacrality, which attached to all the sons of Henry I and Matilda.[29] The church of Utrecht itself would later not take so roseate a view of the adult Bruno in Lotharingia.[30]

One might well ask why the little boy should be sent so far away from his Saxon homeland for his education. Part of the reason for it was that Henry I, having annexed Lotharingia to his East Frankish kingdom by main force in 925,[31] the year of Bruno's birth, wanted to strengthen the hold of his dynasty over the minds and hearts of the Lotharingians. *Amicitia*, or friendship, was always his preferred mode of operating where possible.[32] Another part of the reason was the sudden importance of the lower Rhine region of Lotharingia to Henry I in 929, when his eldest son, Otto I, married Edith from Wessex, in terms of communications with England.[33] It gave his dynasty an extra foothold in those parts. But an important reason is likely to

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[27] Ruotger, c. 2, p. 4, ll. 7–9.   [28] Ibid., c. 4, p. 5, ll. 10–12.

[29] Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 86–7.

[30] Ibid. 96, and Warner, 'Saints and Politics', 18–19.

[31] Althoff and Keller, *Heinrich I und Otto der Grosse*, 72–3.

[32] Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue*, 105–11; Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, 88, n. 2, and p. 220; Beumann, *Die Ottonen*, 37–8.

[33] See below, p. 23. Also see Laudage, *Otto der Grosse*, 105–7.

have been the long connection, going back at least to the mid-eighth century, between the church of Utrecht and the metropolitan church of Cologne, to whose province it became attached.[34] As the third son, Bruno was obviously destined for the church from the start. The idea was that this would minimize later rivalries for the kingship. In the church, only one of the three principal metropolitan sees of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne would be thinkable for him. Trier must have seemed too far west and westward looking;[35] Mainz was too subject to the pressure of the Conradiner.[36] That left only Cologne, where Bruno's immediate predecessor, Wicfrid, had been appointed in 923, two years before his birth, and died, long since an imbecile, thirty years later (953).[37]

While Bruno was still an adolescent, Ruotger says, probably around 939 or 940, Otto I summoned him from the schools to the court (*e scolis in palatium evocavit*).[38] That meant joining the royal itinerary, and there is evidence that between 940 and 953 he must have been much on the road with his king/brother. The year of the first great rebellion against Otto, led by the middle brother Henry, was 939, and one may see this summons to Bruno as partly keeping the youngest brother in sight and out of the way of temptation. However, it enabled Bruno to continue his studies, to find books, to seek out learned men and teachers. 'He brought to light again the long forgotten seven liberal arts', says Ruotger.[39] This kind of exaggeration was a topos, but probably not totally lacking foundation, for the itinerary gave a scholarly man exactly the opportunities to do what Ruotger says he did. Stimulated by his studies, probably at Trier with the learned Breton Bishop Israel, he took a special interest in Greek learning.

We then pass on, in Ruotger, to the death of Archbishop Wicfrid and Bruno's immediate election to be archbishop of Cologne, with

[34] Löwe, 'Pirmin, Willibrord und Bonifatius', 207–8; Grosse, *Das Bistum Utrecht*, 1; Levison, *England and the Continent*, 63, 96.

[35] Zender, *Räume und Schichten*, 208–20; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, ii. 83.

[36] See below, p. 28.

[37] Ruotger, c. 11, p. 11, ll. 14–15: *diu admodum imbecillis*, i.e. a degenerate brain disorder. Given how little one hears of this kind of thing in the 10th cent., it is interesting that it appears not to have been a taboo subject to mention. Respect for old age is everywhere apparent in that period. See also below, Ch. 3, pp. 94–5.

[38] Ruotger, c. 5, p. 6, ll. 22–4. From documentary evidence, we know that in 940 Bruno became chancellor. For this and its significance, see Laudage, *Otto der Grosse*, 105–7.

[39] Ruotger, c. 5, p. 7, ll. 14–15.

stress on the accord of king and clergy and laity of Cologne. The only fear of the people, says Ruotger, was that the position would be unworthy of a man of such glory and sublimity.[40] Ruotger may have shown a streak of disingenuousness here, since virtually from the start the position of archbishop of Cologne was held by Bruno with the dukedom of Lotharingia, Cologne being on the left bank of the Rhine and hence itself within Lotharingia. It immediately becomes apparent that primary tasks facing Bruno as archbishop and duke of Lotharingia were to play his part in putting down the great rebellion of 953, led not only by Otto I's son Liudolf but also by Conrad the Red, himself legitimate duke of Lotharingia until the rebellion, and to secure peace in Lotharingia. Given Conrad's position as duke when he rebelled, Saxon control of Lotharingia was more than ever connected with the security of the East Frankish kingdom as a whole. Chapters 14–25 of the *Life of Bruno* concern the interweaving of these two themes, East Frankish security and peace in Lotharingia, together with another, the justification against contemporary critics of a bishop using military means to secure these ends.

After many chapters on Lotharingia, a chapter being usually the equivalent of a paragraph, Ruotger turns to Bruno as a bishop in his diocese: his securing of the pallium from the pope and relics of the Roman martyr, St Pantaleon, from Rome for his newly restored monastic church of St Pantaleon; his dealings with other religious houses and with hermits (approving the way of life in principle, but under episcopal control); his building-works in Cologne; his ascetic and spiritual life and his manner of being a pastor (which will occupy much of Chapter 3 below). Within this section of the work there is a very important passage (in c. 37) about his influence on Otto I in the appointment of bishops to Lotharingian sees. Ruotger says:[41]

Above all he used care and discretion, according to place and time, to give advice about the appointment of bishops in the empire of the most wise emperor, for the sake of the peace and tranquillity of the Lord's flock, especially preferring those who would never be ignorant of what the pastoral office was.

The context shows that what he means by 'above all' is that amidst the battles and turmoil of Lotharingia Bruno regarded the appointment of suitable bishops as of the utmost importance. We can name at least five of his protégés who were appointed to, and remained in, Lotharingian

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[40] Ruotger, c. 11, p. 12, ll. 3–5.   [41] Ibid., c. 37, p. 39, ll. 15–21.

bishoprics during his time as archbishop.[42] Ruotger's phrase 'according to place and time' looks like an acknowledgement of the Reuter principle in discussing the so-called 'Ottonian Church System', that one could not simply insert a bishop into a diocese regardless of local circumstances and familial connections. And whatever secular obligations might fall on one, Ruotger here states clearly, to understand his pastoral duty was the point of paramount importance for a bishop. By understanding the pastoral office, Ruotger presumably meant understanding it according to Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis* (see below, Chapter 3). Understanding the pastoral office was the principal way of securing the peace and tranquillity of the Lord's flock, whatever battles had to be fought for that end.

Ruotger's climax is Bruno's hosting the great Cologne *Hoftag*, the solemn court gathering with the extended Liudolfing family present at Cologne at Pentecost 965. 'There had never been so splendid and glittering a celebration, with so many different sorts of men of all ages ever, anywhere.'[43] But this trusting partnership of the glorious emperor and his incomparable brother, this happiest co-operation in good administration, a cruel and horrible death dissolved.[44] With that observation we are launched on Bruno's edifying death (cc. 43–5), the grief at the news that he had died (c. 46), his obsequies and his will (cc. 47–9). The bishops closest to him in his last illness—he died at Rheims, on his way to trying to make peace between his two nephews in the West Frankish kingdom—were both former pupils, Wicfrid of Verdun and his relative Dietrich of Metz. Both helped him make his will, both heard his final confession, and Dietrich was with him when he died in the middle of the night (11 October 965).[45]

Hartmut Hoffmann has written about the structure of concepts on which Ruotger's *Life* was based, and about his method of argumentation, the latter deeply Pauline. Ruotger's arguments were of course directed principally against those who attacked the mixture of secular and religious and ecclesiastical functions. With profuse citation of St Paul, very politically interpreted, Ruotger stressed the needs of the church which Bruno's position and activities served. The *pax ecclesiae* is associated with the Pauline unity of spirit (Ephesians 4: 3), which

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[42] Ibid., p. 39, n. 4. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, ii. 59–60.
[43] Ruotger, c. 42, p. 45, ll. 2–4.   [44] Ibid., ll. 4–11.
[45] Ibid., c. 43, p. 46, ll. 10–13; c. 45, p. 49, ll. 5–11; c. 47, p. 50, ll. 23–6; c. 49, p. 52, ll. 3–5.

in turn is connected to the unity of the Reich; and dissension is the tempest of dissension in the church, which is how the rebellion of 953 against Otto I is described. Hoffmann shows how Ruotger expanded his argument on a series of almost dialectical opposites (*Auseinanderklaffen*) in which *dissensio in ecclesia* was opposed to *sinceritas religionis*, the *officium pastoris* to the *mercenarii vitium*, the *sapientia sagacium* to those *bonarum artium ignari.* Not only does Ruotger love opposites, but he also favours the sort of contrast which one might call Pauline paradox, such as the connection of the *cura internorum* and the *cura externorum* in Bruno, his *humilitas* and *mansuetudo* on the one side and his *nobilitas* on the other, his living a gregarious life amongst many people *as if* he were a solitary.[46] No wonder that when Bruno was accused before Christ as the High Judge, in Poppo's dream, of engaging in 'inane philosophy' (presumably the classics, Martianus Capella, and the like), it was St Paul who came to his rescue!

1.4. RUOTGER'S *LIFE OF BRUNO* II: PURPOSE AND SOURCES

Ruotger is likely to have been on the whole reliable as to facts. He wrote within four years of Bruno's death, for an audience (which included bishops) of those who knew him well, on the commission of Folcmar, Bruno's successor as archbishop and previously administrator of the cathedral under him. He had certainly been resident in Cologne before Bruno died, though for how long it is hard to tell, and he had himself conversed with him.[47] If the main reason why he was chosen for the task was his all-round learning—biblical, classical, and patristic—and his powerful style of writing, it is at the same time unlikely that he got his facts wrong to any significant degree. Where we can control what he says from an independent source, it supports Ruotger's picture. Both the *Life of John of Gorze* and Thietmar of Merseburg do so on Bruno's zeal for the liberal arts, as does Flodoard of Rheims on his military activity in Lotharingia, albeit from a less favourable angle. Speeches put into the mouths of Bruno himself, Otto I, and others were no doubt more *ben trovato* than an actual record of what was said, but that was a regular feature of ancient and medieval historical writing, particularly

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[46] Hoffmann, 'Politik und Kultur', esp. 34–6, 46–9. [47] Ruotger, pp. vii–x.

practised by one of Ruotger's models, Sallust.[48] Such a normal part of the genre should not be allowed to weigh against his reliability in other matters. The most one can bring against Ruotger's factual reliability is the occasional piece of legerdemain, such as his implying that all Bruno's military activity had to do with suppressing the rebellion of 953, while only obliquely mentioning the not unreasonable opposition of Reginar; or possibly the occasional *suppressio veri*, such as his not mentioning the discreditable episode of probably 954, namely Bruno's plan to crown Hugh the Great as a king, if he did indeed know about this.

Factual accuracy, however, though basic, is only a small part of what we want to know about a historian. In order to understand Ruotger's *Life*, we have to ask what his purpose was in writing. It was very different from the purpose of many medieval hagiographers. Many of these wrote in order to promote a cult, or a shrine where the saint's bodily remains rested as a place of pilgrimage. In such writings posthumous miracles were especially the order of the day. Ruotger specifically excluded this whole purpose. Those who came to Bruno's tomb, he says, came to pray: 'they did not look for miracles, but paid attention to his life and recollected his teaching.'[49] So Ruotger wrote for those who wanted to focus on Bruno's life and teaching. In this his main aims were: (1) to justify Bruno's combination of ecclesiastical and military office and his actions in Lotharingia which led to peace; (2) to demonstrate that this combination was eminently compatible with being a model of Christian living, religious devotion, and pastoral care in the Gregorian mould; and (3) to show Bruno as a participator in his brother's rule as a whole. At one level Ruotger was writing a political tract to champion Bruno against his critics and detractors. He wrote soon after Bruno's death, and there was a certain urgency about it. Why? Because given the intimate association of Bruno with Otto I's rule, he was also in effect writing a defence of Otto I (d. 973). Therefore the problem with Ruotger is less factual unreliability than *parti pris*. What effect this might have had on his selectivity it is hard to say. But it certainly made him unwilling to see the point of view of Bruno's opponents.

Odilo Engels has contrasted Ruotger's *parti pris* with Widukind's *Res Gestae Saxonicae* (also *c*.968–9, see immediately below) and Widukind's

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[48] Ibid., p. xiii, where besides Sallust, Cicero is cited as another possible influence for the speeches. But Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, iv. 1, p. 81, refers this feature principally to Sallust.

[49] Ruotger, c. 48, p. 51, ll. 24–9, esp. ll. 27–8.

seeking to give at least the appearance of objectivity by seeing the point of view of rebels and even expressing his admiration for them.[50] This is all very well, but the Saxon aristocratic monk Widukind felt divided loyalties between the Saxon rulers and some of their aristocratic rebels,[51] whereas the obscure Ruotger was completely single-minded in his loyalties. Of course where Otto's Slav enemies were concerned, Widukind emulated the classical historians in expressing appreciation of the valour of such external enemies.[52] But with the Saxon rebels his sympathies were clearly no mere classical topos.

It does not follow that because Ruotger was *parti pris* he was necessarily of one mind with Bruno in everything he says. This is a matter of some importance for the present book, because the reader will see that I have often bracketed them together in one outlook or thought-world, and that needs some justification. It is by no means always the case that, even when a medieval biographer is writing soon after the death of his subject, he lacks an agenda of his own. But I must admit that I have not found it easy to see any chink of light between Ruotger's concepts and what were, or must have been, Bruno's. Nor have I found it easy to see how the standpoint of Archbishop Folcmar, Bruno's successor under whose auspices Ruotger wrote, could have been in any serious way contrary to Bruno's, for Folcmar was evidently regarded as a faithful colleague and follower by Bruno.[53] Indeed, what evidence there is, and what arguments can be adduced, would point positively to there being a unity of concepts between subject and biographer. For instance, however well or not well he knew Bruno personally, Ruotger wrote within a

[50] Engels, 'Ruotger's Vita Brunonis', 38.
[51] Beumann, *Widukind von Korvei*, 22.
[52] Widukind, ii. c. 20, p. 84, ll. 18–21. For limitations of Sallust's influence on Widukind, however, see Beumann, *Widukind*, 100–1.
[53] The only argument I have come across that would drive a wedge between Folcmar and Bruno is principally about Folcmar's not engaging in political and military activities, as if bowing to criticisms of Bruno in Cologne itself: Grosse, *Das Bistum Utrecht*, 220–2. But all this is pure speculation, since we have no *Vita* for Folcmar and virtually no evidence of his activities as archbishop during his four years in that position. Ruotger says that Bruno was accustomed to honour Folcmar, while he was administrator of the church (*protus et iconomus*), as his deputy (*vicarium*), completely at one with him in all affairs (*sibi in omni negotio coniunctissimum*), Ruotger, c. 46, pp. 49–50. It is hard to see how Ruotger could have written this under Folcmar's auspices if Folcmar did not see eye to eye with Bruno about the task of being a bishop. In any case, if there were anything in Grosse's argument, this would not be a wedge between Ruotger's and Bruno's concepts but between those of Folcmar and Bruno. Thietmar of Merseburg, ii. 24, pp. 68, ll. 10–12, would support the picture of Ruotger, but as he appears to have known Ruotger's *Life*, he is not necessarily an independent witness.

circle of his pupils, followers, and protégés (see immediately below) who demonstrably shared Bruno's whole *Weltanschauung*. On Bruno's especial devotion to the liberal arts, Ruotger's own wealth of allusion to the classics shows that he shared it. It is manifest that he shared Bruno's zeal for the poet Prudentius (in so specific a matter Ruotger could hardly have erred), from his own citations. On the justification of Bruno's military activities as a bishop, it is impossible that Bruno could have taken a different view. Equally impossible is it that Bruno could have held a less high view of his own participation in the rule of the kingdom as a whole than Ruotger held. Again, if I am right about what Ruotger meant by the *bonae artes* and their importance for rule (Chapter 5), namely that the *bonae artes* signified a combination of the liberal and the military arts, then it follows from the importance of each to Bruno (even to the point of training Ansfrid of Utrecht in the military arts, as Thietmar of Merseburg tells us)[54] that subject and biographer must have exactly shared that concept too, whatever Bruno had called it.

A good example of what seems to be true across the board, the shared ideals of Bruno and Ruotger, is the way Ruotger describes Bruno as a bishop: his balance of external cares with study and prayer, his discretion in dealing with various sorts of people, his indifference to worldly gossip, his compassion combined with his capacity to inspire terror. No doubt such impressions may be dismissed as the clichés of hagiography, which in one sense they are. But clichés are not necessarily falsehoods. The impressions which I have just mentioned are influenced by the writings of Pope Gregory the Great particularly his *Regula Pastoralis* or *Pastoral Care* (see below, Chapter 3). One might choose to say, therefore, that Gregory's exhortations have become the clichés of hagiographical description, applied by Ruotger to Bruno. But Bruno must have known that book himself, and very probably sought to apply its precepts to his own life. In 796 Alcuin had written to an earlier archbishop, Eanbald II of York, urging him to take Gregory's *Pastoral Care* wherever he went, and read and reread it, as a mirror of the pontifical life (*speculum pontificalis vitae*), and a medicine.[55] And in the century before Ruotger and Bruno, King Alfred had written a famous letter to Bishop Werferth of Worcester, implying that Gregory's work was one of 'the books most necessary for all men to know'.[56] By the mid-tenth century Gregory's

[54] Thietmar of Merseburg, ii. 31, p. 169, ll. 15–18.
[55] *Alcuini Epistolae*, no. 116, p. 171, ll. 24–8.
[56] Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, 126.

little book was clearly a work on which any serious-minded bishop sought to model himself.

Who was likely to have been impressed by Ruotger's protestations? Clearly, in the first place the churches of Cologne and Bruno's supporters in Lotharingia. Ruotger implies in his Prologue that he was writing for Bruno's followers, including bishops. As so often in such tracts, he was preaching to the converted. The evidence of where the earliest copies of the *Life* were present comes from Metz, obviously reflecting the interest of Bishop Dietrich, from the abbey of Lobbes near Liège where Folcuin regarded Bruno as the very author of his monastery's peace, and from the monastery of Saint Pantaleon, Cologne, itself.[57] This scanty evidence may of course give an incomplete picture of the work's early circulation. Indeed, it probably does, because Thietmar of Merseburg not only mentions it, but he mentions it also in such a way as to suggest that it was well known. Having told the discreditable story of the proposed coronation of Hugh the Great, he continues that he has said little about Bruno and his better actions because he should not add to the comprehensive book in existence about his noble way of life.[58]

Moreover there was some sort of connection between Ruotger and Widukind of Corvey, who wrote the works for which they are famous, namely the *Life of Bruno* and the *Res Gestae Saxonicae*, at almost exactly the same time (probably 968–9). That connection can hardly have been textual either way round. But what Widukind says about Bruno so precisely accords with the ideas of Ruotger that at least the message spread early. The first time Widukind mentions Bruno it is to champion his holding the office of archbishop (*pontificis summi*, he calls it) and of 'grand duke'. 'Let nobody call him culpable over this,' he wrote, 'when we read that holy Samuel and many other priests and the Judges did the same.'[59] When Ruotger justifies Bruno as a bishop for being involved

[57] See Irene Ott's introduction in Ruotger, pp. xvii–xxii; and see below, p. 87 for my view, *contra* that of Ott at p. xviii, that the Wolfenbüttel ms. emanating from Metz, rather than the St Pantaleon, Cologne, ms. which was lost in the war, was the earliest surviving ms. of Ruotger. A photograph of the Wolfenbüttel ms., Cod. 76. 14. Aug 2° fo. 43r, is in von Euw and Schreiner, *Kaiserin Theophanu*, i. 37, and of the now lost Düsseldorf manuscript, ibid. 77, 78, 317–18, though these latter are not so useful palaeographically. The dating of the Wolfenbüttel hand in this work to the thirteenth century must surely be erroneous.

[58] Thietmar of Merseburg, ii. 23, p. 68: 'Pauca locutus sum de innumerabilibus et isto melioribus tanti viri ingenuis actibus, quia liber unus de eiusdem nobili conversatione pleniter inscriptus me aliquid proibet addere.' '*Isto melioribus*' means better than the action which Thietmar has just narrated.

in warfare, he does not cite the case of Samuel, but in the margin of the twelfth-century St Pantaleon manuscript a thirteenth-century hand wrote at this point almost exactly the words of Widukind.[60] Widukind, later on, does not use Ruotger's phrase, the *indomita barbaries* of the Lotharingians, but he does say that when the king put Bruno in charge of the *genti indomitae Lothariorum*, he purged the region of robbers and taught it discipline and law-abidingness so that reasonableness and peace obtained in those parts.[61] Like Ruotger and Hrotsvita of Gandersheim, Widukind explicitly refers to the concord of the royal brothers, and he mentions a breathtaking example of Bruno's influence in the kingdom quite outside Lotharingia when he tells us in passing that Ecgbert, brother of the younger Wichmann and a constant rebel against Otto, was by Bruno's intervention, apparently in 957, received into the king's favour.[62] It cannot have been for long!

   As well as asking who was impressed by Ruotger's *Life*, or its message, we ought to ask who was intended to be impressed. Ruotger must have been aware that he was something of a pioneer, for in nearly two centuries before he wrote biographies of recently deceased bishops had been something of a rarity.[63] He wrote under the patronage of Bruno's successor as archbishop of Cologne, namely Folcmar, who had been intimately connected with Bruno and was by definition a leading Ottonian bishop.[64] Ruotger emphasized from the Prologue onwards that Bruno was a bishop not only for his diocese but also for the *res publica*,[65] and that idea is not solely dependent on his royal blood. Bruno himself had sought to impress on the Lotharingian church the need for a new type of soldier/scholar/pastoral bishop. Ruotger's life, therefore, starts to look like a self-consciously original piece of work which aimed at some kind of official status. What Ruotger achieved was to present in masterly form an ideal of Ottonian churchmanship. He

   [59] Widukind, i. 31, pp. 43–4.   [60] Ruotger, p. 24, ll. 30–4, cf. p. xviii.
   [61] Widukind, ii. 36, p. 97, ll. 19–22.
   [62] On the concord of the brothers, ibid. ii. 36 (*Fratrum vero pax atque concordia*, etc. p. 95, ll. 10–13, and following). On Ecgbert, brother of Wichmann the younger, Widukind, iii. 59, p. 136. It would be an exaggeration to say 'quite outside Lotharingia' in every sense, because although the rebellions of the Wichmanns related to Saxony, Wichmann and his brother Ecgbert had in 955 taken refuge with Hugh the Great in West Francia, Widukind, iii. 55, p. 135, ll. 10–12.
   [63] Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, 70.
   [64] Ruotger, Prologue, p. 1; Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, 70–1. See again below, p. 77.
   [65] Ruotger, p. 1, ll. 14–16; p. 26, ll. 10–11.

may well have been attempting more than that—to present a blueprint. The fact that not every subsequent example accords with a blueprint would not make it less of a blueprint.

The efforts of scholars have not yielded any one model, or even several particular models, on which the *Life of Bruno* was based. It does not fall easily into a genre slot. Ruotger, a shadowy figure outside his book, must have been resident in Cologne, presumably at St Pantaleon, before Bruno died. How long before is not clear. Nor is where he came from before that, though a case has been made for Trier.[66] But wherever he came from and received his education, he was one of the widest-read people of the tenth century, and he had the discipline to apply his reading relevantly. That quality and his capacity for lateral thinking are precisely what make it impossible to tie him down to a particular model. Sulpicius Severus is often mentioned in terms of the *Life's* classic hagiographical structure—youth, maturity, death and burial; but, as Berschin points out, whereas the *Life of Martin* proceeds scene by scene, wonder by wonder, Ruotger gives his work its 'structural accents' and compact form, like Sallust, through speeches. Berschin says that one has to go back to Ado of Vienne in the ninth century to find any biography which has a similar focus on the *res publica*, to Pascasius Radbertus to find any biography so set against 'a differentiated classical background', to Einhard's *Vita Karoli* to find a similarly polished and coherent work of literary portraiture.[67] Perhaps one should not rule out an influence of Thegan's *Life of Louis the Pious* also. There are similarities between this and the way Ruotger depicted Bruno, particularly Bruno's never smiling at the scurrilities and mimicries of the comedies which made others crease themselves with laughter, and Louis's never showing his white teeth in a smile when the buffoons and mimics (*scurri et mimi*) were performing on the great festivals and those at his table were laughing 'to some extent' (*ad mensuram*).[68] As I shall show later, this by no means needed to come from Thegan, but it often seems to have happened that one source, or possible source, played on another in Ruotger's mind, as one might expect with someone so well-read.

[66] For this, see Irene Ott in Ruotger, pp. vii–ix; she argues that the case is unproven. That he probably came from Lotharingia is now common ground, Ott, ibid., and Lotter, *Die Vita Brunonis des Ruotger*, 111–15.

[67] Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, 79.

[68] Thegan, *MGH SS* II, 595. Also Louis's capacities in Latin and his praying sometimes with tears, ibid. Also to be noted is Sedulius Scotus' mention of 'stultiloquiae et scurrilitates', *PL* 103, cols. 206–7.

Ruotger was a master of classical literature, Ciceronian rhetoric, and Sallustian style. His text is richly peppered with classical citations and allusions.[69] Berschin has called it the most classical biography of the tenth century, to be compared in this respect with Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*. But he goes on to say that whereas Einhard succeeded in distancing himself from the language of the Bible, Ruotger did not even try to do any such thing. For Ruotger's style, based mainly on the Bible and late antique Christian literature, the wealth of classical citations was not the substance, but the polish and ornament. Berschin aptly compares this style to Ottonian visual art[70]—the adornment of the Lothar Cross at Aachen with the antique cameo depicting Augustus, for instance; the oriental chess figures and Fatimid cup on the ambo of Henry II, also at Aachen; or, one might add, the antique elements which richly adorn the frames of gospel scenes in some Ottonian manuscripts, none of which elements were found disturbing by contemporaries. In other words, the classical elements in Ruotger's style were like the antique 'spoils' (*Spolien*) in Ottonian culture.[71]

We shall meet exactly the same problem—the integration of classical elements into Christian thinking or expression—but in different form, when we come to consider the handling of Martianus Capella at Cologne in the tenth century. Truth, said a tenth-century glossator of this work at Cologne, needed the intermixture of antique fables to give it eloquence; the naked truth presented without eloquence could not be effective (see below, pp. 210–12). This fundamental idea explains the title of Martianus' work, *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, in other words the marriage of learning or philosophy and eloquence. These glosses occupied some scholar in Cologne—we cannot say whom—at just about the time that Ruotger was writing his *Life of Bruno*. Ruotger's *Life* may be seen as the arch-instance of the Martianus problem as the glossator saw it, that is, how to use the full range of classical knowledge in order to clothe Christian truth, or if one prefers it, the plain truth, with as much eloquence as possible. And that, as we shall

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[69] Ruotger, p. xiii; Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, 83. Many classical allusions or citations are identified in Irene Ott's footnotes to her text. Ruotger refers explicitly to Cicero's eloquence, c. 5, p. 6, ll. 20–1. BL Harley Ms. 2716 is a 10th-cent. Rhineland manuscript of some of Cicero's works which may be relevant here.

[70] Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, 83.

[71] A good example is Westermann-Angerhausen, 'Spolie und Umfeld in Egbert's Trier', where she shows such spoils to be taken up and incorporated into a coherent ecclesiological and sacramental iconography.

see constantly hereafter, is how Ruotger presents Bruno's own problem as duke, preacher, and pastor.

It may be that the modern reader will have little sympathy for this near obsession with ornaments of style in the tenth century, for our own culture tends to be one which equates eloquence with economy of language, rhythm, the choice of the *mot juste*; tautness and punchiness are words often used in an approbatory sense of spoken and written style. Therefore I should like to put forward what seems to me a cultural analogy to the tenth century, namely eighteenth-century musical theory and practice. In the treatises of that (rococo) century on the playing of musical instruments, the art of ornamentation was regarded as essential, not an optional extra. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach on keyboard playing, Leopold Mozart on the violin, and Johann Quantz (Frederick II's flute teacher) on the flute each devotes a substantial chapter to the subject. C. P. E. Bach wrote that nobody disputed the need for embellishments, which were in fact indispensable; expression was heightened by them; and without them the best melody was empty and ineffective, the clearest content clouded (the last an amazing opposite to our sternest judgements on a written style!). Leopold Mozart said that appoggiature 'are demanded by nature herself to bind the notes together, thereby making a melody more song-like'. Even a peasant, he added, closes his peasant song with grace-notes, for nature herself forces him to do this. Quantz began his chapter: 'In performance appoggiature are both ornamental and essential. Without appoggiature a melody would often sound very meagre and plain.'[72] These eighteenth-century musical judgments are worth quoting, because they seemingly help us to understand both the role of the classics in Ruotger's *Life* as providing the ornament, and the Cologne comments on fables in their copy of Martianus Capella.

1.5. RUOTGER, BRUNO, AND LOTHARINGIA

Bruno's mission as archbishop was above all to pacify Lotharingia, and, given that he was soon afterwards made duke of Lotharingia as well, to pacify it by, amongst others, military means. Mastery of Lotharingia

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[72] C. P. E. Bach, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, ed. and tr. William J. Mitchell, 2nd edn. (London, 1974), 79; Leopold Mozart, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, tr. Editha Knocker, 2nd edn. (London, 1951), 166; Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, ed. and tr. Edward R. Reilly (London, 1966), 91.

was important to Henry I and Otto I for at least four reasons. One, it secured a geographical link between the East Frankish kingdom and England, from which came Otto I's first wife, Edith. Two, it was rich.[73] Three, since its eastern limit was the Rhine, which was no effective barrier, it could be a threat to the East Frankish kingdom if not under the control of its rulers. Four, and most important, it represented the northernmost part of the Middle Kingdom of the three kingdoms into which Charlemagne's empire had been divided in 843, and it contained Charlemagne's royal centre of Aachen, where Otto I himself was crowned king of the East Franks in 936. Every effort of the ninth and tenth centuries to re-create Charlemagne's empire—an a priori political instinct of the time—began with the attempt to secure Lotharingia.[74] Moreover, under Otto I, whose own royal credentials went no further back than to his father, the West Frankish kings and some of the aristocracy in Lotharingia who supported them were real Carolingians.

The primary problem presented by Lotharingia when Bruno became archbishop and duke in 953 was that it was a storm centre in the great rebellion against Otto I of 953–4. This rebellion was led by Otto I's son Liudolf and his son-in-law Conrad the Red; it was one of those family feuds within the ruling dynasty which I have referred to above.[75] Conrad was duke of Lotharingia until deposed in 953 on his rebellion, and he could clearly muster support there. The trouble for Bruno was compounded by Conrad's letting the Hungarians, enemies of the Saxon kings until resoundingly defeated by Otto I at the battle of the Lechfeld in 955, into Lotharingia in the early months of 954.[76] A stroke of luck which Otto I had in his rule was that, early on in this rebellion against him, Archbishop Wicfrid of Cologne, long since become senile, died, which gave him the opportunity at this critical time to secure the archbishopric for Bruno. Ruotger shows that this appointment (because of the strategic relation of Cologne to Lotharingia), the suppression of the rebellion of 953, and the pacification of Lotharingia were all connected with each other. He wrote:[77]

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[73] e.g. Lombard, 'La Route de la Meuse'; treasure-lists nos. 43 (Liège), 55 (Metz), 74 (Prüm), in Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*; wealth of the Verdun merchants, Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, vi. 6; the implications of monastic endowments, e.g. Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, 64–5, 117.

[74] Beumann, 'Das Kaisertum Ottos des Grossen', 416–23.

[75] Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 20.   [76] Ruotger, c. 24, pp. 24–5.

[77] Ibid., c. 15, p. 14. See Arnold, *Medieval Germany*, 55, on Bruno's forestalling the bid of the rebels of 953 to seize Cologne and control Lotharingia from there.

Before this man well versed in the law of God ascended to his pontifical elevation, there was, with the seditious citizens of our *respublica* [i.e. the rebels of 953] whom the spirit of Satan inflamed to rise up against the anointed one of the Lord [i.e. the king], a certain hope of taking power over Cologne. Thus they thought to master the generous people of the Lotharingian kingdom by a peace treaty or to frighten them by a sudden attack, because of the advantage of Cologne's location.

The rebellion of 953–4 was effectively over in the latter half of 954. Liudolf submitted to his father,[78] though it seems that a full reconciliation had to wait at least until August 955, for the son did not fight alongside his father at Lechfeld where the Hungarians were defeated. Conrad the Red, however, did so, and met his death there. At the end of a long hot day, Widukind writes, Conrad took his helmet off to mop his brow and a stray Hungarian arrow got him in the throat.[79] Yet the end of the rebellion was by no means the end of Bruno's troubles in Lotharingia. There was also Count Reginar III, his relatives, and his friends and supporters. Ruotger is much more elliptical about this than he is about the rebellion. He does not even name Reginar. What he says is that there was in the west of Lotharingia an example of its ungovernable barbarity (*velut indomita barbaries ea*), which seemed a child of the church, hating happiness, despising fatherly exhortation, and feeling hardly any terror in the face of power.[80] We have to go to the *Annals* of Flodoard of Rheims for a fuller story of Bruno's warfare against the Reginars.

This problem of Lotharingia, seen from an Ottonian point of view, may be traced back to divisions originating around 900. Around this time Reginar I, a relation of Charles III of West Francia and so a Carolingian (or at least a sub-Carolingian), formed the opposition to the emperor Arnulf of East Francia and his attempts to create a kingship of Lotharingia for his son Zwentibold, married to Henry I's sister. Thus, through Reginar and others of his relatives amongst the high aristocracy, Charles III could develop a legitimist/Carolingian authority in the region.[81] We call it a region because Lotharingia was an artificial political creation compared with the so-called stem-duchies of the east,

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[78] Widukind, iii. 40, p. 122.
[79] Ibid. iii. 44, pp. 124–5; iii. 47, p. 128.   [80] Ruotger, c. 37, p. 39, ll. 9–14.
[81] The whole of this paragraph is based on three fundamental pieces of work: Schneid-müller, 'Französische Lothringenpolitik'; Ehlers, 'Carolingiens, Robertiens, Ottoniens'; and Ehlers, *Die Entstehung des deutschen Reiches*, 56–8. For the Reginars' patronage of powerful abbeys, see Schwenk, *Brun von Köln*, 21–2.

also rather artificial as duchies but which related to long-established 'peoples'. But the growing power of Charles III brought about also a growing opposition to him. This was fed particularly by the change of dynasty in East Francia in 919, and the Saxon Henry I was soon called in by Giselbert, son of Reginar, changeable as he would prove to be, and by Archbishop Ruotbert of Trier. From the mid-920s Charles III made it a keynote of his rule to establish his full authority over Lotharingia. But at the same time the greatest rivals to the Carolingians in West Francia, the Robertiner (named after Robert, brother of King Odo), were awaking to their possibilities of eroding Carolingian power in West Francia by eroding it also in Lotharingia. Hence from this period the struggle for power in Lotharingia assumed a triangular character—the Saxons of East Francia, the Carolingian rulers of West Francia and the Carolingian Reginars (to use shorthand), and the Robertiner.

Of the great showdown of 957 between Bruno and Reginar, when Reginar was crushed and exiled, Flodoard wrote: 'there arose upheavals and battles between Bruno, archbishop turned duke (*ex praesule ducem*), and Count Reginar together with other Lotharingians.'[82] Again in 960 he records a rising of 'certain Lotharingians' against Bruno, that is, after Reginar had been exiled, showing that Reginar had been but the leader of many others, presumably for the most part also relatives/descendants of Reginar I.[83] Obviously Ruotger had no time for such people, but the historian ought to recognize that they had a reasonable point of view. However much this old Carolingianist aristocracy may have been sometimes frustrated by the efforts of the west Frankish Carolingian rulers to curb them, they saw their possessions and power and influence in the region going back to and established by the legitimist Carolingian rulers of the west half a century earlier, before the Liudolfings had been thought of there. Duke Giselbert, who died in the rising of 939, had been a son of Reginar I, and although he also became brother-in-law of Otto I, marrying Otto's sister Gerberga, which expressed and set up

[82] Flodoard 957: 'Bellorum tumultus agitantur inter Brunonem, ex praesule ducem, et Ragenarium comitem ceterosque Lotharienses', p. 404. Folcuin of Lobbes also has the evidence, pp. 67–9 (strongly pro-Bruno and anti-Reginar).

[83] Flodoard, p. 404; and for Flodoard's reaction to Bruno as a general, but for his sympathies not being one-sided as between the Carolingians, Robertines, and Saxons, see Jacobsen, *Flodoard von Reims*, 75–6, 78. Schneidmüller, 'Französische Lothringenpolitik', 6–14, mentions other relatives from the time of Charles III and Reginar I, e.g. Count Widerich of Bidgau (*Stammvater* of the Luxemburg house), bishops Stephen of Liège (under whom Bruno's teacher, Balderic of Utrecht, studied) and Drogo of Toul, probably Count Berengar of Lommegau, and Count Richwin of Verdun.

ambivalences in him, in the end the fact of his being a Reginar asserted itself. He had become the driving force to include Lotharingia again in Carolingian West Francia.[84] To the Reginars, Duke Conrad the Red was an outsider, and so was Bruno, both of them acting in interests contrary to their own legitimate power and aspirations. Moreover, the fact that Flodoard usually withheld the title 'archbishop' from Bruno suggests that he was another of those critics who disliked Bruno's military side because he thought that it compromised his religious role.[85] When he used the phrase *ex praesule ducem* (from archbishop he became a duke) this may seem mild; but Flodoard was writing not *historia* but *annales*, and within that generally neutral genre the phrase strikes a sarcastic note and gives a hint (from this canon of Rheims) of what it must have felt like to be a legitimist Lotharingian aristocrat on the rough end of Bruno's imposition of Ottonian rule by force.

These were the days of fighting bishops, before the Gregorian Reform gradually brought such a thing to an end.[86] Bishop Michael of Regensburg lost an ear fighting the Hungarians in the 940s, and his flock regarded his disfigurement as a badge of honour.[87] Udalric of Augsburg, although he himself sat weaponless on horseback in the midst of the fray when the Hungarians attacked his city in 955, organized the defensive forces against them.[88] Otto I's swordbearer in 962, Ansfrid, who would much later become bishop of Utrecht, is said by Thietmar of Merseburg to have been trained in military matters actually by Bruno,[89] and the same must have been true of some at least of those good pastoral bishops who also received their training from him. But even in the tenth century the phenomenon of fighting bishops did not pass without severe challenge, most obviously in Bruno's case from the church of Mainz. At a political level that is not surprising, given the rivalry between Mainz, Cologne, and Trier (the latter of which also had a mid-tenth-century warrior in Archbishop Henry) for the highest

[84] Schneidmüller, 'Französische Lothringenpolitik', 14–15, 21–2; Schwenk, *Brun von Köln*, 25–8, who at p. 28 notes some of the great Lotharingian aristocrats who sided with Duke Gislebert in the rising of 939 against Otto I.

[85] Jacobsen, *Flodoard von Reims*, 75–6.　　　　[86] Esp. Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg*, c. 6.

[87] Thietmar of Merseburg, ii. 27, p. 72: 'et fuit eiusdem mutilatio non ad dedecus, sed ad honorem magis.'

[88] Gerhard, *Vita Sancti Uodalrici*, i. 12, p. 194.

[89] Thietmar of Merseburg, iv. 31, p. 169. Ansfrid, a nephew of Mathilda, Henry I's queen, and of her brother, Ruotbert, archbishop of Trier, learned his secular and 'divine' law from Ruotbert, and was then passed over by his namesake uncle, Count Ansfrid, to Archbishop Bruno, the young Ansfrid's cousin, *ad res militares*.

metropolitan status in the German church.[90] When the priest Gerhard had written an advisory letter to Archbishop Frederick of Mainz at the beginning of his pontificate in 937, he included the text of the letter of Pope Zachary to the Frankish church (745) under Boniface, himself to become archbishop of Mainz in 747, where the pope speaks out strongly against priests who committed the sacrilege of killing with their own hands.[91] This theme, which one might call a Mainz theme, was evidently taken up with gusto by Frederick himself. Almost as soon as William, the illegitimate nephew of Bruno (son of Otto I by a Slav woman), had succeeded Frederick in the archbishopric of Mainz, he took up the cudgels in 955. 'A duke claims the function of a bishop, a bishop the function of a duke', he complained in a letter to Pope Agapetus II, where he also animadverted to the alleged corruption by which Bruno had obtained his pallium from Rome.[92] He did not name Bruno; it was far more withering not to name names when everyone knew who was meant.

Ruotger wrote with rhetorical brilliance and commanding sarcasm against critics of this kind—and there were probably many others whom we cannot now name. Indeed it was a major reason for his writing to vindicate the memory of Bruno against them, and not only the memory of Bruno, for he was thereby seeking to vindicate a method of achieving peace in the Reich as a whole, and particularly the peace of Lotharingia. His book was not only about memory, but also about validating the present. Peace in Lotharingia is a theme which Ruotger constantly hammers home, however much he may exaggerate Bruno's success in actually achieving it. In a pivotal passage Ruotger writes:[93]

There are some, ignorant of divine ordering who make an issue of why a bishop should deal with secular and military affairs when he received only the care of souls. To these people, had they any sense, there was an easy answer if they considered the good of peace, as great as it was unusual, especially in those parts [i.e. Lotharingia], which was spread far and wide through this protector and teacher of a faithful people.

Ruotger is at his rhetorical best in his scathing remarks about Archbishop Frederick of Mainz and other similar critics of Bruno. Frederick was the most awkward kind of churchman for a ruler to

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[90] Boshof, 'Köln, Mainz und Trier'; for Henry of Trier as a military leader, see Ruotger, c. 37, p. 38, ll. 19–20, and p. 39, ll. 7–8.

[91] Lotter, *Die Brief des Priesters Gerhard*, 123.

[92] Jaffé, *Monumenta Moguntina*, 471–2.   [93] Ruotger, c. 23, pp. 23–4.

deal with—a saintly troublemaker.[94] When Otto I got wind of the brewing rebellion against him early in 953, and went to Mainz with the view of celebrating Easter there, he found that the primate was absent, leading an austere life among hermits and solitaries, and had to be recalled in order to receive the king.[95] This was already seen as a slight to the ruler, according to the norms of political ceremonial or ritual at the time, when the entry of the king into a city was one of the major rituals.[96] A saintly life was no excuse for such neglect. But worse was to follow. At first Frederick tried to act as mediator between Liudolf and Duke Conrad vis-à-vis the king, but when negotiations broke down his loyalty became openly suspect, and finally he abandoned Mainz to the rebels and fled to the stronghold of Breisach, 'ever a den of rebels against God and the king', where he spent practically the whole summer awaiting the outcome of events, no doubt deep in religious contemplation again.[97] The *Continuation* of Regino of Prüm, written by Adalbert, an aristocratic Lotharingian monk who had been a notary in the royal chancery under Bruno (and from 968 archbishop of Magdeburg), who thus represents very much the Ottonian court point of view (including Bruno's), and who was by no means averse to touches of ironical rhetoric himself, had this to say about Frederick, when recording his death in 954:[98] 'He was a man zealous in religion and exceedingly laudable, unless he seemed reprehensible in this point alone, that wherever one enemy of the king emerged, he at once set himself up as a second.' To be fair to Frederick, both in the rebellion of 939, in which Eberhard of Franconia was a leading figure, and in that of 953 he must have been under considerable pressure, for his see of Mainz was surrounded by the heartlands of the Conradiner in Franconia.[99] No doubt he also had some genuine sympathy for the rebels' cause, as is suggested by Liudolf's burial, after he died in 957,

[94] Fischer, *Politiker um Otto den Grossen*, 117–39, though in some respects outdated, plots interestingly the developing rift between Archbishop Frederick (937–54) and Otto I. Engels, 'Ruotger's Vita Brunonis', 39, calls Frederick the *Gegenfigur*, in Ruotger's composition, to Bruno and his conduct of his office.

[95] Widukind, iii. 13, p. 111.

[96] MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 17–89; Kantorowicz, 'The King's Advent'; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, i. 119–20.

[97] Regino of Prüm, *Continuation*, 167; Widukind, iii. c. 15, p. 112 (who implies that F's very mediation made him suspect), and c. 27, p. 117; Ruotger, c. 20, p. 20, ll. 10–16.

[98] Regino of Prüm, *Continuation*, 168.

[99] Büttner, 'Zur Geschichte des Mainzer Erzstiftes', 261–5.

at Mainz.[100] Ruotger's response, which took the form of a speech put into Otto I's mouth and directed to his brother, brilliantly carried the attack into the enemy camp, particularly as to Frederick's abandonment of Mainz:[101]

Some perverse men will perchance [!] say that … battles are none of your business; they do not become the dignity of your ministry. With such words of strident falsity you see how many the metropolitan archbishop [i.e. Frederick] has seduced, how many he has enticed into the madness of civil disorder. If he wanted to desert from the conflict, however much he pretended, and from the danger of battle, in order to pass his time in religious leisure, it would have been better for us indeed and for our respublica, to have handed over to us what we conferred on him by our royal munificence [i.e. Mainz] rather than to our enemies.

In order to be militarily effective in Lotharingia, Bruno needed to be able to raise an effective fighting force, and the estates of the archbishopric of Cologne by themselves could certainly not suffice for this. Bruno had many episcopal and abbatial protégés in Lotharingia, but there were problems about using the resources of their churches. John Nightingale, for instance, in a study of Bishop Gerard of Toul (963–94), one such protégé, has shown how the bishop's need to reward fighting men who were indispensable to him and to Bruno, inevitably brought him into conflict with his canons at Toul or with monasteries in his diocese, on whose lands he depended.[102] One could not raise fighting men on one's reputation for holiness alone! Any such limitations on the power of Bruno's protégés in Lotharingian dioceses, such as Nightingale has brought out,[103] were also limitations to Bruno's own influence.

By the same token as that the situation on the ground could limit the power of a bishop or archbishop, however, it could also enhance it. For example, Bruno had a close connection with the church of St Maximin of Trier, as his being a pupil of Bishop Israel, who belonged to that church, and his calling one of its monks, Christian, to be abbot of St Pantaleon, Cologne, both show.[104] It was also the church in which Adalbert, author of the *Continuation* of Regino of Prüm, later the

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[100] Widukind, iii. c. 57, pp. 135–6.   [101] Ruotger, c. 20, p. 20, ll. 8–16.

[102] Nightingale, 'Bishop Gerard of Toul'. On resources, see also Warner, 'Saints and Politics', 14.

[103] Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, e.g. 152, 166, 233.

[104] Ruotger, c. 7, p. 8; c. 28, pp. 28–9; Lapidge, 'Israel the Grammarian'; Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 99–106. The traces of Trier influences in initial ornament, whether directly

first archbishop of Magdeburg, and very much a member of the court circle, had been a monk.[105] The support of this church was a strong card in Bruno's hand as archbishop and duke. Henry, archbishop of Trier, was clearly a military ally of Bruno in Lotharingia.[106] What was behind this link we cannot tell for certain, but there are pointers to the family of Matilda, Bruno's (and Otto's) mother, having had their own connections with the church.[107]

Again we may take the important monastery of Lobbes near to Liège. Lobbes was not in 965 full of monks who supported the Ottonians; some of them must have been related to Bruno's aristocratic enemies in Lotharingia.[108] Thus when Bruno and Eberacher, bishop of Liège, between them made the Lotharingian aristocrat Folcuin their abbot, they promptly exiled him. It looks a perfect Nightingale-like case of a bishop making more enemies than friends by trying to control a monastery in his diocese. For all we know, Folcuin's position might not have been so untenable at Lobbes at the beginning of his abbacy had Bruno not died within the year. To this cause Folcuin would later ascribe the shattering of his monastery's peace.[109] In the long run, however, as Irene van Renswoude has shown in her fine study of Folcuin, the last word lay with him and with the Ottonians. Folcuin, whose family mattered in Lotharingia and had blood ties with the Carolingians, remained a staunch supporter of the Ottonians and they of him; ties between the abbey and the Ottonian court developed, particularly thanks to Bishop Notker of Liège in the early 970s; and finally, apparently secure in his position as abbot, he wove together the myth of the Ottonians as the great Frankish rulers with the peace and glory of his own monastery in his *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium* (*c*.980).[110] As has often been remarked, what may be memory conditioned by present circumstances could itself have a powerful hand in shaping the present and future. Moreover, having a copy of Ruotger's *Life* to hand, Folcuin presented an image of Bruno as bishop very much in Ruotger's terms.

or indirectly mediated, which Plotzek, 'Zur Initialmalerei', esp. 102, 110–19, sees at Cologne in Bruno's time, may be relevant here.

[105] Zeller, 'Liudolfinger als fränkische Könige', 139–40.
[106] Ruotger, c. 37, pp. 38, ll. 19–39, l. 8.
[107] Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, 223.
[108] van Renswoude, 'Time is on our side', 325–6.
[109] Folcuin, p. 69, ll. 19–22; van Renswoude, 'Time', 329–30.
[110] Van Renswoude, 'Time', 325–8.

Where Bruno came most unstuck in Lotharingia was in his failed attempt to impose Rathier, the exiled bishop of Verona, on Liège as its bishop. This he did right at the beginning of his archiepiscopate, Rathier being enthroned in Liège on 25 September 953.[111] He lasted there less than a year. The main reason for this shows up well the limitations of Bruno's power in Lotharingia. Rathier could not hold his position against a coalition of Counts Reginar and Rudolf, Archbishop Ruotbert of Trier, and Bishop Balderic of Utrecht (Bruno's old teacher), which wanted to impose another Balderic, nephew of the two counts and his bishop namesake, as bishop of Liège. Bruno could not continue to support Rathier in these circumstances, for fear that the two counts might join the rebellion of Conrad and Liudolf.[112] This must already have been striking evidence to Bruno that beyond, though connected with, the rebellion of 953 lay the problem of the Reginars. This whole episode was surely an error of judgment on Bruno's part, though Ruotger characteristically sets its failure down to the wickedness and savagery of his opponents.[113]

Not least was it an error to incur the opposition of Balderic of Utrecht, who had already then been bishop for thirty-five years, and that at a time when great respect was accorded to old age. Twelve years later at the great *Hoftag* of 965 in Cologne, which Ruotger treated as a triumph for Bruno, one could almost get the impression from the *Second Life of Queen Mathilda* that Bishop Balderic stole the limelight, blessing the whole royal assembly as he made an apparently late and impressive entry.[114] Under Balderic, an Utrecht writer wrote a *Life of Radbod*, Balderic's predecessor as bishop; this writer, no doubt inflamed by such interventions of Bruno in Lotharingia, and no doubt reflecting the attitude to them of his master, Bishop Balderic, was deeply hostile to Ottonian rule. Another critic of Bruno by implication![115] If it was an error of judgment by Bruno for not assessing the forces against him

[111] Oediger, 123.

[112] Ruotger, c. 38, p. 40, ll. 29–31. Rathier of Liège, *Die Briefe*, no. 10, pp. 49–54, with allusions to persons explained in the footnotes, and no. 11 (Prologue to *Phrenesis*), pp. 54–7, with a reference to Bruno's timidity at p. 57, ll. 2–3; tr. Reid, pp. 241–5. For the canon law aspects, see below, p. 138, n. 32.

[113] Rathier, *Briefe*, no. 10, pp. 49–54. The *Phrenesis* may be partly a phrase turned on himself in his own 'literary madness', but it still also vents his bile on his opponents—brilliantly, of course.

[114] Oediger, 142; see *Vita Mathildis … Posterior*, c. 11, pp. 133–4; cc. 21–2, pp. 187–8.

[115] Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 86–7, 96, 174, n. 20; Warner, 'Saints and Politics', pp. 18–19. The *Vita Radbodi* (*c*.962–77), like the archbishops of Mainz, criticizes a bishop involved in secular business.

correctly, one cannot help thinking that it was also a misjudgment of Rathier's personality. Bruno had appointed him because of his 'abundant doctrine and copious eloquence'.[116] But he comes across as complaining, insensitive, and contemptuous. He himself admits that he had perhaps been a little harsh or inflexible (*incommodior*) towards some.[117] When Balderic of Liège died in 959, Bruno secured the appointment to the see of the Saxon Eberacher, who was much more successful, though he lacked Rathier's advantage of actually coming himself from a Liègois family.[118]

Force was by no means the whole story of Bruno's activity in Lotharingia. He conceived his commission there, and in West Francia altogether, as primarily the management of family affairs.[119] I have mentioned that from the 920s the struggle for power in Lotharingia took on a triangular character—the Saxons, the Carolingians, and the Robertiner. In 929, when the 4-year-old Bruno was just starting his education at Utrecht with Bishop Balderic, probably a relative of his through Otto I's mother Matilda, Otto I married Edith, daughter of King Edward the Elder of Wessex. These two family events were not unrelated to each other, for geographically and politically the strengthening of the Ottonian position in Utrecht (where Bishop Balderic was also closely related to the Lotharingian aristocracy) could provide a useful link with Wessex.[120] The union at once related Otto (and therefore also Bruno) by marriage to both the Carolingians and the Robertiner, for a half-sister of Edith was married to Charles III and a sister to Hugh the Great. It thus both added a new dimension of royal sacrality to the Liudolfings and was a diplomatic coup for Henry I. Later, when Hugh the Great died in 956 he left an 18-year-old son, Hugh Capet, facing (so to speak) the 15-year-old Carolingian king, Lothar V. These were the sons of Hadwig and Gerberga respectively, the two sisters of Otto I. In each case the mothers in effect ruled, both

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[116] Ruotger, c. 38, p. 40, ll. 12–16.

[117] Rathier of Liège, *Die Briefe*, p. 50, ll. 9–10.

[118] See Rather of Verona, tr. Reid, 3. On the greater success of Eberacher, former pupil of Bruno and dean of the collegiate church of Bonn, see Schwenk, *Brun von Köln*, 60–1 (despite strictures in Kurth, *Notker*, 30).

[119] Ehlers, 'Carolingiens, Robertiens, Ottoniens'; Schwenk, *Brun von Köln*, 28–9, but citing the contrary opinion of C.-R. Brühl that Ottonian *Westpolitik* should be seen as primarily in the Carolingian tradition.

[120] Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex', 80; Ehlers, 'Carolingiens etc.', 39–42. Ehlers, 'Heinrich I in Quedlingburg', 240, n. 37, is important on the timing and context of Bruno's being sent to Utrecht in 929.

of them advised closely by Bruno. Thus the principle of Bruno's rule in Lotharingia came to be one of *Gleichgewichts*, that is, holding the balance of Carolingian and Robertiner in both Lotharingia and West Francia as a means of familial control in the West.[121] The clearest expression of East–West relations conceived as a kind of grand family corporation of the Liudolfings was the *Hoftag*, the court gathering at Cologne in 965, as I have already implied. Amongst those present then were both Gerberga and Hadwig and their sons. All this is Ruotger's understanding of how Bruno operated, and the evidence of Flodoard and Folcuin of Lobbes would support him.[122] Ruotger says that Bruno set up his nephew Lothar (Gerberga's son) as successor in his father's (Louis IV's) kingdom when he was oppressed by his cousins (Hugh Capet and Otto, sons of Hugh the Great and Hadwig), and he brought the latter two older and more powerful cousins under his sway, and so 'under the control of the one empire'.[123] The family aspect of Bruno's dealings in Lotharingia also penetrated below the royal level. Thus, for instance, after Count Reginar was crushed, some of his estates were transferred to Bishop Berengar of Cambrai, a relative of Bruno and Otto I.[124]

There was an ideological challenge in all this. How could the Liudolfings, Saxons as they were, lay any justifiable claim to rule over Frankish Lotharingia, not least against the claims of the West Frankish rulers? A possible line of answer to this question has recently been brilliantly sketched by Richard Corradini and Bernhard Zeller. In their historical writing the Saxons appropriated to themselves a Frankish identity. This theme was understood already from studies of Widukind,[125] but not how deeply it went or how early it began. Corradini, basing himself particularly on the *Annales Fuldenses* from the late ninth century on, has shown how Frankish history was reconstructed into a new Frankish/Saxon history; and Zeller, analysing the *Continuation* of Regino of Prüm by the Ottonian courtier Adalbert, has demonstrated how Adalbert constructed a Frankish/Carolingian identity for Henry I and

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[121] The phrase *Gleichgewichtspolitik* is used by Ehlers in 'Carolingiens etc.', and in *Die Entstehung des deutschen Reiches*, 57.

[122] Most clearly Flodoard, not only under 965 and the Cologne Hoftag, but also under 956 and 959, pp. 403–4.

[123] Ruotger, c. 39, pp. 41–2.

[124] Oediger, under 959, p. 132, citing *DO* I 195. For the ambiguity of Cambrai's position between East and West Francia, see Parisse, 'Lotharingia', 312.

[125] e.g. Beumann, 'Einhard und die karolingische Traditio in ottonischen Korvey'.

Otto I, while actually denying it to the West Franks.[126] Such historical writing, and the discussion in East Frankish circles (note the very phrase 'East Frankish') behind it, form the ideological backdrop to Bruno's efforts at rule in Lotharingia.

Imperfect as Bruno's pacification of Lotharingia may have been, his twelve years as archbishop and duke were decisive in securing it for the Ottonian kingdom, and, looking further ahead, for the empire. It may not have appeared so on the ground in the decade or so after Bruno's death, but in the longer term it was so.[127]

1.6. BRUNO, LOTHARINGIA, AND THE PROPOSED CORONATION OF HUGH THE GREAT

The chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg recounts an extraordinary tale, not mentioned by Ruotger, about Bruno's rule in Lotharingia. Thinking to return evil to the king, his brother, for all the good he had received, says Thietmar, he called his brother-in-law, Hugh (the Great), with the intention of offering him the crown at Easter, which, if the story is true, can only be Easter 954.[128] But quickly repenting he sought the advice of his secretary Folcmar, who recommended that the devil could be confounded and Bruno honoured as follows: 'when you are both sitting down together, I shall present the crown which you promised to give to your brother-in-law tomorrow, so that your good faith will shine out in the sight of everyone; and I shall by accident fall down and break it, so that fraternal love [i.e. between Bruno and Otto] which is now cold, will become warm again.' So it was done. The archbishop simulated great grief, Hugh was inconsolable, but after the festival he returned honoured (as he thought) with other gifts, the brothers

[126] Corradini and Zeller, in Corradini *et al.*, *Texts and Identities*.

[127] Zeller, 'Liudolfinger als fränkische Könige?', p. 150; Jacobsen, *Flodoard von Reims*, 78; and Leyser, '987: The Ottonian Connection', 168–9.

[128] Hugh died in June 956, so Easter in 954, 955, or 956 must be meant. The latter can surely be excluded, being after the battle of the Lechfeld with Otto's position much stronger and the threat of the Hungarians to Lotharingia definitively removed. Since by Easter 955 the Great Rebellion of 953–4 had been put down, and, more particularly, Bruno's nephew Lothar had been crowned king of the West Franks in Rheims (November 954), the need to call on Hugh must have virtually disappeared and so the case for 955 is weak. The fact that the Hungarians, at the behest of the rebels, were attacking Lotharingia in the Lent of 954 (Regino of Prüm, *Continuation*, 168), makes Easter 954 (26 March) overwhelmingly the likeliest if the story is true.

were reconciled, and thereafter took care to remove all enmity between them.[129] After this piece of dynamite, Thietmar continues coolly that he has said little about Bruno's innumerable good deeds because there is this comprehensive book (referring to Ruotger, except that Ruotger omits this story) about his noble way of life![130]

Peter Schwenk, in his generally admirable book on Bruno of Cologne, discusses this incident at length,[131] and in effect concludes that it must be a fiction, largely for three reasons: (1) all the other sources—very much so in Ruotger's case—show that Bruno and his brother were consistently close to each other; (2) it would have been out of character and shown appalling political judgment; (3) if one asks what Hugh was to be crowned king *of*, neither France nor Germany could come into question. The first two of these reasons manifestly beg the question. Ruotger's silence only signifies a fiction on Thietmar's part if one assumes that Ruotger has spoken the whole truth. It is only out of character if one assumes that the other sources contain everything relevant to a picture of Bruno's character. But even if Ruotger knew the story—and it is likelier that he did not—he would of course not retail it, since it would seem to destroy his case and could only give scandal of a useless and damaging kind. So while Ruotger's omission is no evidence of the story's truth, neither is it evidence of its falsehood. Nor can the lack of the story in western sources be taken as significant against its historicity. Hugh, and anyone in his entourage who knew what had happened, would be very unlikely to boast about this loss of face afterwards, and it is probable that very few if any in that entourage knew anything about it beforehand. Nor in fact is this kind of dissimulation on Bruno's part completely out of character. There is a story in the *Third Life of St Omer*—and there seems no reason to suppose it an outright fiction—that when Otto I and Bruno came to Nimwegen in July 956 and the canons of St Omer solemnly brought the bones of their saint, St Omer, before Otto I, to help them recover alienated possessions in this region, Bruno, ever on the lookout for effective relics to sacralize Cologne, conceived a plan to seize the relics and send the canons away. But he had a nasty nose-bleed in the night and only became well again when he promised the saint to get the king to recognize the claims of the canons (incidentally, an interesting reflection of Cologne interests around the lower Rhine).[132] Even if this story were a fiction as to Bruno, it could still not be

dismissed as shedding light on an aspect of his reputation. And would the Thietmar story even show such bad political judgment by Bruno? It could be that a desperate situation in 954 called for a desperate remedy, and with the attack of the Hungarians during the early months of 954 on Lotharingia, the seeming intractability of the Reginar problem at that time, and with Otto I having to face the Slavs and Hungarians in the east as well as the continuation of Liudolf's rebellion, thus being unable to protect Lotharingia in the west, would it be entirely surprising that Bruno should turn to an experienced brother-in-law?

A small pointer suggests that Bruno *had* been in league with his brother-in-law, Hugh. In late 955 Wichmann the younger and his brother Ecgbert, deadly Saxon enemies of Otto I, fled to Hugh, but Ecgbert was subsequently (in 957) received into the king's favour by the intervention of Bruno.[133]

The physically tiny Thietmar of Merseburg was a masterful writer and he was willing to blow the gaff on any reputation, but he also had an incomparable knowledge of talk and gossip in the higher echelons of Ottonian society.[134] It seems impossible, therefore, to dismiss this story simply because it does not fit Ruotger's image. After all, Ruotger, who clearly knew Bruno in the latter's later years, almost certainly did not know him anything like as early as 954. To write of the story as 'a strangely mutilated account' (*eine eigentümlich verstümmelte Nachricht*), as Johannes Fried does, seems the worst of all worlds.[135] There is nothing incoherent or self-contradictory about Thietmar's story as it stands. Its shocking character lies not in its 'spin' or in any twist to it, but in its fundamentals. It would seem that Gerd Althoff's approach is more fruitful. Many stories in the Ottonian sources, especially of Otto I's reign, are not to be treated in an 'uncontrolled' way, he says, as oral stories that grow in the telling. Rather, as in the case of Thietmar's story, they should be treated as expressing a view about explosive political happenings or problems, and their details would be known only to an inner elite circle. Thietmar's story, in this sense, 'transports the explosive argument' that Bruno also at one point made common cause with Otto I's enemies, and it is not surprising that no other surviving source hints at it.[136]

On the third of Schwenk's principal objections to the historicity of this story—what was Hugh to be king of, if not either East Francia or West

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[133] Widukind, iii. c. 59, p. 136.

[134] Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, esp. 49–62; Leyser, 'The Ascent of Latin Europe', 229.

[135] Fried, *Der Weg in die Geschichte*, 518.

[136] Althoff, 'Geschichtsschreibung in einer oralen Gesellschaft', 117–20.

Francia—an obvious possible answer is Lotharingia. Ruotger himself, doubtless with an eye on ninth-century political reality, normally refers to it as a kingdom.[137] There were serious problems, to put it mildly, in the way of Bruno crowning himself king of Lotharingia! Even given the extreme circumstances of March 954, if the story is true it was not Bruno's most brilliant idea to crown Hugh, although he himself quickly repented of it. But an important point lurks in this story which was brought out by Karl Leyser. However much younger brothers may have recognized the impracticability of shared kingship on grounds of inadequate material bases, there was still a residual sense of grievance that they were denied. Referring to Bruno's being no ordinary duke in the *Regnum Lotharii*, particularly after his brother Henry of Bavaria's death in 955, but of his position there having 'near-regal characteristics', Leyser wrote: 'the Carolingian custom of kingship divided among brothers still haunted the second generation of the new *stirps regia*' (i.e. the Liudolfings).[138]

It was the Cologne tradition, already seen in Ruotger, to entitle Bruno *archidux*, to distinguish him honorifically from all other dukes.[139] But not only honorifically. For under Bruno, Lotharingia was divided into the two duchies of Upper and Lower Lotharingia, and as Hagen Keller has pointed out, the two dukes of these duchies profiled the Carolingian origins and relationship with the Liudolfings of their respective families—Frederick, great-grandson of Louis the Stammerer, who married a niece of Otto I, Beatrix, daughter of Hadwig; and Godfrey, grandson of Charles the Simple, whose grandmother Oda was a sister of Henry I. The Carolingian aristocracy were progressively swept into Bruno's Lotharingian *Familienpolitik*.[140] There was, therefore, a structural as well as a personal reason why Bruno should be called *archidux*.

1.7. BRUNO AND MONASTIC REFORM IN LOTHARINGIA

As Ruotger (c. 10) shows, Bruno's concern for monastic reform began with Lorsch, near the Rhine, before he became archbishop. But

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[137] Ruotger, c. 15, p. 14, l. 16; c. 24, p. 24, l. 28; c. 37, p. 39, l. 10; c, 46, p. 49, l. 24.
[138] Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 17.
[139] Ruotger, c. 20, p. 19, l. 13: *provisorem et, ut ita dicam* [as if the word were a novelty] *archiducem*.
[140] Keller, 'Reichsstruktur', 68.

Lotharingia was the major theatre of his interests, including Cologne itself. Monastic reform was in part the religious underpinning of his rule, in part his pastoral concept of being a bishop, and in part a way of increasing the economic resources available to him. The so-called Gorze monastic reform was a predominantly Lotharingian phenomenon in Bruno's time, though it would later spread far and wide. Much has been written about this subject since Kassius Hallinger published his *magnum opus*, *Gorze-Kluny*, in 1950, and much of that has been in a revisionist sense. The degree to which Hallinger drew the contrast between Cluny in Burgundy and Gorze in Lotharingia has been questioned, as has his whole stress on the primary importance of those two monasteries. The whole chain of affiliations which Hallinger traced back to Gorze, particularly through St Maximin of Trier, has been considered by some to beg a question (and in view of the lamentable misuse of this phrase in many quarters nowadays, I must say that I mean beg, and not raise) whether such tidy chains of influence and transmission can be posited at all. In tenth-century Lotharingia reform impulses were experienced contemporaneously in a number of monasteries that were closely connected with each other.[141] What is undoubted is that the history of these reformed monasteries cannot be written without substantial reference to their episcopal overlords, and none shows more clearly than Bruno the intertwining of reformed monasticism, bishop, and Ottonian ruling dynasty with its interest in monastic reform.

Bishops had a strong political interest in their overlordship of monasteries, because monasteries were such powerful focuses of aristocratic loyalties and almost certainly orchestrators in their region of public opinion, not least through their saints' cults and the stories of saints in *vitae* and miracle narratives.[142] We have also noted that they had a strong economic interest in their overlordship of monasteries. As John Nightingale has said of Bishops Gauzlin and Gerard of Toul in relation to the monastery of St Evre: 'It would be hard to find bishops with better monastic reform credentials than those of Gauzelin and Gerard. Yet as soon as we scratch beneath the surface of their later reputations we see the fault lines between their interests and those of their dependent communities; even the most reform-minded bishops had wider

interests which at times conflicted with those of St Evre.'[143] He also shows that the bishop's actions could result in the diminution of an abbey's endowment, for 'Lotharingia's bishops continued to participate in the Ottonians' military enterprises and had to find the wherewithal to do so'.[144] This highlights the interests of lay patrons, those already involved with monasteries before their 'reform', to keep up the endowments of their religious houses, and the importance for monasteries and individual monks to keep their aristocratic connections, often powerful connections and not only local ones, in good shape. They by no means relied only on bishops; in fact their interests necessitated that they should not have to do so.[145]

   We are launched here on an argument which, if carried to extremes (though Nightingale does not so carry it), would end by saying that aristocratic connections were what enabled monasteries to function, while bishops were largely an irrelevance or a nuisance to them. That would be a dangerous extreme. The heart of tenth-century reform was to establish or enhance a community not only in its communal living, but also in its communal (and elaborate) liturgy, worship, and prayer. It was a high-church movement, so to speak, with a markedly Christ-centred spirituality.[146] However much the material interests of episcopal overlords and monasteries themselves may have clashed, however much the aristocratic patrons were vital for monasteries after as before reform, and however much episcopal sources may depict bishops as utterly beneficent while monastic charters point up the frictions, all of which Nightingale has brilliantly shown,[147] the importance of bishops in the initial propulsion towards reform in a monastery seems an inescapable fact. Nightingale himself, on Bishop Adalbero of Metz's role in the reform of the monastery of Gorze, says that it would be a mistake to see this only in terms of the material aggrandizement of Adalbero and his family (which it clearly was in part), since association with holy men itself enhanced family prestige.[148] Holiness or perceived holiness was very useful to a bishop in ruling his diocese, both by his association with holy men, and in himself. But in a society familiar with holiness as a phenomenon, pretence would be quickly seen through. A bishop

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[143] Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, 140.
[144] Ibid. 134.   [145] Ibid., esp. 140–7.
[146] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, i. 83–7.
[147] Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, 12–13, states some of the lead ideas of this highly coherent book.
[148] Ibid. 79.

could not simply summon up the appearance of holiness when it suited him. Therefore we are driven to the conclusion that several of the Lotharingian bishops really believed in monastic reform. They wanted their dioceses to have a religious ethos in which monastic reform played its part. The late Timothy Reuter planned a book on 'Europe of Dioceses', which alas! he did not live to write. Dioceses, he thought, were major elements in shaping the self-awareness of regions. The idea which I take from Reuter and Nightingale together, even for as early as the tenth century, is that a balance needs to be kept between a sense of diocese and diocesan centre, and the often trans-diocesan aristocratic networks of monasteries on the ground.

For all the divided allegiances of reformed monasteries and conflicts of interest with bishops, the more one points up the continued reliance on lay aristocratic patronage, the more one is also pointing up the appeal of the religious aspects of reform, at least to a significant sector of the lay aristocracy, and therefore a certain community of interest between aristocracy and bishops. Without that appeal, reform would have failed, for houses of monks necessarily had a predominance of aristocrats in them, and whether not 'reformed' or 'reformed', their recruitment was bound to be among more or less the same families. There was a close connection between the elaboration of the liturgy and aristocratic support, not least in the intercessory role performed by the monks.

Nothing is more striking in the history of Christianity than the ease with which genuinely religious and genuinely economic motives sit side by side with each other. Likewise, religious and economic neglect may sit well together as partners. Nightingale denies the decline which Bishop Adalbero of Metz bemoaned in the decades before the reform of Gorze of 933/34,[149] but Boshof would rightly caution against dismissing this as mere reform rhetoric; John of Gorze and those clerics and hermits who gathered around him, initially found nowhere in their own homeland which corresponded to their idea of a common life of asceticism and religious discipline.[150] Where bishops were concerned, the economic motive for involvement in reform may generally be assumed and was sometimes overt. That motive, as we have said, had to do mainly with the use of church lands to support military forces. But we often find meaningful references to the Rule

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[149] Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, 68.
[150] Boshof, 'Kloster und Bischof', 220.

of St Benedict in the sources, which need not be taken as merely papering over the economic realities. Flodoard of Rheims, for instance, not a monk but a canon, recognized in his *Annals* under 934 that something had happened in Lotharingia in certain monasteries, which he described with the words *religio regulae monachorum reparatur* ('the religion of the rule of monks was restored').[151] When Bishop Gauzlin of Toul reformed the monastery of St Evre in 934 he took as his model of Benedictine observance the distant monastery of Fleury.[152] It paid bishops as well as monks to have far-flung connections. In 951, when the Saxon Bishop Berengar of Verdun (940–59), a relative of Otto I, transformed the canonry of St Vanne into a monastery, he called it a monastery 'in which the brethren of our church, fleeing the active life, might in future find the solace of the contemplative life'. Presumably he only meant find it for periods of time (on good Gregorian principles), but that he meant it is shown by his having himself become a monk of St Vanne eight years later.[153] Folcuin, in his *Deeds of the Abbots of Lobbes*, recounts how the Saxon Bishop Eberacher of Liège (959–71), a pupil of Bruno, appointed Aletrannus to be abbot of Lobbes, and says that he corrected everything according to the Rule (of St Benedict).[154]

This Lotharingian concern for the Rule of St Benedict is strongly echoed in Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*. Ruotger wrote:[155]

Concerning religion, first of all, and the worship of God which the Greeks call *theosebeia*, following established canonical wisdom and apostolic authority, he [Bruno] decreed that in the many people making up the various communities belonging to his honourable see, there should be one heart and one mind; so that superfluity (*superfluitas*) of clothes, divergent customs, and whatever of this kind seemed effeminate or inappropriate in his church should, by a true and spiritual circumcision [see below, p. 127] which is the beginning of wisdom, be most diligently cut out (*abscideretur*). Hence, with regard to the divine mysteries, all whom it concerned should live strictly according to the fixed (*praefixam*) rule, and not think that there was any other means of salvation whatsoever.

The first emphasis here, it should be noticed, is on the liturgy, on the worship of God, on what went on in church. The reference to

[151] Cited ibid. 219.
[152] Semmler, 'Das Erbe der karolingischen Klosterreform', 35; Boshof, 'Kloster und Bischof', 221.
[153] Boshof, 'Kloster und Bischof', 229–30.   [154] Cited ibid. 242.
[155] Ruotger, c. 21, p. 22, ll. 23–4.

canonical wisdom must refer to the Rule of St Benedict, which came
to be regarded as a canonic text under the reforms of Benedict of
Aniane in the early ninth century. But it is likely to refer also to
the Customs which reinforced and amplified the Rule, not least with
regard to the liturgy, at the same time. These conciliar texts were
fundamental to all efforts of monastic reform in the tenth century.[156]
The next emphasis, the rather surprising one on clothes, is totally
explained by the Rule of St Benedict, c. 55 on clothes. The Rule
says that it is sufficient for a monk to have two tunics and two
cowls; anything more is superfluous (*superfluum*) and should be cut out
(*amputari*).[157] Unity was to be expressed socially by a modest uniformity
of dress.

It has often been observed how powerfully the whole language of
Ruotger's *Life* is stamped with that of the Rule of St Benedict.[158] But this
is of particular importance for what Ruotger says about Bruno's prayer,
if we want to understand how Ruotger thought of the religious impetus
behind Bruno's leadership in monastic reform. He concentrated on the
divine office, 'commending himself to the Lord with prayer that was
short indeed, but pure'. Ruotger here echoes the Rule's 'prayer ought
to be brief and pure' ('unless perchance it be prolonged by the effect
of divine grace and inspiration').[159] There were archbishops of Cologne
before Bruno who were revivers of monasteries in the city, but for the
Rule of St Benedict to take hold, it seems that we have to wait until
Bruno's time.[160]

Friedrich Lotter has brought out the importance of monastic reform
for Ruotger's picture of Bruno, and has shown up similarities between
Ruotger's *Life* and John of St Arnulph's (Metz) *Life of John of Gorze*—the
stress on practical achievement and practical virtues rather than miracles,
the emphasis on learning, the following of Augustine and Gregory in
both.[161] This is useful but needs a caution. John of St Arnulph wrote

[156] Semmler, 'Das Erbe der karolingischen Klosterreform', 39–44.
[157] *Règle de St Benoît*, ii. 620.
[158] Irene Ott, in Ruotger, pp. vii–ix. She notes the reminiscence of the Rule at c. 20,
but oddly not at c. 21. Also Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, 83 and n. 285.
[159] Ruotger, c. 9, p. 9, ll. 18–20; *Règle*, c. 20, ii, pp. 536–8.
[160] Boshof, 'Kloster und Bischof', 214.
[161] Lotter, *Die Vita Brunonis*, 39–41, 50–60. Despite my caution in the following
sentences, Hoffmann, 'Politik und Kultur', 44, is right to see Ruotger's description of
Bruno on his deathbed as *pauper Christi* (Ruotger, p. 47, l. 1) as probable Gorze influence.
Bruno's interest in monastic reform apparently began before he was archbishop with his
supervision, or abbacy, of Lorsch, Ruotger, c. 10, p. 10, ll. 15–17.

several years after Ruotger.[162] That in itself is no reason why Ruotger's attitudes should not be part of a shared 'reform' culture. But when we come to the Gregorianism in both, there is a danger of first positing the anteriority of John of Gorze in the modern-named 'Gorze Reform', and then secondly positing a straight line of influence from Gorze to Cologne (regardless of the actual dates of the *vitae*). There is in fact what logicians might call 'an undistributed middle' along this supposedly straight line. It is that since Carolingian times Cologne itself had a tradition of especial devotion to and interest in the writings of Gregory, and it could as easily be this tradition as a Gorze one on which Ruotger drew.

We know enough about Bruno's ruthlessness (see pp. 25–6, 35–6 above) to see that had we anything like the richness of documentary evidence for his dealings with monasteries that we have for those of bishops with Gorze, or St Evre, or St Maximin of Trier, an image of him might well emerge in some respects not dissimilar from that of an Adalbero of Metz or a Gauzlin of Toul. It might be less about the clash of material interests between him and his monasteries, and more about clashes between him and those who suffered from his endowment of those monasteries (like the clashes between Bishop Aethelwold of Winchester and the landholders of Cambridgeshire in the 970s over the endowment of Ely Abbey).[163] As it is we are left with the masterpiece of Ruotger, and very little with which to 'control' it on the other side in the form of charters and cartularies.[164]

1.8. BRUNO AND THE OTTONIAN KINGDOM

Even before Bruno became archbishop of Cologne, aged scarcely 28, in 953, he must have known the churches and the great aristocrats of his brother's whole kingdom better than anyone other than Otto I himself. This was part and parcel of his being prominent in the royal itinerary from *c*.940 to 953. He must already before 953 have seemed

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[162] Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur*, ii. 189–91, dating it to 974–8 (Ruotger 967–9), and referring to the important influence of Gregory on John of St Arnulph, and especially on John of Gorze, p. 191. See also Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, 106–13, for a fine discussion, referring to John of St Arnulph's intention to write the *Vita* before John of Gorze died in 974.

[163] After King Edgar's death, a string of landholders came forward to challenge grants or purchases which they had made to Ely (and therefore to Aethelwold its lord), sometimes saying they were forced into them, *Liber Eliensis*, 81, 83, 95, 98, 107, 109, 126–7.

[164] Cf. Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, 12–21.

to many almost the personification of the Ottonian church as a whole. From the time he is first recorded as royal chancellor in 942, he acted as *Intervenient*, that is, publicly associated with royal grants, for such churches as Corvey, Kempten in Swabia, Cambrai, Trier under his cousin Archbishop Ruotbert, Fulda, Weissenburg, Quedlinburg, and a number of others in Germany, as for Vercelli, Verona, and S. Ambrogio, Milan, in Italy.[165] His fellow *Intervenient* in a charter for Corvey was Hermann Billung (943),[166] and in a similar way he was associated with a royal grant for the Margrave Gero (945),[167] so that he was early in meaningful touch with both of Otto I's two great marcher lords in the east of Saxony. He was present at Magdeburg in 946 when the bishopric of Havelberg was established, and again in 948 when it was the turn of the bishopric of Brandenburg, the counsel of himself and Gero being mentioned in the latter case.[168] In a royal charter for Fulda (951), he is said to be an *Intervenient* together with Duke Conrad of Lotharingia (the Conradiner, the great family in Franconia), at the petition of Abbot Hadamar of Fulda,[169] the selfsame abbot who would secure for Bruno the pallium from Rome when he was archbishop.[170]

Vital to Ruotger's picture was the constant awareness that the archbishop was an inner member of the ruling dynasty. It is clear from Bruno's dealings with Hugh the Great and Liudolf, from the great court gathering at Cologne in 965, from his participation in the royal itinerary in the 940s and early 950s, and from much else besides that this was also his constant awareness. His very name would have ensured that it was so. The Brunos, or Brunonids, were amongst the most distinguished family forebears of the Liudolfings themselves,[171]

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[165] *DO* I 48 (and for Otto I and Corvey, see importantly Bernhardt, p. 196), *DO* I 54 and 106 (Kempten), *DO* I 100 (Cambrai), *DO* I 110 (Trier), *DO* I 121 (Weissenburg), *DO* I 131 (Fulda), *DO* I 165 (Quedlinburg), *DO* I 136 (Vercelli), *DO* I 137 (Verona), *DO* I 138 and 145 (Milan).

[166] *DO* I 54.   [167] *DO* I 65.

[168] *DO* I 76 (Havelberg), *DO* I 105 (Brandenburg). *DO* I 105 dates from 1 Oct. 948 at Magdeburg; *DO* I 106, the next surviving diploma, for Kempten with Bruno as *Intervenient*, dates from 26 Dec. 948 at Frankfurt. It is likely, therefore, that Bruno was present with Otto I at the dedication of the rebuilt abbey church of Fulda on All Saints' Day, 1 Nov. 948, see Wehlt, *Reichsabtei und König*, 238, and Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, ii. 152.

[169] *DO* I 131 (Frankfurt, Jan. 951)

[170] Ruotger, c. 26, pp. 26–7, and see the complaint of Archbishop William of Mainz about this, below p. 95.

[171] Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 11–12, cf. ref. to H. Böttger, *Die Brunonen* (1865), in Oediger, 115.

so that although only the third son of Otto I's father, Henry I, and hence destined by his father from the start to be a churchman, his name was one of high family honour within this royal dynasty.[172] As observed above, the regal character of Bruno has been brought out particularly well by Karl Leyser. He rightly maintains that Ruotger's *Life* is testimony to the fact that all the sons of Henry I and Matilda were thought of as possessed of the sacred charisma.[173] This point is of obvious importance for the present book, which is about Bruno and Ruotger and the intellectual culture, or underpinning, of rule altogether in the tenth century, and not only of rule in the church.

The study of the royal aspect of Bruno has been carried forward since Leyser wrote. The idea of ruler 'representation' has been very fruitfully expanded in recent years to take in, besides pictoral representation, such areas as architecture, observance of festivals and birthdays, royal burials and their locations, and occupying royal beds, to give an example of public symbolism.[174] One notable contribution here has been Hagen Keller's on the ruler-representational character of Ottonian seals. Seal pictures were not portraits in the way that pictures of the queen on our stamps, coins, and banknotes are, but they were created with a conscious intention as to their effect as ruler images. The seal picture of Otto I in 962, the year of his imperial coronation, marks a decisive change. Otto is now no longer represented in profile but frontally. Keller associates this change with Bruno, at that time Otto's arch-chancellor and arch-chaplain.[175] In these offices the form of the ruler's seal must have been of the greatest relevance for Bruno. The one surviving example of his own seal, probably from late 962, which has the same diameter as Otto I's seal before 962, represents him also frontally (we lack the evidence of earlier seals for him). Naturally his regal character is not taken so far as to be represented, as Otto I is, holding sceptre and orb, but rather he has a book tucked into the crook of his left arm and touches it with his right hand.[176]

An argument has been put forward that Bruno was responsible for the iconographic design of the Vienna Imperial Crown.[177] Since the

[172] Ruotger, c. 2, p. 3, ll. 31–2; Widukind, i. 16, p. 26.
[173] Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 14, 17, 86–7.
[174] e.g. the contributions of Lobbedey, Ehlers, and Keller in Althoff and Schubert, *Herrschaftsrepräsentation*; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, i. 200; and for the last see the important paper by Althoff, 'Das Bett des Königs'.
[175] Keller, 'Ottonische Herrschersiegel', esp. 148–50.
[176] *Otto der Grosse: Magdeburg und Europa, Katalog*, IV, 79, pp. 304–5.
[177] Wolf, *Die Wiener Reichskrone*, esp. 105–26.

probable date of this crown is now considered to be *c*.980, the argument cannot be accepted in that form.[178] But it is possible to suppose that Bruno had contributed to the thinking behind the crown's iconography. First, he was interested in crowns, as Thietmar of Merseburg's story about the proposed kingly coronation of Hugh the Great shows. Second, Solomon, one of the three Old Testament kings represented on the enamels of the Vienna Crown, together with David and Hezekiah, is three times cited by name in Ruotger as a model for Bruno.[179] One should not regard the persistence of Carolingian tradition of Old Testament kingship under the Ottonians as in any way antipathetic to revived traditions of Christ-centred rule or Roman emperorship in the tenth century.[180] That would be a false dichotomy. An ivory holy-water bucket, the Basilevsky Situla (itself probably 980), made for the entry of Otto II into the city of Milan, shows no discomfort about invoking in its inscription the example of Hezekiah for this very Roman emperor.[181]

The importance of family, particularly the inner family, follows for both Bruno and Ruotger from this regal awareness. In the rebellion of 953, perhaps the greatest crisis of Otto I's reign, Bruno regarded Otto's son Liudolf, with Duke Conrad the Red of Lotharingia the leader of the rebellion, as acting against his own best interests, because his followers and allies were the real enemies of the Liudolfings and only used him as a pawn. 'We hear much about Liudolf's duties as a son and little about the Reich', says Leyser again; 'the familial note predominated.'[182] It is often observed that the great *Hoftag* of Pentecost 965, hosted by Bruno at Cologne only a matter of months before he died, was first and foremost a grand Ottonian family gathering,[183] as well as (or indeed as a means of) expressing Bruno's policy of bringing east and west of the former Carolingian empire closer together under the Ottonians.[184]

Both Henry and Bruno, the latter particularly after Henry's death in 955, were more than regional grandees. They were heavily involved in

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[178] Wolfram, *Konrad II*, 165–71.

[179] Ruotger, c. 4, p. 6; c. 18, p. 16; c. 18, p. 17. Wolfram refers to the deployment of David-and-Solomon ideology under Otto I, pp. 169–70. Also Laudage, *Otto der Grosse*, 156–7.

[180] The classic works on these themes are Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, esp. 61–78, and Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, esp. i. 37–86.

[181] Beckwith, *The Basilewsky Situla*, 1–3.   [182] Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 29.

[183] Ruotger, c. 42, pp. 44–5; and Schwenk, *Brun von Köln*, 141–2.

[184] In addition to Liudolfing family members present in 965, Bruno had another sister, Berhswitha, who had been abbess of St Cecilia, Cologne, during Bruno's time as archbishop, but who had died in 962, Oediger (under 925), 116.

the rule of the kingdom as a whole. Hrotsvita of Gandersheim, writing her poem *Gesta Ottonis* in the 960s, has this to say:[185]

The trinal Godhead gave to Henry and Matilda three sons, by a happy arrangement for their devout people, so that after the death of Henry, the venerated king, wicked men would not corrupt the kingdom. But these sons of the royal stock ruled their father's kingdom in peace and concord, however dissimilar [from the one, i.e. Otto] were the positions of the two who were subject to the one who ruled.

Hrotsvita's was an idealized perception, but it is the ideal that is of interest here. Albeit this was not a trinity of equals, there was a sort of image of trinity in the participation of Henry of Bavaria and Bruno in rule.[186] Ruotger has a similar perception of Bruno's participation in Otto's rule. Not only does he write at length about Bruno's pacifying Lotharingia, but he also stresses his energetic activity throughout his brothers' kingdom in the affairs of God and for the security of the whole people.[187] He would further have it that they saw themselves not only as brothers but also as colleagues. When Otto came to Cologne in 958, says Ruotger, 'he delighted himself with pleasures not so much fraternal, as seeing and talking with him [Bruno] face to face, and in altogether enjoyable activities'.[188]

It is clear that Bruno played a major role in the principal events or issues of the whole kingdom during his twelve years as duke and archbishop. He and Henry of Bavaria, but not Archbishop William of Mainz (natural son of Otto I), were consulted in 955 about the new scheme to raise Magdeburg to an archbishopric.[189] In the same year he did not go with auxiliary forces to the battle of the Lechfeld but remained at Cologne in case Hungarians should break away and attack Lotharingia (or other parts of the west) again, that is, he was part of a strategy for the whole kingdom.[190] He also sought to serve the kingdom, says Ruotger, by meeting with Liudolf, son of Otto I,

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[185] *Hrotsvit*, ed. Berschin, *Gesta Ottonis*, ll. 25–32, pp. 276–7; Laudage, *Otto der Grosse*, 246–7.

[186] Could there be here some reminiscence of the apparently trinal imagery of Charlemagne's *Divisio Imperii* (806)?

[187] Ruotger, c. 39, p. 41, ll. 18–24: 'non in Lothariorum tantummodo populo, quem ipse ex integro susceperat gubernandum … sed etiam per totum regnum gloriosissimi imperatoris fratris sui in Dei rebus et salute totius populi strenuissime operatus est.' See also Engels, 'Ruotger's *Vita Brunonis*', 42.

[188] Ruotger, c. 36, pp. 37–8: 'ibi se non tam fraternis deliciis quam mutuis cum illo aspectibus, affatibus et cunctis omnino iucundissimis usibus oblectavit.'

[189] Laudage, *Otto der Grosse*, 174.   [190] Ruotger, c. 36, p. 37, ll. 4–7.

whose ear he bent to turn loyal. He invited him to Bonn in his diocese, received him with pleasure, and treated him with a lavishness that was not unmindful of his royal dignity, which was gratifying to all present.[191]

Bruno never appeared to lack the means to put on a splendid display. He displayed here, however, not only his material means, but also his mastery of political drama. Gerd Althoff has written much and penetratingly about this whole area of public communication and how ritually emotionalized it was. Early medieval society was a society of 'rebellion, tears, and contrition', as one of his papers is entitled. None illustrates this better than Liudolf. His rebellion of 953 had a highly ritualized beginning; it ended with his prostrating himself in repentance before his father at Saufeld, weeping and wringing tears out of Otto I, and everyone else present shedding tears.[192] But, as Althoff says, such scenes rarely represent spontaneous outbreaks of emotion, without having some function. It is emotion controlled for political ends. With all his tears at Saufeld, Otto I never restored Liudolf's duchy of Swabia to him. But Liudolf may have hoped for an important position in Italy, which Ruotger maintained that Otto, on an inspiration of Bruno, subsequently conferred upon him.[193] As Althoff again says, outbreaks of emotion might underscore a determination to achieve peace without surrendering one's position.[194] In any case, it looks very much as if Bruno's 'public communication' with Liudolf at Bonn, and particularly the way that Bruno treated him there so as not to be unmindful of his royal dignity, was just what was needed to prevent Liudolf feeling that he would suffer excessive loss of face in reconciling himself with his father. One political drama paved the way for another.

In 961, when Otto crossed the Alps on his Italian expedition which would issue in his imperial coronation at Rome in 962, he left the kingdom and his newly anointed 6-year-old son Otto II, to the custody of the boy's uncle and half-brother, Bruno and William, the latter archbishop of Mainz and since 955 evidently reconciled with his father.[195]

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[191] Ruotger, c. 36, p. 37, ll. 8–29: *non immemor regie dignitatis*, ll. 19–20.
[192] Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 20; Widukind, iii. 40, 122.
[193] Althoff, 'Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung', esp. 265–7; Ruotger, c. 36, p. 37, ll. 23–6.
[194] Althoff, 'Empörung', 267.   [195] Ruotger, c. 41, p. 43, ll. 18–20.

1.9. BRUNO AND ARCHITECTURE

Ruotger represents Bruno as being almost incomparable in his building-works, his enlarging and restoring of churches, his translations of the relics of saints to his diocese, his work on private and public buildings. It is not easy to assess his architectural achievement because he must have initiated much that was brought to completion under his successors. Thus, for instance, the church of St Pantaleon, which Bruno revived as a monastery, and whose rebuilding he began, was first consecrated by Archbishop Warin in 980. The impressive sculptures on its Westwork, with its fine acoustic for chant indoors, have been dated to the late tenth century, which implies a continuation of building under the empress Theophanu, wife of Otto II, who was buried there (d. 991).[196] But it appears that Bruno had in hand works at least at St Martin and St Cäcilien as well as at St Pantaleon and the cathedral. The whole disposition of churches in Cologne followed a system; the cathedral, St Martin, and St Maria in Capitol forming the North–South axis of a cross; the Apostles, Martin, and at least later Deutz its East–West axis; and surrounding the cross in a garland or semicircle several notable martyr churches, including Severin, Pantaleon, Cäcilien, Gereon, Ursula, and Cunibert.[197] Bruno did not create this system, but except in the unlikely event that he was blind to his contemporary bishops developing their own 'systems', he must have been aware of it. For example, Helmut Maurer has shown how Bishops Conrad (934–75) and Gebhard (979–95) of Constance were developing a pattern of churches in their city based on the model of Rome.[198] Bruno showed himself to be Rome-orientated in different ways—in the acquisition of relics, in the emphasis he set on his securing of the pallium (Ruotger says in this connection that at Rome he was

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[196] Fussbroich, *Die Ausgrabungen*, 181–2, 231–5 (at p. 195 the Westwork of St Pantaleon is architecturally related to that of Lorsch, where Bruno was for a time in charge); 'Die Metamorphosen', 231; Kahhsnitz in Brandt and Eggenbrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim*, ii. 221–4. For a general survey of Bruno and architecture, mainly from the scattered evidence in Ruotger, Binding, *Der früh- und hochmittelalterliche Bauherr*, 65–88. Also id., 'Ottonische Baukunst in Köln', esp. 283, 287, 291.

[197] Schwenk, *Brun von Köln*, 71–3, following Binding, *Städtebau und Heilsordnung*, esp. 46.

[198] Maurer, *Konstanz als ottonischer Bischofssitz*, 32–69, and esp. 70–7.

called 'fellow citizen of, and in harmony with, the Apostles'),[199] and perhaps above all in his building-works on the cathedral.

Whether Bruno added aisles to the north and south of his cathedral to make it a five-aisled church is now doubted by experts. Tenth-century work on the crypt seems to be another matter.[200] Uwe Lobbedey has pointed to a development during the Ottonian period from the ring (circular) crypts of the Carolingian times to the hall crypts of the Romanesque period.[201] Hagen Keller raises the question whether this might not represent a change of liturgical function from only the accommodation of relics and their cult to also a use for *memoria*, that is, burial places.[202] This is an obviously important issue if we are looking to architecture as a form of *Herrschaftsrepräsentation* in the enlarged understanding of that concept. In fact the tenth-century crypt of the cathedral was a ring crypt, taken to be a conscious copy of that at Old St Peter's in Rome (St Peter is the dedicatee of Cologne Cathedral), and connected to the coming of Peter's relics to Cologne in Bruno's time, the staff from Metz in Lotharingia and the chain (of Peter's imprisonment) from Rome itself. Although we do not know how the crypt was used liturgically, it is considered that the Rome orientation of Otto I and the scale of the architectural project imply an architect of the wealth and stature of king's/emperor's brother.[203]

If we accept Hagen Keller's suggestion that ring crypts relate to relic cults while Hall Crypts move more to *memoria*, then it almost stands to reason that at the cathedral Bruno should have his eye on the former rather than the latter. For not only was it his wish to be buried at St Pantaleon, rather than at the cathedral, but also his *memoria* was Ruotger's *Life* rather than a liturgical cult. People came to his burial place, says Ruotger, to remember what he did, what he taught, how he lived, and how he died. That is what Ruotger conceived his book to be about. 'Some prayed for him; some asked him to pray for them.'[204] Ruotger's Romanism—and it is unconvincing to argue that he projected this onto Bruno when it was not otherwise there—was a compound of his knowledge of the classics, his papalism, and his Roman idea of empire. For although he calls Otto I i*mperator* after

[199] Ruotger, c. 26, p. 27, ll. 4–5. For the relics of St Pantaleon and part of the staff of St Peter from Rome, ibid., c. 27, p. 27, ll. 22–3, and c. 31, p. 31, ll. 28–30.
[200] Neuheuser, 'Der Kölner Dom', 305–6.
[201] Lobbedey, 'Ottonische Krypten', esp. 86–7.
[202] Keller, 'Herrschaftsrepräsentation', 442–3.
[203] Neuheuser, 'Der Kölner Dom', 304.   [204] Ruotger, c. 48, p. 51, ll. 24–7.

and before the Roman imperial coronation of 962 indifferently, it is clear that Otto's own idea of empire existed, and existed also as a Roman idea, before 962.[205] In this sense Bruno's work on the crypt, if indeed it was his, is an example of *Herrschaftsrepräsentation*, and another example of his conceiving his rule as a share in the rule of the kingdom, indeed empire, as a whole. Moreover, a western atrium connected the archbishop's palace to the cathedral, and next to this, out of the old Roman praetorium, Bruno built a royal palace.[206]

How, if at all, does all this building, all this collection of relics and building of churches worthy of them, fit into the metropolitan rivalries between the Mainz, Trier, and Cologne archbishoprics in the mid-tenth century? The fact is that while the archbishops of Trier and Mainz were battling it out for precedence with papal privileges in the 960s and 970s, Cologne appears largely to have stood aside from this fray.[207] Indeed, after initial resistance, Bruno renounced his claims to metropolitan authority over the archbishopric of Hamburg, not so important a centre of mission as Magdeburg to Otto I but still important enough, and Schwenk praises him in this as a true *Reichspolitiker* who put the interest of the Reich above his own or that of Cologne.[208] No archbishop of that time, however, would neglect the interests of his own see; but he might see those interests in a different light from how others saw theirs. This is not only to say that Bruno conflated the interests of his church with those of the kingdom, renouncing any idea of standing in the way of a missionary metropolitan, though there surely was that element to it. There was also something else. The evidence of Ruotger and of the surviving manuscripts in the Cologne cathedral library would suggest that Bruno was only minimally interested in law and legal claims. His outlook was not on the whole that of a lawyer.[209] He was a perfect example of how ritual, symbols of prestige, and public drama—things which historians like Leyser and Althoff have taught us to regard as of supreme importance in the tenth century [210]—so often took precedence over law and legal rationality in that period. If anything in his eyes, and

[205] Keller, 'Das Kaisertum Ottos des Grossen', esp. 326–9, 334–48. On Ruotger and Bruno in particular, pp. 329, 343, 346–8.

[206] Schwenk, *Brun von Köln*, 64–5.   [207] Boshof, 'Köln, Mainz und Trier', 35.

[208] Schwenk, *Brun von Köln*, 119, citing Adam of Bremen, ii. 5.

[209] As is argued below, p. 138, n. 32, the case of Bishop Rathier of Liège was an exception.

[210] Althoff, several papers in *Spielregeln* and *Inszenierte Herrschaft*, and also id., *Die Macht der Rituale*, esp. 75–6, 97–101; Leyser, 'Ritual, Ceremony and Gesture'.

hence in Ruotger's, brought the pre-eminence to his church, it was not fancy titles to primacy or papal vicariates, but his shining as a builder, as a collector of relics without equal, and as a follower of Rome and the popes. His glory lay not in legal titles but in pomp and ceremony. For the papal pallium came to him with the exceptional permission to wear it whenever he wished, and this *was* an important symbol of prestige in the struggles for symbolic precedence of the metropolitans.[211]

1.10. RUOTGER, BRUNO, AND THE LIBERAL ARTS

The early chapters of Ruotger's *Life* are dominated by one theme, taken far beyond the point of topos: Bruno's grounding in the liberal arts and his abiding interest in them. At the age of 4 he was sent to Bishop Balderic of Utrecht (who would outlive him by more than a decade) 'to be imbued with liberal studies'.[212] First he learned the rudiments of grammar; then he moved on to Prudentius, and afterwards hardly any sort of liberal study 'in all Greek or Latin eloquence' escaped his lively mind.[213] After his brother Otto I had become king (936), probably around 939–40 he called him 'out of the schools into the court'. He travelled around on the trail of abstruse philosophical works and ideas. Ruotger continues:[214] 'He opened up the long-forgotten seven liberal arts [the exaggeration of 'long-forgotten' here *is* a topos], and studied with teachers of any tongue whatever was new and important that historians, orators, poets, and philosophers noised abroad. Wherever a master excelled in his liveliness of mind, he would offer himself with humility as his pupil.'

Bruno often sat in the midst of learned men, Greek and Latin, discussing philosophy; a well-informed interpreter of them, he won the approbation of all. These occasions were obviously envisaged as in the nature of court seminars, for Ruotger says that the king himself, 'a judge not to be deceived in such matters, frequently looked in, as no doubt did God himself, who keeps those who have attained such a height from arrogance'.[215] Bruno's seminars are another example of his share

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[211] Ruotger, c. 27, p. 27, ll. 23–6; Zotz, 'Pallium et alia', 157.
[212] Ruotger, c. 4, p. 5, ll. 1–3.   [213] Ibid., ll. 21–33 (*ingenii sui vivacitatem*).
[214] Ibid., c. 5, pp. 6–7, and p. 7, ll. 14–18.
[215] Ibid., c. 6, pp. 7–8. My translation here abridges the Latin, but I hope correctly keeps the sense. The phrase 'not to be deceived' (*falli nescius*) appears to be a reminiscence of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, see Ruotger, p. 7, n. 8.

in the rule of the kingdom as a whole, in Ruotger's eyes; for it is in this connection that Ruotger refers to Otto, 'who strengthened his kingdom exteriorly, interiorly clothing it with such splendour [of knowledge]'.[216] Ruotger mentions as one of Bruno's teachers the Breton bishop Israel (another must have been Bishop Rathier), a scholar learned in Greek. Bruno testified to the advances he had made under him. The Greeks (it is not quite clear who they were in this context, but there were many Greeks in the West at this time), whom he also used as masters, were astonished by him and took home amazed reports.[217] He excelled in 'Latin eloquence' himself, and refined it in many others. 'Wherever he went, to churches or royal residences, he carried his library around with him as if it were the Ark of the Covenant, like a learned householder who brings out of his treasure what is old and what is new' (Matt. 13: 52).[218] Then comes a classic Augustinian statement of the relation between secular, or liberal arts learning and divine, or biblical learning: 'this library contained both the reason for and the tool of study: the reason in sacred books, the tool in profane (*gentilibus*) books [i.e. principally of the liberal arts].'[219]

Ruotger himself, probably schoolmaster of St Pantaleon, was manifestly learned both in sacred literature and the classics. But Bruno's interest in the liberal arts was no mere projection of himself onto Bruno, and there is independent evidence to show it. The principal independent evidence of Bruno's reputation is, once again, a story in Thietmar of Merseburg, about the vision of a cleric called Poppo, who saw Bruno arraigned before Christ the judge and his saints for his practice of 'inane philosophy', which must mean the liberal arts rather than sacred learning. The other two principal sources of evidence, both of them from Metz, cannot be called independent in the same way, for, doubtless through Bruno's cousin and confidante Bishop Dietrich of Metz, Metz had an early copy, if not the master copy, of Ruotger's *Life of Bruno* (see below, pp. 87–8). But both sources were in a position to make an independent judgement about the validity of their evidence as well as to add a new slant to it from their own knowledge, and so they should not be discounted. John of St Arnulph, Metz, in his *Life of John*

[216] Ibid., p. 7, l. 27–p. 8, l. 1: 'et qui regnum suum exterius fortitudinis et consilii vigore firmavit, interius illud tali splendore vestivit.'

[217] Ibid., c. 7, p. 8. See Lapidge, 'Israel the Grammarian'.

[218] Ruotger, c. 8, p. 8, ll. 24–5; and p. 9, ll. 8–14.

[219] Ibid., p. 9, ll. 11–12: 'et causam studii sui et instrumentum, causam in divinis, instrumentum in gentilibus libris.'

of Gorze recounts how Adalbero, bishop of Metz, went to Otto I's court in connection with John of Gorze's celebrated legation to the Caliph of Cordoba (953). He found he had to deal with Bruno, just before Bruno became archbishop of Cologne. This is what he says:[220]

Bruno, brother of the king, afterwards of great use to him and an ornament of the kingdom, wise and prudent, so knowledgeable about public affairs as about all the liberal disciplines that he rose above all his contemporaries and almost equalled the ancients, for whom teaching had opened much that was written in Greek—Bruno was at that time the communicator of all public and private business, a most prudent advisor, and responsible for imperial documents.

The other Metz source is the eleventh-century Sigebert of Gembloux's *Life of Dietrich of Metz*. Dietrich was one of a number of Ottonian bishops who owed their education, or training, in some sense to Bruno. The latter's influence over Otto I in episcopal elections is alluded to by Ruotger, who adds that he preferred those who knew what the pastoral office was about.[221] The *Life of Dietrich* as it related to Bruno has been helpfully discussed by Stephen Jaeger. Jaeger sees Bruno, with his emphasis on developing the natural talents of his protégés, as part 'talent scout' and part educator, and he points to Sigebert's emphasis on the liberal arts in Dietrich's education.[222] One may think that this emphasis was mainly to inculcate the 'eloquence' needed by a bishop, but later in the book I shall hope to show that there was much more to it than that.

The idea of Bruno's 'court seminars', and his humbly sitting at the feet of teachers, might look like nothing more than a blatant piece of hagiographical fantasy or at least exaggeration. Ruotger plainly had in mind Jesus aged 12 amidst the doctors of the Temple (Luke 2: 46–7).[223] But there is a real-life context which would make sense of it and of Otto I looking in on such occasions, and that is the royal itinerary. Ottonian kingship lacked a bureaucracy or a capital at which a bureaucracy could be located. It was itinerant. As I said earlier, this had a political

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[220] John of Gorze, *Vita*, c. 116, p. 370, ll. 11–16.

[221] Ruotger, c. 37, p. 39, ll. 15–25, and p. 39, n. 4. For Dietrich's closeness to Bruno, ibid., pp. 46, 49, 50, 52.

[222] Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 37–42. Dietrich of Metz, *Vita*, c. 2, p. 464: 'sub eo [Bruno] in sanctae Coloniensis ecclesiae gimnasio per diutina diludia liberali tyrocinio est exercitatus, et per diuturna proludia laudabiliter probatus' ('He was exercised by a long initiation in the liberal arts, and passed the lengthy testing praiseworthily').

[223] Ruotger, c. 6, p. 7, ll. 21–2, and note that the previous chapter, c. 5, ends with the words 'se discipulum prebuit humilitate', ibid., l. 18. See Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, 81–2.

significance in that its politics were patrimonial and face-to-face with the aristocracy, and an economic significance in the agrarian exploitation of widely scattered estates, and a sacral significance in that it could be regarded as one long regal procession.[224] The attestations of royal diplomata would suggest that from 942 to 953 Bruno as chancellor or arch-chancellor was much on the royal itinerary. Indeed Otto I would have been wise to ensure that it was so. As we have already seen even with Bruno, no close relative who was left out of sight could be guaranteed a clean sheet of loyalty. Now it had to happen sometimes that the king's *iter* would come to some learned centre with a good library,[225] and also that it would draw in representatives of such centres when they were nearby. For instance, on 9 February 950 Otto was at Worms; on 26 February 950 he was at Speyer, some 25 miles to the south.[226] On both days, when diplomata were issued, Bruno acted as chancellor *vice* Frederick of Mainz as arch-chancellor. Worms was very close to Lorsch Abbey, of which Bruno himself was abbot, and the provost there was Gerbodo, who would become abbot the following year in 951.[227] Lorsch had a fine Carolingian library, and there is reason to believe that it was not entirely neglected in Gerbodo's time.[228] At Speyer Otto I issued a diploma for the abbey of Weissenburg in Alsace, which had another great Carolingian library, and again there is evidence that it was used and kept up in the tenth century.[229] Weissenburg is further away from Speyer than Lorsch is from Worms, but as the Speyer diploma was issued in favour of Weissenburg, by the intervention among others of Bruno, it is obvious that representatives of the church had come to Speyer. Hence one may reasonably envisage two learned gatherings, or only one. For if one thinks of how far Otto II dragged Gerbert of Aurillac and Ohtric of Magdeburg to hold a debate at Ravenna in 980,[230] it was almost nothing for Bruno to have dragged a few Lorschers down to meet the Weissenburgers at Speyer, perhaps having already gone through the library at Lorsch and found *inter alia* an interesting copy of

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[224] For the significance (including sacral significance) of Ottonian itinerant kingship, see Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 103–4, and Leyser, 'Ottonian Government'; Brühl, *Fodrum …*, as in n. 3 above; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship*, on the relations of the Ottonians to their churches, esp. 27–35.

[225] e.g. Corvey, see Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship*, 196.   [226] *DO* I, 120 and 121.

[227] Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 181–2.

[228] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, i. 37.

[229] Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété écclésiastique*, iv. 290.

[230] Gibson, 'The *Artes* in the Eleventh Century', following the Rheims chronicler, Richer.

Martianus Capella (see below, pp. 212–13)! None of this can be proved, of course, and in any case we are not talking about the superstars of even tenth-century scholarship; only of churches that probably had some scholarly priests. But it does show that, at some level, what Ruotger says was not inherently unlikely. One can reasonably suppose similar scenarios at other points on the itinerary when Bruno was present, not least at Pavia in October 951, to which representatives of the churches of Vercelli, Verona, and St Ambrogio, Milan, must all have come.[231]

1.11. RUOTGER, BRUNO, AND GREEK

One of Ruotger's claims for Bruno, as I have mentioned, was his knowledge of Greek. 'Almost no kind of liberal studies in all Greek or Latin eloquence escaped his lively mind', he says; Bruno liked to sit amongst those most learned in the philosophy (i.e. studies in general) of the Greeks and Latins; he took Greek as well as Latin teachers, whom he amazed.[232] More than half a century ago Bernhard Bischoff published a celebrated article on the Greek element in western education during the Middle Ages, in which he poured some scorn on the level of Greek in the West between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Certainly there was knowledge of many Greek words or formulae and of the Greek alphabet, but that was no indication of a knowledge of the Greek language—rather the contrary; for there was a stronger interest in Greek vocabulary than in Greek grammar. The greatest knowledge of Greek in the ninth-century West was at Laon in the time of Eriugena; but notwithstanding Martin of Laon's putting together the literary ancillary aids in the Greek–Latin dictionary of Laon Ms. 444, and some strands of this passing on to Rheims and to Liège with Sedulius Scotus, the school of Laon subsequently fell far behind Eriugena in its mastery of Greek.[233] On Bruno and Cologne, Bischoff wrote that although Bruno had connections to those who studied Greek, these bore little fruit; only perhaps the late tenth-century fragment of a Greek grammar (Vienna Ms. 114) begun by Froumund of Tegernsee at St Pantaleon, Cologne.[234]

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[231] *DO* I, 136–8.   [232] Ruotger, cc. 4, 6, 7, pp. 5, 7, 8.
[233] Bischoff, 'Das griechische Element', esp. 256, 260–1, 265–8. A similar picture is seen from a study of Greek at St Gall by Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian Age*, esp. 16, 20–5.
[234] Bischoff, 'Das griechische Element', 260, n. 79, pp. 268–9.

It is certainly the case that tenth-century manuscripts and their gloss-es at Cologne, such as those of Prudentius, Martianus Capella, and Boethius' *De Arithmetica*, would in themselves have given the oppor-tunity to acquire much Greek vocabulary, as presumably would have Bruno's connections with such centres as Laon, Rheims, and Liège. Bruno's knowledge of Greek, however, probably went a little beyond vocabulary. By a brilliant piece of detective work among the relevant manuscripts, Michael Lapidge has given a new understanding of the importance of Bishop Israel, one of Bruno's teachers, as a Greek schol-ar, in compiling a dossier of Greek grammatical, medical, and prayer texts.[235] Walter Berschin and Carlotta Dionisotti have both drawn Cologne into their study of Greek in the tenth-century West.[236] Niko-laus Staubach has taken this further. He sees both Rathier and Hrotsvita of Gandersheim—the latter writing under the Graecophile abbess and niece of Otto I, Gerberga—in their appreciation of Greek/Byzantine hagiography and of the Greek *artes* tradition mediated by Latin authors, as part of Ottonian court culture. He is unnecessarily apologetic about the phrase 'Ottonian court culture'; he is apologetic presumably because any one court centre was lacking. Thus he writes that similarities between Rathier and Hrotsvita were no accident, but were: 'mediated through the complex cultural/political power field (Kräftefeld) which one is accustomed to name by a convenient but not unproblematical label the "Ottonian Court".'[237] By the same token, although Bruno's discussion with Greek teachers may be taken, in Staubach's opinion, as a fictitious element (though this was not necessarily so), Ruotger may be seen as an authentic witness to the educational claims of the Ottonian court.[238] The lack of one court centre does indeed make the concept of a court culture problematic, but not on that account inapposite.

One may think of the royal itinerary as to some extent joining up the various important cultural centres at which, or near which, it stopped, or of drawing people from those centres to itself as it passed through their region.[239] It has been strongly argued, in particular, that

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[235] Lapidge, 'Israel the Grammarian'.

[236] Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*, 230, 234–5; id., 'Salomons III Psalterium Quadrupartitum'; id., 'Drei griechische Majestas-Tituli', 38–9; Dionisotti, 'Greek Grammars and Dictionaries', 30–2 (albeit she is often stern about the low standard).

[237] Staubach, '*Graecae Gloriae*', the word 'Kräftefeld' on p. 364.

[238] Ibid. 353–4, 355–7, 362–4.

[239] It is possible to think, even in the excellent and stimulating book of Bernhardt, that the element in the itinerary of drawing aristocrats of the region and representatives

Gandersheim must have been a considerably more important stopping-place than meets the eye from the direct evidence of charters, as early as Otto I's and Hrotsvita's time.[240] Then again, we may consider highly qualified scholars, like Bruno himself in the 940s and early 950s, as well as educated chaplains, travelling with the court, sometimes for long periods.[241] To see the Ottonian court in its cultural aspect as a 'power field', rather than as a settled centre of personnel, creativity, and patronage in itself, is to use a phrase which hits off the situation neatly.

Whatever one makes of the limitations to Bruno's mastery of Greek language and culture, however, one should not underrate the significance in tenth-century culture of knowing the meanings of Greek words and phrases. To attribute some knowledge of Greek to royal persons in the early Middle Ages was in fact something of a topos. Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* has it, albeit with the hackneyed excuse that Charlemagne understood Greek better than he spoke it.[242] Thegan says the same about Louis the Pious, but only after observing that Louis was very learned in the Greek and Latin languages.[243] The evidence for Charles the Bald seems unclear, but he took care to command the services for his personal use of the greatest Greek scholar of the ninth century, John Scotus Eriugena; he wanted to impress the Greeks; and he was dressed *more graecisco* for his imperial coronation at Rome in 875.[244] The fact that this was a topos does not, of course, of itself mean that it was untrue. But it does raise the question what the function of the topos as such was. My answer would be along similar lines to what I say about arithmetic (as expounded by Boethius) and its significance for rule (below pp. 164–6). It gave rulers or those involved in rule an appearance of initiation into the secrets of the universe, as if an arcane instrument of power were held in the palm of their hand. In other words, the display of Greek knowledge could be as much magic as it

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of its churches to stopping places on the royal itinerary is one that has been underrated in its study. The method of Müller-Mertens's important work, *Reichstruktur*, 79–163, has primarily focused on where the itinerary went rather than on who came to it. J. E. A. Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship* (1955), ch. 7, gave a model of itinerant kingship with a fixed curial element and a fluctuating provincial element as the king travelled. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, i. 42–4, has something on these lines.

[240] Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship*, 149–54.

[241] For Bruno, see above, p. 11. Although Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, vol. ii, is much concerned with prosopographical study, there are many implicit examples of itinerancy with the court in what he writes at pp. 35–50.

[242] Einhard, c. 25, p. 92.   [243] Thegan, c. 19, *MGH SS* II, 594–5.

[244] Wallace-Hadrill, 'A Carolingian Renaissance Prince', 164–5, 180–1; Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, 83.

was didacticism. To give an example, the Greek text in the mandorla of a Christ in Majesty in the Trier gospel book of the early 980s (Paris lat. 8851, fo. 1v) conveys no lesson which would not have been more effectively conveyed in Latin. It concerns Christ's rule of the world, 'Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and Thy dominion endureth throughout all ages' (Ps. 144: 13); and the Greek represents a magical enhancement of rule, almost like an alternative form of runes. This psalm text does not directly use the surviving bilingual Psalter of Archbishop Egbert of Trier (977–93),[245] though the latter is itself in part a magical symbol of archiepiscopal rule. An Essen book produced under Abbess Hadwig, a contemporary of Bruno and very possibly related to the Liudolfings, has pictures of the abbey's patron saints with their names rendered in Greek.[246] In the tenth century writing itself could sometimes be considered as magic, expressing the power of the writer or owner (see below, pp. 244–5). That effect was heightened when the writing was in Greek.

1.12. LEARNING AND RULE

With what has just been said about Greek, we are already back to a point which was made earlier about learning as an instrument of rule. In 1957 Hartmut Hoffmann published an important article about Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*, in which he pointed to Ruotger's stress on the vital connection between Bruno's education, especially in the liberal arts, and his capacity to rule. When Ruotger applied to Bruno the famous phrase of St Peter, 'a royal priesthood', he associated it with Bruno's knowledge of the *artes* (including the liberal arts) and his practice of the four cardinal virtues. The *artes* were, together with the exercise of virtues and the armour of faith, the means to fight spiritual wickednesses (note the pervasiveness of Prudentius' *Psychomachia* in the mode of expression, even when it is not cited directly).[247] Ruotger formulated the combination of learning and politics in Bruno with a Ciceronian paradox: when he was studying (*cum esset in otio*—and Hoffmann takes *otium* here to include study of the classics) nobody seemed more engaged in business (*in negotio*), and when in business he never gave up study. Ruotger himself even added

[245] Berschin, 'Drei griechische Majestas-Tituli', esp. 39–41, 44, 48.
[246] Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*, 235–6.
[247] Ruotger, c. 12, p. 12, ll. 21–4.

a humanistic streak to his *Life* by citing the much-quoted dictum of
the playwright Terence to justify Bruno's involvement in worldly rule,
humani nihil a me alienum (nothing human is foreign to me).[248] Nearly
a century later, following Boethius, Sigebert of Gembloux in his *Life
of Dietrich of Metz*, writing of the rule of Otto I, took a similar view:
'happy the state whose rulers are philosophers and whose philosophers
rule', he declared.[249]

Sigebert made this point about the need for learning in rule, directly
in conjunction with the number of distinguished Lotharingian bishops
whom Bruno trained or educated, as Stephen Jaeger points out, also
rightly emphasizing the role of liberal studies in this training. When
Jaeger goes on to see Bruno as the prototype of the 'courtier bishop' and
an initiator of a 'new education' in the cathedral schools, this perhaps
reads back ideas from the eleventh century, which Sigebert did as much
to fashion as merely to reflect, into the tenth.[250] However, he makes
three undoubtedly important points: (1) that Ruotger places the stress
on reading and intellectual activity in itself, though he adds, 'not on any
religious motive', which Ruotger, whose *Life* is about the combination
of Bruno's effectiveness in the church and his deep religious devotion,
would probably have regarded as a *non sequitur*; (2) balancing but not
contradicting the first point, that the *utility* of studies is constantly
stressed, particularly by the *Life of Dietrich*; and (3) that in Bruno's case
his *disciplina* lay primarily in his personal example and charisma. 'Many
benefited from his words; more from his example', says Ruotger.[251]

The idea of Bruno as an educator in both religious and liberal arts
studies as qualifications for rule raises some important questions. First,
can we meaningfully refer to a cathedral school at Cologne under Bruno?
And in what sense was Bruno a teacher of his protégés such as were
named by Sigebert?

In the most basic sense there was a cathedral school, with presumably a
Magister Scholarum to teach Latin grammar, and to give basic instruction
in the other six liberal arts—rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry,
astronomy, and music.[252] But that hardly takes us to the level of

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[248] Hoffmann, 'Politik und Kultur', 53.
[249] Following Boethius. Cited by Leyser, 'Polemics of the Papal Revolution', 139.
[250] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, 36–47. The two quotations are at pp. 38 and 43.
[251] Ruotger, c. 30, p. 31, ll. 14–15. See Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, 39.
[252] As is implied in the evidence from Sigebert of Gembloux and the *Life* of
Gerard of Toul immediately below. See also Plotzek, 'Zur Geschichte der Kölner
Dombibliothek', 25.

Bruno's education which seems to be implied in the sources. For the rest, the surviving Cologne manuscripts from the Bruno/Ruotger period, which are admittedly few, suggest in their annotations much more the private study of qualified scholars than they do the classroom. We cannot name any such scholars (other than Ruotger), as we can, for instance, in the case of ninth-century Corbie, because other Cologne writings were anonymous or are lacking altogether. But that is no reason to deny their existence. I consider below the arguments about a Cologne cathedral school, here mentioning only that I tend to the sceptical view of Vones. When we ask what sort of a teacher Bruno was to his pupils, therefore, we probably need to rule out any idea of regular appearances in the classroom. Apart from other considerations, his constant military expeditions to the West and his political commitments generally must have ruled out any such idea. It is far easier to understand Thietmar of Merseburg when he says that Ansfrid, later bishop of Utrecht, received his *training in arms* from Bruno. Sigebert of Gembloux indeed says that Dietrich spent a long time in the school (*gimnasio*) of Cologne cathedral under him (*sub eo*, i.e. under Bruno),[253] but this latter phrase cannot tell us how much he was taught by Bruno himself. The eleventh-century *Life of Gerard of Toul* says that his parents handed over the locally born boy to be imbued with the liberal disciplines at Cologne Cathedral; but the first mention of Bruno relates to his influence in 963, while Otto I was in Italy (the *Life* explains), in Gerard's election as bishop of Toul.[254] Wicfrid of Verdun is called in Bruno's Testament, of which he was an executor, an alumnus of Cologne,[255] but how much of this Bavarian's education took place there is not known.[256]

Without becoming too speculative, therefore, if we want to understand Bruno as a teacher of his pupils we must probably envisage a Socratic method, conversation and encouragement rather than the classroom and lecturing. Sigebert describes Dietrich of Metz not only as Bruno's pupil but also as his companion.[257] They were, it is true, blood relations, as were Balderic of Utrecht and Bruno, but Sigebert's phrases are likely to be a guide to Bruno's master–pupil relations more generally. And much of the companionship may have been on horseback, as the pupils served their apprenticeship in the military aspects of the *bonae*

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[253] Dietrich of Metz, *Vita*, 464.   [254] Gerard of Toul, *Vita*, 492–3.

[255] Ruotger, p. 52, l. 5.   [256] *Gesta Episcoporum Virdunensium*, 46.

[257] Dietrich of Metz, p. 464, ll. 47–8: 'hic assumpta forma discipuli se eius individuum agebat socium.'

artes. We might think of them even as younger colleagues to whom their master was an exemplary scholar. What is undoubted is Bruno's influence over a number of men who would become bishops. Cologne was a nursery for bishops of the kind that the court chapel itself would become after his death.[258]

One remarkable piece of evidence for Bruno's sense of how his learning contributed to Otto I's rule is a poem composed by himself, or possibly by his friend Rathier of Liége.[259] It praises Otto, whom it soliloquizes for presiding, in his rule, over a revival of learning—Carolingian learning as Fleckenstein has appropriately glossed it—after dark times and the pressure of barbarian attacks. It goes thus:[260]

> Gloria, pax, decus et requies
> Aurea te duce secla refert.
> Diciderat studium veterum
> Et vigilantia pene patrum;
> Cecaque secula barbaries
> Seva premebat et error iners.
> At tua dextra ubi sceptra tenet
> Publica res sibi tuta placet;
> Exacuit calamos studium
> Fertque, quod apparat, ad solium

> Glory, peace, honour, and calm
> Bring back a golden age with you as leader.
> The study of the Ancients and the alertness of the Fathers
> Had all but fallen into desuetude;
> Harsh barbarity and lazy-minded error
> Weighed down a blinded age.
> But when the sceptre was held in your right hand
> The *res publica* was glad of its security.
> Study sharpened its arrows
> And carried them ready to the ruler [lit. to the throne].

[258] Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, ii. 55–8.
[259] There has been debate about the attribution of this poem since Fleckenstein first argued for it in 1954, 'Bruns Dedikationsgedicht'. Fried proposed that Bruno of Querfurt, one of Otto III's chaplains, would fit better and represent the right period, 'Bruns Dedikationsgedicht'. Jacobsen supported Fried in his rejection of Bruno of Cologne as author but made merry with his arguments for Bruno of Querfurt. He put forward the interesting suggestion of Bruno's friend, Rathier of Liège—from a time when the two would have been reconciled after falling out, 'Lateinische Dichtung', 174–5. I find Schwenk's arguments against Fried and in favour of Fleckenstein persuasive, *Brun von Köln*, 142, and n. 670.
[260] Fleckenstein, 'Bruns Dedikationsgedicht'.

All this may be praise of Otto I, but if the poem was indeed written by Bruno, to whose pen it fits very well, it was also barely disguised self-praise. Practically everything it says is in effect said by Ruotger about Bruno. *Gloria* and *pax* are words constantly used of Bruno's achievement by Ruotger.[261] Ruotger speaks of how Bruno revived 'the long-forgotten seven liberal arts'.[262] Ruotger refers to the cruel people of the Hungarians and their *barbaries* with which Bruno had to cope, and to the *indomita barbaries* of the Lotharingians.[263] Ruotger says that everything Bruno did was for the safety of 'our' *res publica* and its protection.[264] Ruotger tells us how the king took an interest in Bruno's studies. And *vigilantia*, translated by me as 'alertness', is constantly attributed by Ruotger to Bruno, a vigilant (*pervigil*) guardian of churches and admonisher of his clergy to be vigilant (*invigilare*) in guarding the Lord's flock. In a Ciceronian allusion, Ruotger declares that none of its enemies was so keenly watchful (*vigilabat*) for the harm of the *respublica* as Bruno was for its safety.[265]

If Sigebert of Gembloux stresses the utility of education under Bruno, and if Ruotger stresses on the other side of the coin intellectual activity itself in the education which Bruno purveyed, this raises the question of how intellectual activity was usefully related to rule. What intellectual activity was this? These are questions with which much of the rest of this book is concerned, particularly the chapters on Boethius' *De Arithmetica* and Martianus Capella. The evidence may be sparse, but it gives some hints.

[261] As can be seen in the word-index of Ruotger, under *gloria* and *pax*, at pp. 63, 66.
[262] Ruotger, c. 5, p. 7, ll. 14–15: 'Obliteratas diu septem liberales artes ipse retexit.'
[263] Ibid., c. 24, p. 25, ll. 3–5; c. 37, p. 39, ll. 10–11.
[264] Ibid., c. 23, p. 24, ll. 12–13; c. 37, p. 38, ll. 10–11.
[265] Ibid., c. 15, p. 14, l. 19; c. 22, p. 23, l. 1; c. 25, p. 26, ll. 10–11.

2

Methods of This Study

2.1. ANNOTATIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS

The remainder of this book is based on the study of tenth-century marginalia and glosses in manuscripts which were at Cologne around the time of Bruno and Ruotger. These marginal annotations, showing how and with what interests such texts as Pope Gregory the Great's *Letters*, Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, Boethius' *Arithmetic*, and Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* were read at Ottonian Cologne, should help us to understand some aspects of its thought-world. By comparing the annotations at Cologne with annotations of the same works elsewhere, I seek to form an idea of how typical or distinctive the thought-world of Cologne was. Furthermore, since Ruotger's *Life of Bruno* was the most important composition to come out of tenth-century Cologne, and one of few known to have come out of it at all in that period, and since Ruotger must have been resident in Cologne for at least four years before he wrote it, it seemed an instructive exercise constantly to hold the *Life of Bruno* up to the light of these annotations, and the annotations up to the light of the *Life of Bruno*. And it has proved to be instructive—so far as the evidence goes. I say so far as the evidence goes mainly because of the loss of many manuscripts, but partly because of the likelihood that annotating itself may have been a haphazard activity. Indeed, whereas added marginal or interlinear notes provide evidence of passages of interest, the absence of such notes need not suggest a lack of interest; many texts that were intensively read did not attract marginal annotation. To copy glosses or not, to annotate or not, may often have represented a personal if not a whimsical choice of a qualified scholar. On the other hand, when glosses or marginal annotations do occur, they should not be thought of as casual jottings, users' notes, as the phrase sometimes is, or not in the tenth century anyhow. There was a certain formality about writing in the margins, even a certain authority exercised over them.

The study of glosses is not immune from the need for *Quellenkritik*. The majority of the most important manuscripts on which my study is based are not of Cologne origin. Therefore the first problem, in the case of such manuscripts, is to try to establish which manuscripts were at Cologne, wherever they originally came from, in the third quarter of the tenth century. That is a problem which I have had to address constantly, even in the case of the tenth-century manuscript of Prudentius which I argue to be the lost forerunner of the early eleventh-century one which now survives at Cologne (Ms. 81) (below, pp. 116, 126, 129).

Another problem, when glosses look as if they relate to the thought-world of Ruotger, is *how* they relate. Was Ruotger influenced by already present annotations in manuscripts at Cologne, as possible in the *Letters* of Gregory the Great, for instance? We are all likely to be influenced by previous annotations in a book we read or reread, not least when these highlight certain elements of the subject matter. Or do the annotations simply spring from the same thought-world as Ruotger's, regardless of whether they ante-date or post-date the composition of the *Life of Bruno*? Or could some of them, for example in the *Letters* of Gregory or in Martianus Capella—though hardly both—have been written by Ruotger or even Bruno himself? The possibility that Bruno or Ruotger themselves wrote some of these annotations must be discarded as a working idea, because there is no known sample of either man's handwriting, the earliest surviving copy of Ruotger's *Life* being well into the eleventh century. As to the other two possibilities—that they are earlier or a little later than Ruotger—it is generally impossible to determine and thus to determine exactly *how* annotations and Ruotger relate to each other. But this does not invalidate my main point—that Ruotger's work and manuscript annotations are evidence of a shared Cologne thought-world.

It is necessary here to repeat and emphasize a point made above in the Introduction. When I refer to the Cologne 'thought-world', I do so as a shorthand, mainly to refer to the apparent shared interests and coherence of approach between Ruotger and thus (as I have argued) also Bruno on the one hand, and the glosses or marginalia in the manuscripts on the other. Sometimes it might refer to the congruence of interests and approaches in the glosses of different manuscripts. The phrase 'thought-world' is not intended to imply more than that. It is not intended to imply anything intellectually monolithic. As I argue below in Chapter 5, there is no evidence of any school at Cologne Cathedral or elsewhere in Cologne, other than a basic liberal arts school, from

which a monolithic thought-world on a large intellectual scale could have been born. Beyond that, I suggest that any sharing of interests or coherence of approach must arise from conversations, or Socratic dialogue, between Bruno and his companions. We cannot put a name to any of those in the tenth century who wrote glosses or marginalia in the Cologne manuscripts; but one may reasonably see in them scholarly minded individuals who shared in the thought-world generated by such conversations or dialogue, at or near to the time of Bruno and Ruotger. The case of the glosses in the manuscript of Boethius' *Arithmetic* (Ms. 186) is both different and similar: different in that these tenth-century glosses were in all probability not written at Cologne, and similar in that the Cologne interest which inspired their acquisition in the tenth century is clear to see.

The first attempt to investigate how texts were studied in a Carolingian monastic library, using annotations, has been the pioneering study of the monastery of Corbie by David Ganz. Unlike Cologne in the tenth century, Corbie in the second quarter of the ninth century was an important centre of theological study and writing, with Pascasius Radbertus and Ratramnus in particular. Ganz has reconstructed through many Corbie manuscripts a whole network of marginal comments on patristic texts, or mere *nota* monograms to draw attention to subject matter, which obviously relate precisely to the writings of both these authors on the Eucharist and even more to Ratramnus on Predestination.[1] In Corbie, Ganz says, 'annotations created a more active study of the texts, as a preparation for their [i.e. Corbie authors'] own literary activity'.[2] And again he says that in the marginal notes we can 'sense the issues which aroused interest and concern'.[3] In tenth-century Cologne we are not able to reconstruct so precisely the relation between annotations and literary activity, though a relation of some sort can be perceived; but through annotations we are certainly able to sense some of the issues which aroused interest and concern.

What was the function of the annotations or glosses? Sinead O'Sullivan has brought out well two alternative though not neces-sarily mutually exclusive answers to this question: aids to classroom teaching or aids to the study of the text concerned by scholars.[4] In an important paper, Michael Lapidge has raised this question with regard to the Latin glosses of much-read Latin texts in late Anglo-Saxon

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[1] Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, 74–7.   [2] Ibid. 75.
[3] Ibid. 78.   [4] O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius*, 81–5.

England—and so contemporary with our Cologne annotations. He shows definitively that his glosses could not have been for classroom use and casts doubt on the whole idea of the 'classbook' as a form of manuscript in these cases. The glosses were clearly 'assembled' in the Carolingian schools and were transmitted, as sets of comments, later to England. He suggests a context in which they might have functioned, namely to help monks understand their Lenten or annual book.[5] I would certainly see the glosses on Prudentius, on Boethius' *Arithmetic*, and on Martianus Capella, at Cologne, as helping scholars to study the text rather than as having anything to do with the classroom, although in glosses on the *Arithmetic* in contemporary manuscripts elsewhere I do sometimes detect signs of the classroom. With Gregory's *Letters* at Cologne (Ms. 94) the case is less clear. Here the *nota* monograms with annotations of subject matter are certainly not for classroom use. They may represent a preparation for the writing of the *Life of Bruno*, analogous to some of the Ratramnian annotations at Corbie. Or they may be a little later (though still tenth-century) and may do no more than reflect similar interests to those of Ruotger.

How much were glosses actually used? How much notice was taken of them? Ganz's answer at Corbie is an obvious and important one. The answer is less obvious at Cologne. One might think that it was easy to tell whether the pages were much-thumbed or not. Not only, however, is thumbing undatable, but also parchment is much harder-wearing than paper. Given the expense of even unornamented books at that time,[6] they were probably handled with more care. Excerpts may have been made so that parts of them would be more usable in a cheaper way.[7] It would be impossible to pass judgement on how much Boethius' *Arithmetic* (Cologne 186) was used, although there are one or two Cologne additions to the glosses in the later tenth century which suggest that they were not dead wood *ab initio*. There is another issue, however, which in a way bypasses the question of how much they were used. If manuscripts with glosses or annotations already in

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[5] Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts', esp. 124–7.

[6] McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, 135–41, 148–55.

[7] Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville et la culture classique*, ii. 750–62, has shown up the mass of ephemeral literature, most of it not surviving, which lay behind Isidore's *Etymologies*—books of extracts, collections of *scolia* or glosses, compendia of opinions or doxographies, etc. Surviving mss. may sometimes have been library copies or master copies from which excerpts were taken for wider study or teaching.

them came to Cologne from elsewhere, can we suggest an intellectual context of interest which might have caused them to be acquired? In other words, we might at least say whether there was an interest in them at the point of acquisition, which tells us something about the thought-world. For instance, one may see from Ruotger's *Life of Bruno* an obvious interest for Cologne's acquiring its manuscript, *with its glosses*, of Martianus Capella (Ms. 193), and this is reinforced by some very significant Cologne glosses added soon afterwards. Johanne Autenrieth has rightly maintained that it is valid to use the cultural context of a particular church or abbey to help date and localize manuscripts by external evidence. The same may surely be said sometimes of dating and localizing glosses. In this sense Ruotger's *Life* may sometimes act as a 'control' on the glosses and their significance for tenth-century scholars. In the case of Boethius' *Arithmetic* (Ms. 186), there are strong reasons for thinking that Cologne acquired it in the tenth century, primarily for the sake of its glosses. And no wonder, when one experiences their stimulating and coherent Platonism, and their genuine help in following the text.

To say that the glosses and other marginal annotations of tenth-century Cologne look more like aids to the private study of qualified scholars than like anything to do with aids to classroom teaching of the texts concerned, may seem to lessen their importance for such historians as take the view that the more people whom this kind of material can then be seen to reach, the more historically important it is for us now. This is not my view, because it would overlook the inherent interest of cutting-edge thinking in the characterization of the intellectual culture of a whole age, and because it would overlook the way in which the ideas or attitudes of a few can gradually percolate through a society's educated sector. To make also another point about this, the fact that the marginalia are more aids to private study than to classroom teaching strongly supports the scepticism of Ludwig Vones about there being a significant school in Ottonian Cologne that went beyond basic liberal arts teaching.

There may be those who are tempted to say: 'but is not his method circular, the glosses being read in the light of Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*, and Ruotger's *Life* then being read in the light of a Ruotgerian interpretation of the glosses?' This would not seem a justified criticism. First, there is independent evidence for all the main points which Ruotger makes or implies about Bruno: his seeking to be a bishop in the pastoral mode propounded by Pope Gregory the Great, his study of the liberal arts and

his thinking that education in the liberal arts bore on a capacity to rule, his belief that clerics were justified in using military force to establish earthly peace. Secondly, my method is never a linear one, from Ruotger to the annotations and *then* back to Ruotger. Ruotger and the glosses both speak well enough for themselves. I compare them, not in order to establish basic interpretations, but in order to enlarge the whole picture of a Cologne thought-world.

In any critique of glosses, particularly in the early Middle Ages, it can be important where they are placed on the page in relation to the text which they gloss. All this can now be checked on the splendid website of Cologne manuscripts at http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de (see above, p. xv). I have edited one of the earliest, if not *the* earliest, known *set* of glosses to Boethius' *Arithmetic*, because the manuscript with them in it must have been acquired by Cologne around the time of Bruno and Ruotger, and they are likely to reflect an approach of theirs to this important liberal arts text. Although I have not 'imaged' them on the printed page, showing visually how glosses relate to text, as it is now possible to do, I have indicated with each gloss whether it is in the margin, at the foot or head of the page, or interlined. Where this most matters, however, in the present study, is in some of the Cologne glosses added to the manuscript of Martianus Capella (Ms. 193, fos. 31v, 32r). Here three glosses have their importance to the glossator pointed up by being placed actually in the text area of the page at the end of Book 2, facing lines at the beginning of Book 3 opposite, which they gloss. One of these glosses, by contrast, though in different words, may be found squeezed in as a tiny interlineation in another manuscript (see below, pp. 214, 227). And the fact that different glossators use different words to say the same thing is also significant. It means that it cannot be a case of mechanical copying of dead wood, which can sometimes seem the case with glosses, but must be the thought of someone who cares about the issue.

Since the glosses to Boethius' *Arithmetic* in Cologne Ms. 186 are unpublished, it has seemed worth printing the text here. And since I have found the same set of glosses in six other manuscripts, as well as finding some of the same glosses in several others, it has seemed worth making a stemma. There are two different circumstances which could make it impossible to construct a stemma, or family tree showing the 'descent' of manuscripts from one copy to the next. One is if so many manuscripts of the same works were in circulation that any scribe might be using more than one of them. This can lead to 'contamination'

between two or more families of manuscripts so that their textual traditions can no longer be told apart.[8] The other is when the text is so short, or significant scribal errors are lacking for some other reason (like exceptional scribal accuracy, which however is rarely the case!) that there is not enough evidence, since a stemma is only made meaningful by a sufficiency of scribal errors. Short as the texts of the glosses are in total, however, there seemed to be just enough scribal errors to be significant and to make a stemma both possible and interesting.

2.2. THE COLOGNE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY

Some explanation is required about the history of the Cologne manuscript collection and its present state. The story was well told by Kl. Löffler in 1923, and has been filled out in many important ways more recently (1998) by Joachim Plotzek.[9] Whatever manuscripts were at Cologne previously, the effective history of the cathedral library begins with Archbishop Hildebald (before 787 to 819), who had been arch-chaplain at Charlemagne's court.[10] He had a number of manuscripts made for the cathedral, most of which (but certainly not all) have an entry written in capitals, saying: CODEX SANCTI PETRI SUB PIO PATRE HILDEBALDO SCRIPTUS. Most of these were doubtless written at Cologne in the scriptorium which Hildebald himself developed; in fact Bernhard Bischoff identified a Cologne hand of this period which had copied in at least eight manuscripts, four of them containing the Hildebald inscription.[11] However, not all the manuscripts with this inscription were home-produced, for as Bischoff showed in another famous piece of palaeographical detective work, the three volumes of Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* were written by ten named nuns of the royal nunnery of Chelles—for Cologne at Hildebald's command. Werden Abbey was perhaps an early provider of

[8] See for a good later example David d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons*, 36–40; and Reeve, 'Stemmatic Method'.

[9] Löffler, *Kölner Bibliotheksgeschichte*, 1–6; Plotzek, 'Zur Geschichte der Kölner Dombibliothek', the latter not least on the losses in the 17th and 18th cents., p. 52.

[10] Löffler, *Kölner Bibliotheksgeschichte*, 1; Plotzek, 'Zur Geschichte', 15–16. For Hildebald at Charlemagne's court, Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, i (1966), esp. 49–52.

[11] Jones, *The Script of Cologne*, made mss. with such inscriptions under Hildebald and his successors the basis of his study, unfortunately including some which the archbishops had obtained from elsewhere; Bischoff, *Épinal, etc. Glossaries*, 18–19.

manuscripts.[12] Something of the momentum of Hildebald's direction of the scriptorium lasted throughout the rest of the ninth century, as can be seen from inscriptions of Cologne books relating to other ninth-century archbishops at least up to the time of Archbishop Willibert (870–9).[13] Under Hildebald's successor, Hadebald (819–41), in 833 a (surviving) catalogue of the library was drawn up, containing 115 works in 175 volumes; of these early manuscripts only something over forty volumes still survive in the Dombibliothek.[14] Losses occurred partly by the excessive ease with which the canons lent or sold their manuscripts down the centuries, particularly after printed editions meant that they had cheaper texts of the works in question. The philologist Johann Georg Graevius, for instance, could find nothing interesting for him in the Cologne monastic libraries in 1657, but acquired by loan or purchase several valuable classical manuscripts from the cathedral, which after his death passed to the Kürfurstliche Bibliothek in Düsseldorf. Later the librarian there sold them to Johann Jakob Zamboni, ambassador of the Landgraf of Hessen-Darmstadt to London, from whom Edward Harley acquired several of them in 1724.[15]

Here we have one reason why the surviving manuscripts at Cologne itself, patchy as they may be on the patristic background of Ruotger, show virtually nothing of his undoubtedly important classical background (though some of the Cologne Harleian manuscripts are probably later than Ruotger's time).[16] Another possible cause of losses was the removal of the cathedral manuscripts, first to various repositories during the French revolutionary wars of the 1790s, and then, after the early nineteenth-century secularization and the Peace of Luneville (1815), to

[12] Bischoff, 'Die Kölner Nonnenhandschriften', esp. 17; Plotzek, 'Zur Geschichte der Kölner Dombibliothek', 20.
[13] Jones, *The Script of Cologne*, catalogue, pp. 29–73, nos. 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 18, 19, 20, 25.
[14] Decker, 'Die Hildebold'sche Manuscriptensammlung', text pp. 224–8; cf. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, 191–2, for a fine discussion on the organization of Carolingian library catalogues. The 833 list was in a now lost Ferrandus ms., which was lost after being published by Ägidius Gelenius in 1633, found by Decker, q.v. in my bibliography, in the Registry of the Generalvikariat, and lost again after him! Plotzek, 'Zur Geschichte der Kölner Dombibliothek', 22–3.
[15] Löffler, *Kölnische Bibliotheksgeschichte*, 26; Plotzek, 'Zur Geschichte der Kölner Bibliothek', 34. For the mss. of Graevius from Cologne, now in the Harleian collection, see Clark, 'The Library of J. G. Graevius', with the list at pp. 369–71.
[16] Most of the Cologne mss. in Clark's list (note above) are unfortunately somewhat too late for my purposes, or they lack glosses.

the ducal museum of Westphalia in Darmstadt, from which only in 1866, after the peace between Hesse and Prussia, were 193 manuscripts returned to Cologne.[17] These were the manuscripts catalogued by Phillip Jaffe and Wilhelm Wattenbach in their publication of 1874.

The vast majority of these 193 manuscripts clearly always belonged to the cathedral library and not to a conglomerate collection of various Cologne libraries. In the sixteenth century the library of the monastery of St Pantaleon (a relevant case, since Ruotger was schoolmaster and probably a monk of St Pantaleon) was regarded as an entirely separate entity, to judge by the stated use of its manuscripts in Cologne printed editions (e.g. the *Homilies* of Bede and Maximus of Turin) of the 1530s. If we ask what subsequently happened to its library, the answer is certainly not that it ever merged with that of the cathedral; rather, its manuscripts were extensively sold by the monks themselves at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as the two Maurists Martène and Durand reported in 1718, probably to finance the expensive building-works and sumptuous architectural fittings of Abbot Konrad Kochen (1687–1717).[18] It is surely the cathedral library rather than that of St Pantaleon which is relevant to Ruotger, as it was of course for Bruno. In the first place, when Ruotger was writing in the late 960s, only a few years after Bruno's re-establishment of St Pantaleon, its library (and Ruotger makes no mention of an endowment of books to it),[19] can hardly have yet been built up significantly. Secondly, in the tenth century, whatever the case later after rivalries between churches developed, the teaching and library resources of Cologne Cathedral must be regarded as a common pool; an early eleventh-century loan-list of the cathedral library shows this well enough, where Abbot Elias of St Martin and St Pantaleon, Evezo the schoolmaster of St Kunibert, and the abbess of St Ursula appear amongst the borrowers, the last with a copy of Terence (shades of Hrotsvita of Gandersheim!).[20] Third, it cannot be supposed that Archbishop Folcmar (965–9), for whom the *Life of Bruno* was written and to whom it is addressed, said to Ruotger, sitting only a mile away at St Pantaleon with its still exiguous collection of books, that he might write the *Life* but might not use the resources of the cathedral library to help him.

[17] Plotzek, 'Zur Geschichte', 50–1.

[18] Löffler, *Kölnische Bibliotheksgeschichte*, 6, 17–26, 28.

[19] Ruotger, cc. 27, 48, pp. 27, 51.

[20] This list is of the early 11th-cent., written into an early 10th-cent. liturgical ms. (Erfurt Ms. Cod. CA 2° 64), Löffler, *Kölnische Biblioteksgeschichte*, 3; Plotzek, 'Zur Geschichte', 30–1.

There are many questions which we should like to raise about the Cologne cathedral library in the tenth century, but which the evidence hardly allows us to answer. This is frustrating, for where there is good evidence of scribes, the acquisition of books, and the organization of medieval libraries, their study in modern times has reached a high degree of sophistication and interest. Teresa Webber, for example, in her masterly book on scribal and scholarly activity at Salisbury Cathedral in the half-century on either side of 1100, has been able to study Salisbury book production, to identify scribes—a number of them doubtless Salisbury canons, to show up a network of other centres from which exemplars or the surviving manuscripts themselves came, and to probe deeply and effectively into the theological and pastoral interests of the canons in consequence.[21] Very little of this is vouchsafed to the student of the Cologne cathedral library in the tenth century, let alone any such evidence of the library organization and location of books within the monastery which Alan Piper has so well brought to light for fourteenth-century Durham.[22] Even for the ninth century, John Contreni, although lacking a contemporary catalogue at Laon such as that of Cologne in 833, can say much from its collection of manuscripts, to a wonderful degree still intact. He can show, for instance, not just the accumulation of books for the Laon library, but also the intellectual purposes with which donors, masters, and scribes worked to build it up.[23] This subject is not such a blank at tenth-century Cologne as it might once have been thought, but we are dealing with fragmentary evidence compared to that at ninth-century Laon.

We must not, however, exaggerate our helplessness at Cologne. First of all we are extremely lucky to have the surviving catalogue of 833. This shows that Cologne had at best a medium-sized library by Carolingian standards. Its 175 volumes compare modestly with the 400 or so volumes recorded in the Reichenau catalogue of 821/2 or even the 256 volumes recorded in the St Ricquier catalogue of 831.[24] The Cologne list is arranged with biblical books first, then liturgical books, then interestingly, considering the evidence of early ninth-century apocalyptic illustration in the Carolingian empire, a

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[21] Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, esp. 8–30, 31–43, 44–81, 116–23.
[22] Piper, 'The Libraries of the Monks of Durham'.
[23] Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, esp. 66.
[24] For these figures, McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, 176, 178.

'painted apocalypse'.[25] Thereafter the list follows an order of patristic, canon-law, hagiographical, and computistical texts, with texts for school-teaching such as Donatus' grammar bringing up the rear. The patristic holdings are quite good, very much so on Gregory; the greatest lack in 833 was in liberal arts texts. Plotzek presumes that the order of the catalogue was the order in which the books were kept in the library *armarium*, that is, one or more chests or a book-room.[26]

After 833 it is no longer possible to speak of a *policy* of book acquisitions or of building up the library. The evidence is too fragmentary to allow this, as it does for Contreni in ninth-century Laon or Webber in early twelfth-century Salisbury. There are no more comprehensive early medieval catalogues (only a loan-list),[27] and the losses of early medieval manuscripts over the centuries make meaningless the kind of study of overall purposes in building up a library such as Contreni has been able to make at Laon. That does not mean, however, that we can say nothing about interest in the acquisition by the cathedral of particular surviving books during the tenth century. I have commented on this below particularly in the cases of: (1) the early tenth-century *Letters* of Gregory the Great (Cologne Ms. 94), (pp. 91–3); (2) the late ninth-/early tenth-century *Regula Pastoralis* of Gregory (Cologne Ms. 89) (pp. 101–2); (3) the tenth-century Prudentius, which I argue to have been the forerunner or exemplar of the surviving early eleventh-century manuscript (Cologne Ms. 81) (pp. 116–17); (4) the ninth-century Boethius, *De Arithmetica*, with tenth-century glosses, bound since *c*.1000 with the late ninth-century Macrobius' *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* (Cologne Ms. 186) (pp. 148, 156–7); and (5) the Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (Cologne Ms. 193) (p. 212).

Leaving aside for the moment the question of who was responsible for the acquisition of books—none of the above, with the exception of the eleventh-century Prudentius and possibly its tenth-century forerunner, was written at Cologne—it is in fact principally Ruotger who enables us to see why there should have been an interest by Cologne scholars to acquire these books when they were acquired, probably all of them in or around the time of Bruno and Ruotger. This context of interest is apparent, in the case of the two Gregory manuscripts, from

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[25] *Apocalypsin pinctum* (*sic*: later hand *pictam*), Decker, 'Die Hildebold'sche Manuscriptensammlung', no. 20, p. 225.

[26] Plotzek, 'Zur Geschichte der Kölner Dombibliothek', 23.

[27] Ibid. 30–1 and p. 31, Abb. 18.

the especial veneration of Gregory in Cologne attested since the eighth
century,[28] from the good holdings of Gregory attested already in the 833
catalogue, and above all from the powerful influence that the writings
of Gregory had in shaping Ruotger's concept of a great churchman.
With Prudentius, the interest stands almost to reason in view of the
special place that this poet had, according to Ruotger, in the affections of
Bruno, while the context of interest which would explain the acquisition
of Boethius and Martianus Capella, both of them absolutely central texts
for the study of the seven liberal arts (Martianus for all of them, Boethius
for arithmetic, which was the foundation subject of the quadrivium),
lies obviously in Ruotger's emphasis on how keen Bruno was to revive
the so-called 'forgotten' liberal arts. I have already mentioned that the
library of 833 was relatively good on the fathers and the lives of saints.
But it was seriously lacking in the liberal arts. Without prejudice to a
possible start in the ninth century, Cologne was attempting to make
good this lack during the tenth century. This is clear not only from the
acquisitions of the Boethius and Martianus, but also from the evidence
of interest taken in both these manuscripts in the tenth century after
they were acquired (below, pp. 148–9, 208–13); from the fact that
a number of the manuscripts acquired by Graevius in 1657 from the
Cologne cathedral library were of tenth- to eleventh-century classical
texts, and implicitly from what is said about the liberal arts education
at Cologne under Bruno of Dietrich of Metz and others. The whole
effort would be continued under Archbishop Heribert of Cologne in
the first decades of the eleventh century. By then there was a Cologne
scriptorium at work producing particularly liberal arts texts, and it
would not be surprising if some of these were copied from exemplars,
no longer in existence, acquired for Cologne in the tenth century. There
is a strong suggestion of it in what van Euw has said about Calcidius'
translation and commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* (Cologne Ms. 192)
(below p. 156), and also in the set of glosses at least, written into the
early eleventh-century Priscian (Cologne Ms. 202) (below, pp. 140–4).

Who was responsible for the acquisition of books by the cathedral
library in the tenth century? Although I have once or twice below
referred by way of shorthand to a librarian and his interest in acquiring
a book, there is no sign in this period at Cologne of anyone with the
name or duties of a librarian. The answer to the question is that there
is no evidence, or at least no direct evidence. Given the inscriptions

[28] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, ii. 118; and see below, Ch. 3.

in certain books, however—*Liber Hildebaldi*, *Liber Williberti*, *Liber Heriberti*—and given the overall responsibility of the archbishop himself for studies at the cathedral in Bruno's time, one must suppose that the archbishop himself supervised acquisitions,[29] however much he might depute a qualified scholar to act in particular cases under him. When a library consists of at most a few hundred volumes—and it is hard to imagine that the number of volumes would have more than doubled from 833 to *c*.970—such a supervisory role would not have put an undue strain on an educated prelate.

There is a stronger ground than this for thinking that at least in Bruno's case he personally took responsibility for the acquisition of books, albeit there is no direct evidence to attribute any particular acquisition to him. In the years before 953 when he became archbishop he had already made his own collection of books, which Ruotger says he took around with him (evidently on the royal itinerary), and which included both sacred and liberal arts texts, as if it were his Ark of the Covenant.[30] And if one knows avid book-collectors, they are unlikely ever to stop collecting! What happened to Bruno's library after he became archbishop? It is possible that he continued to carry it around with him as a separate personal library; on Carolingian analogies of private libraries, it is unlikely to have significantly exceeded fifty books.[31] But it is much more likely that he donated it to the cathedral library. Adelelm, bishop of Laon (921–30), had donated his own books to the Laon cathedral library,[32] and amidst all his dealings in the West, Bruno must have known this. Contreni says that Adelelm did this as much for security reasons as for anything else, and the same consideration would have applied to Bruno. True, St Boniface was travelling with chests of books when he was martyred by East Frisians in 754,[33] but after 953 most of Bruno's travels were connected to military campaigns in Lotharingia or West Francia, whereas Boniface was on a peaceful mission, just as Bruno's own travels before 953 had been

[29] As also Plotzek, 'Zur Geschichte der Kölner Dombibliothek', 27–9.

[30] Ruotger, c. 8, p. 9, ll. 8–11: 'Quocumque enim circumagebantur tabernacula aut castra regalia, bibliothecam suam sicut arcam dominicam circumduxit ferens secum.'

[31] The high-powered library of Wulfad of Rheims numbered 30 volumes, Cappuyns, 'Les *Bibli Wulfadi*', 137–9; the libraries of Eberhard of Friuli 44 and Eccard of Mâcon 27, Riché, 'Les Bibliothèques de trois aristocrates', 97–103.

[32] Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 152–3.

[33] Willebald, *Vita Sancti Bonifacii*, c. 37, p. 350: 'Paganorum tumultus … thecas in quibus multa inerant librorum volumina et reliquiarum capsas abstulit, magna se ditatam auri argenteque copia credens.'

peaceful ones. Bruno might have taken one or two books with him on his campaigns, but surely not a whole library which he greatly valued. In fact he is much more likely to have brought books back from his western campaigns than to have taken them in the first place. At that time a library was another form of treasure.[34] Contreni adds that not only did Adelelm give his own books to the Laon cathedral library, but he also channelled other donations into it.[35] I have suggested below (p. 101) that one candidate for being a book that had belonged to Bruno and had come to the cathedral library after he became archbishop was Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* (Cologne Ms. 89). It would have been a duplicate copy for the library. It is not impossible that one or more of the manuscripts of Gregory's *Letters*, Prudentius, Boethius, or Martianus Capella, which I discuss in subsequent chapters, could also have come to the library in this way. This would not weaken my arguments about the context of interest in which they came to the library, but it would put the spotlight even more on Bruno personally, and through him on Ruotger.

Finally, a point of some importance for the library and Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*. Before he became bishop of Laon, Adelelm had been treasurer of his cathedral. As such he had been responsible for its material possessions, no doubt including its books. That was the very position which Folcmar, *protus et iconomus*, occupied under Bruno before he succeeded him as archbishop in 965.[36] Whether Folcmar was deputed by Bruno to acquire books for the library we cannot know. But he must have been in day-to-day charge of it, and it was under Folcmar's patronage while he was archbishop that Ruotger wrote the *Life*. Therefore Ruotger, when he wrote, must have had the resources of the cathedral library available to him, and also the best possible guide to those resources if he needed him. It is likely to be the main reason why Folcmar commissioned Ruotger to write the *Life*, Ruotger certainly being in Cologne before Bruno died, that their bookish relationship went back into Bruno's lifetime.

[34] McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, 148–66, and esp. p. 158, n. 94.

[35] Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 152–3.

[36] Ruotger, c. 46, pp. 49–50. Folcmar is described as Bruno's colleague 'in all business', p. 50, ll. 1–2. See also c. 49, p. 52, ll. 11–12, and p. 52, n. 3.

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Ruotger, Bruno, and the Fathers

A portrait of an eighteenth-century president of Yale University, Ezra Stiles, shows this scholar sitting in front of a large book press with some of his favourite books in it—Plato, Eusebius, Livy, and much else. A similar mental portrait of Einhard would help us to understand his *Life of Charlemagne*, and we very much need to do the same thing fully to appreciate Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*. In assessing the reading which went into Ruotger's creation of his image of Bruno, the Bible (including St Paul), the classics, the Rule of St Benedict, and the early Christian poets and hagiographers have all been given full value by scholars; but the Christian Latin fathers, or more particularly Augustine and Gregory, have been seriously underrated. One cannot say how deeply learned in the writings of these two authors Ruotger was. He did not much use their actual words. In the substance of what he wrote, however, it is inescapable that he was significantly influenced at least by Augustine's *Christian Doctrine* and *City of God*, and even more by Gregory the Great's *Letters* and *Pastoral Care*.

3.1. AUGUSTINE

Ruotger asserts that Bruno regarded the poet Prudentius as the basis of his education because of his Catholic faith and purpose and his pre-eminence in eloquence and truth.[1] Ruotger's own picture of Bruno as a scholar, however, is clearly founded on Augustine of Hippo's *De Doctrina Christiana*, the masterly treatise on what should be the Christian attitude to the learning of antiquity. Where there was truth, Augustine maintained, a Christian should not jib at its use because it had been associated with paganism; as Peter Brown has said in a brilliant discussion of this treatise, Augustine at a stroke 'secularised'

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[1] Ruotger, c. 4, p. 5, ll. 12–21.

much of classical literature and indeed the habits of a whole society; he was the great secularizer of the pagan past.[2] 'We should not think', said Augustine, 'that literature was forbidden because Mercury is said to be its inventor … rather every good and true Christian should understand that wherever he may find truth, it is his Lord's.' This is like Ruotger's saying that Bruno studied the historians, orators, poets, and philosophers (evidently of antiquity) and that wherever he found a master of quick intelligence he humbly offered himself as his pupil.[3] After all, truth and logic were not created by men; men simply pointed out God-created truths. The Egyptians, said Augustine in a famous analogy, had not only idols and superstition, but also gold and silver ornaments and other useful things which the Israelites took with them secretly when they fled. Just so when Christians separated themselves from pagan society, they should take the pagans' treasures with them, their liberal arts or disciplines useful to truth, their precepts useful to morals, their human institutions which could be seized and turned to Christian uses. In a similar way Bruno did not read the comedies and tragedies for their scurrilous jokes and buffooneries; what mattered was not the content but the style, 'the authority in the composition of the words'.[4] For as with Augustine—and this is a theme strongly emphasized by Ruotger—it was important not only to grasp the truth but also to teach it with all possible eloquence. Truth, for Augustine, had its own autonomy, regardless of purpose, however much he also thought it was necessary to understand words, numbers, and nature in order to interpret the Bible; and thus when Hoffmann finds that *nobile otium* is a phrase used by Ruotger to imply that classical education had its own autonomy, Ruotger is in fact articulating an idea central to the *De Doctrina Christiana*.[5] Even the love of contrasts and paradoxes, which Ruotger shows in the exposition of his subject, is justified in the first

[2] Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, ch. 23; the particular phrase cited is at p. 266 (p. 263 in 2000 edn.). Marrou, *Saint Augustin*, esp. pt. III. Also now, Markus, *Christianity and the Secular*, esp. 37–8.

[3] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, II, 28, p. 53. I have used, with some modifications, the translation of D. W. Robertson, Jr., *Saint Augustine, On Christian Doctrine*, 54. Ruotger, c. 5, p. 7, ll. 15–18.

[4] *De Doctrina Christiana*, II, 40, pp. 73–4, and tr. Robertson, 75; Ruotger, c. 8, p. 9, ll. 3–7. From this, Ruotger obviously has in mind the comedies. The only Latin tragedies to have survived are those of Seneca and neither Bruno nor Ruotger is likely to have known these. See R. J. T. Tarrant in Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, 378–80.

[5] On truth and eloquence, esp. *De Doctrina Christiana*, IV, 2, p. 117; on the autonomy of truth, by implication, ibid. II, 32–5 xxx, pp. 67–9; Hoffmann, 'Politik und Kultur', 52–3.

book of Augustine's work, where he says that the medicine of Wisdom is applied to our human wounds, healing some by contraries and some by similar things.[6]

We can take Ruotger's study of the *De Doctrina Christina* further than this. Cologne Ms. 74 is a manuscript of this work, agreed on all sides to be from the scriptorium of Archbishop Hildebald (787–819), and never to have left Cologne (except for its nineteenth-century period at Darmstadt).[7] It is written with great clarity; the text is beautifully laid out on pages by no means unthumbed, and it has a rather agreeable vertical format for study; in short, a perfect piece of Carolingian Renaissance work. It is not entirely studded with marginalia but has some forty, which are variously *nota* signs of a monogrammic kind to indicate points of special interest in the text, scriptural attributions, or notes of subject matter. Some of them may be in the hand of the scribe of the text and virtually all are roughly contemporary with the manuscript. A study of them leaves an impression that this manuscript itself could have been used by Ruotger (and by Bruno before him); one can see the ways in which these marginalia could have helped to focus his mind on the text. Ruotger may well have heard Bruno say that he wished to die only so that he might be with Christ ('dissolvi vellet, tantum ut cum Christo esset'), but if so his mind may have been focused on it by the passage of St Paul to the Philippians (1: 23–34), of which it is an adaptation ('compellor autem ex duobus, concupiscentiam habens dissolui, et esse cum Christo'), one of the few scriptural attributions made in the margin of the Cologne manuscript of Augustine's work, Ad Phil(i)p(enses) (fo. 52v).[8] Hoffmann has shown that Bruno's care for the *respublica* leads Ruotger into another argument from St Paul, justifying Bruno's *vita activa* even to the point of taking the field of battle to suppress disturbers of the peace, namely that he provided for good things not only in the sight of God but also in the sight of men. The correct reference for this citation is not Romans 12: 17 as Irene Ott (followed by Hoffmann) gives it, but 2 Corinthians 8: 21, from which it is used near the end of the *De Doctrina Christiana*.[9] Here Augustine

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[6] *De Doctrina Christiana*, I, 14, p. 13, and tr. Robertson, 14–15. See also Augustine's *City of God*, XI, 18.

[7] Jones, *The Script of Cologne*, 49–51; Bischoff, *The Epinal, etc. Glossaries*, 18.

[8] Ruotger, c. 30, p. 30, ll. 18–19; *De Doctrina Christiana*, III, 2, p. 78, ll. 21–5.

[9] Ruotger, c. 20, p. 21, ll. 23–4 (where 2 Corinth. 8: 21 is also cited in the margin); c. 33, p. 34, ll. 19–22 (where only Rom. 12: 17 is); c. 37, p. 39, ll. 8–9 (ditto); Hoffmann, 'Politik und Kultur', 37; *De Doctrina Christiana*, IV, 28, 164, ll. 1–8.

is making the point that a teacher should not only teach truthfully and eloquently but should also set a good example in life to those he expects to obey him, a point implied also by Ruotger where he refers to Bruno, the *tutor et doctor*, achieving peace in Lotharingia, and also where he refers to the devil spreading the virus of hate amongst the works of the pious teacher (*pii doctoris*).[10] Against the passage in the margin of the Augustine manuscript is a *nota* sign, NOTA *cum studio totum hoc* (fo. 110).

Another *nota* sign, NOTA *quia utilis adtenendum*, appears (fo. 75v) against a passage about the relation of eloquence and wisdom, where Augustine says how desirable eloquence is to accompany wisdom and how necessary wisdom is along with eloquence. This is another point emphasized by Ruotger, of Bruno himself and particularly of his protégé (for the short time he could hold his see there), Bishop Rathier of Liège, who it was thought would be of profit at Liège, 'propter abundantem doctrinam et eloquentiam copiosam, qua inter sapientissimos florere visus est' (on account of his rich doctrine and flow of eloquence for which he was held in high repute amongst the wisest men).[11] Again, Augustine explained how serpents could have good or bad meanings in scripture, and here in the margin is written in capitals the word *serpens* (fo. 64); Ruotger was impressed by the unfavourable connotations.[12] Augustine says something about civil wars in the Africa of his own day, very much in passing in order to make a point about how to speak eloquently, where in the Cologne manuscript (fo. 106v) the original annotator wrote (though it was later crossed out), 'quomodo prohibuerit bellum cybile'. The war of which Augustine speaks was not only between citizens, but also between relatives, brothers, even parents and sons ('verum etiam propinqui, fratres, postremo parentes et filii lapidibus inter se in duas partes divisi'). Ruotger, doubtless drawn to this passage by the note, refers to Bruno's father, King Henry I, bringing peace to a kingdom which he had found troubled by continual incursions from outside and serious dissensions within, between citizens and also relations ('inter cives etiam et cognatos').[13] I give one last example from this manuscript. Where Augustine expounds an analogy to eloquence without wisdom or truth, by saying: 'Just

[10] Ruotger, c. 23, p. 24, l. 3, and c. 24, p. 24, l. 26.
[11] Ibid., c. 38, p. 40, ll. 7–16; *De Doctrina Christiana*, IV, 2, p. 117.
[12] Ruotger, c. 10, p. 11, l. 6; c. 22, p. 23, ll. 7–9; *De Doctrina Christiana*, III, 25, p. 98.
[13] Ruotger, c. 3, p. 4, ll. 15–18; *De Doctrina Christiana*, IV, 24, p. 159.

as he whose body is beautiful while his mind is deformed is more
to be pitied than he whose body is also deformed, in the same way
those who speak false things eloquently are more to be pitied than
if they had said the same things awkwardly', the Cologne glossator
writes enthusiastically in the margin, *Comparatio mirabilis* (fo. 111).
This seems to me the only explanation for the odd use of the word
deforme by Ruotger, when he says of Bruno, as a teacher in the court
circle of Otto I, that any deformity practically in the whole world
was brought to light by his studies ('quicquid deforme per totum
pene mundum esset, in studiis liquidius appareret');[14] in other words,
taking Augustine's 'wonderful comparison', those attractively spoken
falsehoods came to light which were like a deformity of mind not
showing in the body.

   One may wonder in all this whether it was not the much-used
handbook for clergy of Hrabanus Maurus (abbot of Fulda, 824–42),
De Institutione Clericorum, on which Ruotger drew rather than on
Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* directly. Hrabanus could be a
plagiarist, and in Book 3 of his handbook he lifted many passages
from Augustine's work, including most of those cited above.[15] There
is a very nicely written, early manuscript of his work in the Cologne
library (Ms. 110), and as Bischoff regards its hand as probably West
German, second quarter of the ninth century,[16] it is likely to have
been at Cologne from the start and thus in Ruotger's time. This
manuscript, however, is totally clean of marginalia which might have
guided Ruotger to the relevant passages for his purposes as the marginal
annotations in the Augustine manuscript itself could have done. Hence,
although Hrabanus' book was in general a digest to make things easier
for the reader, in this case it would actually have been easier for
Ruotger to use the Augustine manuscript. Moreover, the passages of
Augustine on which Ruotger drew are quite widely separated from each
other in Hrabanus' Book 3, one coming in chapter 11 and two in
chapter 36. In addition to that Ruotger could not have got everything
of Augustine's book from Hrabanus. For instance, Hrabanus lacks the
citation of 2 Corinthians 8: 21. Thus it is much more likely that Ruotger

   [14] Ruotger, c. 5, p. 6, ll. 22–6; *De Doctrina Christiana*, IV, 28, p. 165.
   [15] Hrabanus Maurus, *De Institutione Clericorum*, III, 11, p. 454, ll. 18–20, cf. *De Doctrina Christiana*, III, 2; Hrabanus, III, 36, p. 502, cf. *De Doctrina*, IV, 38; Hrabanus, III, 36, p. 502, ll. 5–7, cf. *De Doctrina*, IV, 5, p. 121; Hrabanus, III, 14, p. 460, ll. 14–15, cf. *De Doctrina*, III, 25; Hrabanus, III, 35, pp. 501–2, cf. *De Doctrina*, IV, 28.
   [16] Bischoff, *Katalog*, i. 399.

used the manuscript of Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* (Cologne Ms. 74) directly than that he used Augustine *via* Hrabanus (Cologne Ms. 110).

Bernheim argued (convincingly, if in a rather generalized way) that Ruotger conceived of the peace for which Bruno struggled as the peace necessary for the pilgrims of the heavenly city as they made their journey through this life towards their heavenly fatherland, according to Augustine's *City of God*. Both Ruotger and Bruno before him, he thought, were good Augustinians. Cologne Ms. 75 is an indubitably ninth-century manuscript of the first ten books of the *City of God*, which L. W. Jones assigned on the flimsy grounds of a few Tironian notes to the scriptorium of Archbishop Gunther of Cologne (850, deposed 863, replaced 870).[17] The grounds proved to be non-existent when Bernhard Bischoff was able to identify it as a St Amand manuscript.[18] It has a series of marginal glosses in it which are also certainly glosses written at St Amand, albeit derived from late antique glosses, mostly appreciative notes of subject matter and occasionally making further explanations; these glosses have the appearance of belonging to the original (similar ink colour, for instance), and they are incorporated, in a very un-Cologne way, with a rather florid bracket like a *F* without its lower horizontal, a *paragraphus*.[19]

Nonetheless there are good grounds for thinking that the manuscript reached Cologne soon after it was written, and in any case before the time of Bruno or Ruotger. In general, Rosamond McKitterick has shown how important and prolific St Amand was in this mid-ninth-century period as an exporter of manuscripts to other churches.[20] More particularly, although the marginal comments are St Amand, at the end of the manuscript (fo. 206v), after the prominent words EXPLICIT LIBER X DE CIVITATE DEI, there is a note in a completely different hand, which is clearly a tenth-century Cologne hand. It reads: 'quorum decem librorum quinque super sunt.'

Once again, if one compares Ruotger's text with the marginal comments in this manuscript one can catch him composing some

[17] Jones, *The Script of Cologne*, 5, 63.

[18] Bischoff, *The Epinal, etc. Glossaries*, 18, n. 65.

[19] An example is illustrated in Jones, *The Script of Cologne*, pl. lxxxii.

[20] McKitterick, 'Charles the Bald (823–877) and His Library', 42–3, and see p. 42, n. 3 for the writings of A. Boutemy on St Amand's style of illumination. For import of St Amand liturgical books into Cologne in the 9th cent., see von Euw, *Das Buch der vier Evangelien*: catalogue nos. 1 and 5, pp. 41–2, 47–9.

of the *tesserae* of his picture of Bruno from the marginalia quite possibly of this very manuscript. To take the most relevant ones:

(i) O divites qui timidi de vestra estis opulentia, demonstrantem vobis Agustinum aut gazofilatium intendite, ubi vestras reconditis opes, ubi fur at tinea accessum habere nesciat

<div align="right">(fo. 9v, re i, c. 10)</div>

The *gazofilatium* here, the treasure-house to which thief and worm alike have no access, surely prompted Ruotger's *gazophilacium* of the heart which Bruno had constantly at the ready. For at this point Augustine cites Matthew 6: 21, 'where your treasure (*thesaurus*) is, there will your heart be'.[21]

(ii) Comedi sunt qui privatorum hominum acta dictis actis gestu cantabant atque stupra virginum et amores meretricum in fabulis exprimebat. Tragoedi sunt qui antiquae iesta vel facinora sceleratorum regum luctuoso carmine spectante populo concinebant

<div align="right">(fo. 28v, re i, c. 8)</div>

Not a very complimentary account of ancient comedies and tragedies; comedies are about the defilements of virgins and the loves of harlots, tragedies about the crimes of wicked kings. But it matches well what Ruotger says about the scurrilities and buffooneries in comedies and tragedies which caused others to shake with laughter but which Bruno read seriously for their Latin style.[22]

(iii) palatum graeci uranon appellant et nonnulli latini palatum caelum vocaverunt

<div align="right">(fo. 127, re vii, c. 8)</div>

Compare Ruotger's rather odd phrase about how the poet Prudentius pleased the vault of Bruno's heart (*palato cordis eius*) so that he breathed in not only the knowledge of his external words but also the marrow and nectar of his inner sense.[23]

(iv) pietas dei cultus dei quam Greci eusebiam vocant

<div align="right">(fo. 178v, re x, c. 1)</div>

Compare Ruotger's 'de religione primo et cultu dei, quod Greci theosebian dicunt', etc.[24]

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[21] Ruotger, c. 5, p. 7, ll. 10–11; *De Civitate Dei*, I, 10, c. 47, p. 11.
[22] Ruotger, c. 8, p. 9, ll. 3–7.   [23] Ibid., c. 4, p. 5, l. 18.
[24] Ibid., c. 21, p. 22, ll. 23–4. One notes what easy pickings Ruotger must have thought that the margins of these texts provided, leaving aside the texts themselves, if

(v)   vide quid significet lex dei in arca posita

<div align="right">(fo. 191v, *re x*, c. 17)</div>

and Ruotger's '… bibliothecam suam [meaning Bruno's actual library; but often the books of the Bible, the *lex dei*, were regarded as an actual library, as in the Cologne library list of 833 where they are itemized] sicut arcam dominicam circumduxit', etc.[25]

(vi)   De hoc quod dicit psalmista, deus cordis mei et pars mea dominus, intelligitur ut prius homo interius mundetur et post exterius, sicut in evangelio dicitur, mandate prius quae intus sunt, et quae foris sunt munda erunt vobis

<div align="right">Matt. 23: 26 (fo. 197v, *re x*, c. 25)</div>

This corresponds well to various passages in Ruotger representing the interior/exterior idea, particularly that on Bruno as a tireless fighter in the army of God, *intus et foris*, battling against wicked men and disturbers of the peace with his powers of mind rather than body.[26]

Gazophilacium, *comoedi* and *tragoedi*, *palatum*, and *arca* are all words dealt with by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologies*, of which the cathedral library had an early copy (now disappeared),[27] and they were not uncommon, but it is more likely that they figure in Ruotger because they all appear in the marginalia of Ms. 75 than because he had been studying Isidore (though he could well have looked them up in the *Etymologies*). *Eusebia* or *theosebian* is not treated by Isidore; the *intus et foris* antithesis is clearly not owed to him; and when Isidore deals with tragedies and comedies he does not inject the contempt into his definitions which Augustine, the St Amand glossator, and Ruotger all do.[28] As to *gazophilacium*, just the kind of Greek-sounding word which Ruotger liked, Isidore gives only a literal definition without moral overtones. In fact at the point where the marginal note comes

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he was trying to conceive how one might amaze the Greeks with their own learning, cf. ibid., c. 8, p. 8, ll. 12–16. There are several other references to Greek terms and ideas both in Ms. 75 and in Ms. 74, e.g. Plato's division of the study of wisdom into three parts, moral, natural, and irrational (Ms. 75, fo. 145v); or what the Greek term for demons meant (Ms. 75, fo. 174v); or that the Greek term *climax* means *gradatio* in Latin rhetorical terminology (Ms. 74, fo. 77r).

[25] Ruotger, c. 8, p. 9, ll. 8–14. For the treatment of the biblical books in the 833 library list, see Decker, 'Die Hildebold'sche Manuscriptensammlung', 224.

[26] Esp. Ruotger, c. 26, p. 26, ll. 14–21.

[27] 833 list, no. 63, Decker, 'Manuscriptensammlung', 226.

[28] Isidore, *Etymologies*, VIII. vii. 5–6.

in Ms. 75, Augustine in his text uses not this word but *thesaurus*.[29] Ruotger presumably follows here the St Amand gloss together with the Augustine text. Of course, as Conrad Leyser has pointed out to me, Ruotger could easily have had this word from various sources, not least Ezekiel or Gregory's *Homilies on Ezekiel*, a copy of which was in the Cologne library by 833, but one source clearly often worked on another in Ruotger's mind, and taking the package of the half-dozen glosses from Ms. 75 as a whole, the manuscript seems a likely source.[30] One reinforcement of the idea that this manuscript was likely to have had an influence on Ruotger is his mention of tragedies as well as comedies, where what he says about their scurrilities and mimicries, or buffooneries, is relevant only to comedies and not to tragedies. While Ruotger could have known the comedies of Terence and perhaps Plautus, he could scarcely have had any first-hand knowledge of tragedies (see p. 79, n. 4). Hence the gloss here on comedies and tragedies, drawing Ruotger's attention to the passage in the *City of God*, would be an ideal explanation for this particular quirk in his writing.

There are numerous other marginalia in Ms. 75 not cited here, but they are not so numerous (at most one or two to a page, and many pages without any) that those we have used fail to stand out in the manuscript. It is a pity that the second volume of this two-volume *City of God* is another of the casualties of the Cologne library's vicissitudinous history, for it means we can say nothing of Ruotger's possible use of it in his writing about earthly peace, one of Augustine's great themes in Book 19. It is obvious, however, that he imbibed some large lessons from the book. At the same time, as we seem to see from the marginalia of Ms. 75, he also derived from it some details, which imply a certain closeness of study.

There is something more to be said about the Augustinian element of Ruotger's (and probably Bruno's) ideas, which comes from a surprising angle, namely a sermon of Augustine on St Cyprian, changed in tenth-century Cologne into a sermon on St Pantaleon simply by changing the word Cyprian into Pantaleon wherever it occurred and leaving everything else exactly as it was![31] This sermon is not in the *Patrologia Latina*, being one of thirty or so sermons by Augustine dramatically discovered by Dom Germain Morin in a Wolfenbüttel manuscript in 1917. This

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[29] Ibid. XX. ix. 1; *De Civitate Dei*, I, 10, c. 47, p. 11.

[30] For the Homilies, see Decker, 'Manuscriptensammlung' 226, no. 58.

[31] This kind of thing was common in hagiographical writing from early on, Delehaye *The Legends of the Saints*, 76.

cache of sermons took its origins from a lost African homeliary which
found its way to the East Frankish kingdom (i.e. Germany), where it was
copied into a manuscript (*c*.900), whose medieval provenance was the
monastery of Weissenburg, whence it passed to Wolfenbüttel in the ear-
ly modern period.[32] I have already mentioned Bruno's connection with
Weissenburg above. The sermon had also been among those discovered
in a Naples manuscript by the imperial librarian at Vienna, Michael
Denis, who published it in 1792.[33] I say that the sermon was changed
into one on St Pantaleon in tenth-century Cologne, because it appears
in an early twelfth-century manuscript of the monastery of St Pantaleon,
Cologne (Düsseldorf Ms. A 18), lost in the Second World War, together
with Ruotger's *Life of Bruno* and other Cologne hagiographical mate-
rial.[34] Incidentally, a sixteenth-century hand had written in the margin
(fo. 27r), 'Sermo est beati Augustini de sancto Cypriano'.[35] More to the
point for dating the sermon as one on Pantaleon, it appears in an earlier
manuscript, written in a small late eleventh- early twelfth-century hand
at Metz with hagiographical items of Metz interest. This manuscript
begins with Sigebert of Gembloux's *Life* of the tenth-century Dietrich
of Metz (fos. 1–5v).[36] The Cologne material is contained in a separate
quire (fos. 43–8), albeit in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript
(up to fo. 64), and consists of Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*, Bruno's Testa-
ment, the sermon on St Pantaleon, and material relating to the Cologne
cult of St Maurinus (as found also in the Düsseldorf manuscript).[37]
The obvious time for this Cologne dossier, as we may call it, to come
from Cologne to Metz was in the episcopate of Bishop Dietrich of Metz
(965–84). Dietrich was a pupil and relative of Bruno, he was beside
him at his death, and he was an 'executor' of his Testament.[38] The

[32] *Sancti Augustini Sermones*, ed. G. Morin, 65–70, Wolfenbüttel, Weissenburg Ms.
12, fos. 140r–142r.

[33] Verbraken, *Études critiques*, 13, 15–16, 26, 163, 208 (no. 75).

[34] For a description, see Lacomblet, *Urkundenbuch*, 148–73. See also Irene Ott's
introduction in Ruotger, pp. xvii–xviii, and p. xvii, n. 11, where she says that she used
only photocopies of this ms.

[35] Lacomblet, *Urkundenbuch*, 150.

[36] Wolfenbüttel Ms. 76, 14 Aug. 2°. Having studied the actual ms., which Irene Ott
had not done, I would agree with Pertz that it is probably earlier than the Düsseldorf
ms., on which she based her text as the earliest surviving ms. (Ruotger, p. xx and ibid.,
n. 3). For photographs of pages of these two mss., see von Euw and Schreiner, *Kaiserin
Theophanu*, i. 37 and 77.

[37] The quiring is: 43 singleton, 44 singleton, 45 and 46, 46 and 47 bifolia, with
Sermo in natale sancti pantaleonis 46v–47r.

[38] Ruotger, c. 43, p. 46; c. 45, p. 49; c. 47, p. 50; c. 49 (Testament), p. 52.

relations of the two are made much of by Sigebert of Gembloux.[39] The sermon was known in northern Europe before the tenth century, for its impressive ending was used by Hrabanus Maurus in the first half of the ninth century for his sermon on the veneration of St Boniface at Fulda.[40]

   The sermon was clearly intended for oral delivery—presumably in the tenth as in the fifth century. It is quite brief, and many of its short, sharp sentences would probably have been more effective when heard than they might appear in writing, not to say in written translation. It is a superb sermon, all hard-hitting points and no spiritual rambling. *Cupiditas* and *timor* are identified as the great weapons of the devil. On *cupiditas*, we must not love the world or the things of the world, though here we must distinguish. God made the world and we must not vituperate the *artificem mundi*—a touch of Platonism which would have been appreciated by the educated in tenth-century Cologne. But God was in the world and it did not recognize Him. We must bind ourselves to the Creator not the creature. In that sense we must not love the things of the world. Love and fear must be transformed. What makes good or bad *mores* but good or bad *amores*, that is, loves? (here a theme written also all over the *City of God*). Gradually one particular theme of worldliness, or *cupiditas*, takes over: the *cupiditas spectaculorum*, the hankering after theatrical spectacles. The church offers us *spectacula* to be revered, especially the sufferings, the *passiones*, of such martyrs as Pantaleon/Cyprian. The difference between 'our' *spectacula* and theatrical ones is that we want to imitate the martyrs whereas the theatre spectator would be mad to dare imitate what he loved. If the person watched is infamous, can the person who watches be upright? Can the infamy he loves fail to besmirch him? The watching of obscenities and unseemly revels certainly can have this effect. The preacher regards it as his duty to condemn theatrical spectacles: 'am I to fear the silent taking of offence when the holy martyr held the open fury of the pagans in contempt?' This sermon must have been known in tenth-century Cologne; it surely reinforced Bruno's and Ruotger's hatred of the scurrilities and mimicries of the comedies and tragedies, and their disgust at the regal excesses, the jocularities, and the alluring revels of the powerful at that time.[41]

[39] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, 37–43.
[40] *PL* 110, col. 49 b–c. See also Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, ii. 141. At this time I did not know of Augustine's sermon.
[41] Ruotger, c. 8, p. 9; c. 29, p. 30, ll. 8–10.

The sermon then turns to the evil of ambition (*ambitio saeculi*) as an aspect of improper love of the world. In this is pride, and what is worse than pride? Someone will say, 'without worldly ambition there cannot be secular powers'. There certainly can be. Who does not overcome such pride (*elatio*) when he contemns this life with its many temptations, when he is ready to die for Christ? In the face of death there remains no ambition, *curiositas oculorum*, or appetite for sordid and carnal pleasures. But none of this is possible without the help of the Lord. The martyr is praised in the Lord. We have not set up an altar as if to a god Pantaleon/Cyprian, but rather have made Pantaleon/Cyprian an altar to God. Once again, there are strong resonances of the same kind in Ruotger: Bruno's putting down of the *elati*, the proud; his taking on secular government (*huius mundi gubernatio*) only for the good of the *respublica,* and to make men hate what was bad and love what was good; his never going by public opinion, but by his own judgement and the will of God.[42] Ambition was what motivated his enemies, those in power whom it was difficult to restrain who because of ambition (*per ambitionem*) were not virtuous but wanted to seem so.[43]

It is likely that this sermon was actually preached when the legate, sent to Pope Agapetus II in Rome in 955 to fetch the pallium for Bruno, returned to Cologne with the pallium and with relics of St Pantaleon, and when these relics were solemnly deposited in the church of St Pantaleon.[44] That would have been the obvious occasion for it. And who was that legate? It was Hadamar, abbot of Fulda, where this very sermon appears to have been known to his predecessor, Hrabanus Maurus.

3.2. GREGORY

Turning to Pope Gregory the Great, the early efforts to assemble good texts of his writings at Cologne are striking: by 833 the cathedral library had virtually all his then known works. Unfortunately the copies of the

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[42] Ruotger, c. 30, p. 31, 1. 16; c. 23, p. 24, ll. 5–13; c. 25, p. 26, ll. 11–13.

[43] Ibid., c. 20, p. 21, ll. 7–9.

[44] Ibid., cc. 26–7, pp. 26–8. The feast (*natale*) of St Pantaleon is 27 July, which would probably be too early in 955 for the sermon to have been preached then; but there seems no incompatibility between supposing that it was preached at the desposition of the relics and its being subsequently recorded in writing as a sermon *ad natalem*, using a very common liturgical formula.

Moralia in Job and the *Homilies on Ezekiel* have disappeared; so also has the *Dialogues* from which Ruotger took at least one important citation (that at Bruno's tomb, visitors *signa non querunt, vitam adtendunt*, etc.), relating to the fact that his *Life of Bruno* deliberately omitted any miraculous element;[45] while Ruotger's observation, in connection with Bruno's moving a community of canons from the church of St Maria im Kapitol to the church of St Andrew, that men are not chosen on account of a place, but a place is chosen by God for the sake of men, looks as if it must derive from Gregory's *Responsiones* to Augustine, 'non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt' (things are not to be loved for places but places for good things).[46]

On the other hand, a very fine manuscript of some 250 of Gregory's *Letters*, listed in 833, survives as Cologne Ms. 92. It has the Hildebald inscription and is agreed on all sides to be from the Cologne scriptorium of the middle-Hildebald period, *c*.800 or very early ninth-century.[47] The text is laid out spaciously in two columns, written in very clear minuscule, on leaves of fair size (now 355 × 250mm) and good-quality parchment, the letters being numbered in a continuous series, each with its rubric in a mixture of uncials and minuscule naming the addressee. A table of contents, with numbers and addressees, occupies fos. 1v–4r, and a *capitulare* with brief comments and the *argumenta* of the letters in turn, fos. 169v–180v (lacking treatment of the last thirty or so letters). The whole book is a joy to use and would on its own give testimony to the high place which Cologne under Hildebald, Charlemagne's arch-chancellor, occupied in Charlemagne's business—and Alcuin's—of producing manuscripts which were effective instruments of study. Cologne Ms. 93 is a manuscript of the same letters, with an inscription referring it to Archbishop Hadebald (819–41); as it is not listed in 833, it must date from 833–41. It is obviously a copy of Ms. 92; except for noting that it illustrates the desire at Cologne to accumulate Gregory manuscripts, we can leave it out of our calculations. Cologne Ms. 94 cannot be excluded; it is a very interesting collection of letters, but representing a different tradition of selection and arrangement from that of Ms. 92. The book is about the same size as Ms. 92 and is clearly written, but there is no table of contents (there probably never was), the letters are not numbered, and there is no *capitulare*. Thus

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[45] As pointed out by Lotter, *Vita Brunonis*, p. 39, n. 80.
[46] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, i. c. 27, responsio 2, p. 82
[47] Jones, *The Script of Cologne*, 44–6; Bischoff, *The Epinal, etc, Glossaries*, 18.

the manuscript can hardly have been written at Cologne, since it is clearly later than the Hildebald manuscript; nobody at Cologne with that model in front of them would have laid out a manuscript of other letters so much less usefully. Our question becomes, therefore, whether Cologne Ms. 94 had arrived at Cologne by Ruotger's time; there seem very strong grounds for answering in the affirmative.

First, nobody would now agree with the lateness of the Jaffé–Wattenbach dating, that is, tenth to eleventh century; this manuscript could not possibly be as late as the eleventh century. It often shows scant regard for word division, and that applies even to the marginalia where there was plenty of space, e.g. Letter 14, 5, *Quia sunt culpae in quibus culpa est*, etc. (fo. 156r). There are even ligatures, or virtual ligatures, between *s* at the end of one word and the letter at the beginning of the next, for example *corpus lavare* (fo. 129v, col. A, second line from bottom) or *asserens locum* (fo. 130r, col. A, sixth line from bottom). This implies the early tenth century at the latest, as do certain letter forms, for example the minuscule *a*, open at the top like a *u*, as for instance in *iuxta* (fo. 129v, col. A, line 7). The initial *S* at the beginning of the collection (fo. 4v Pl. 1b) has a rather geometrical interlace panel in the middle, and interlace tail-ends which curl over at the sides, reminding one of the St Amand style at the time of the Second Bible of Charles the Bald. Hence my preferred date for this manuscript would be first half of the tenth century. No knowledgeable palaeographer who has seen it in my company has put it later than that.

Secondly, Ms. 94, like Ms. 92, is a selection of some 200 letters of Gregory, but they are not for the most part the same selection. The complete, or more or less complete, *Register* seems hardly to have circulated before the time of Pope Gregory VII (1073–85). Perhaps that is in itself significant, considering that Gregory VII kept his own register, presumably on the model of his namesake. Cologne has a twelfth-century manuscript (Ms. 95) virtually of the complete *Register*, which has a note in a thirteenth-century hand showing that it belonged to the cathedral. So if one may reasonably assume that it had this book from its start, there could hardly have been any point for the cathedral library to acquire Ms. 94 after the eleventh century. But in terms of motive, Cologne, which remained interested in building up its library throughout the ninth century and into the tenth at least, would have had every reason to acquire Ms. 94 as soon as it was on offer. A 'librarian' would have been able to take the first twelve letters of Ms. 94 and see that not one of them was already in Ms. 92. It took me less than two

hours to establish this, and because of the excellent layout of Ms. 92 I had only a little extra advantage from the indices of the *Monumenta* edition.[48] That would surely have been enough to tell him that he wanted the book.

Thirdly—and this is near to being conclusive—Ms. 94 is evidently derived, in text, from a manuscript of Werden provenance now in Berlin (Ms. theol. lat. fol. 322). That is a Corbie manuscript of the second half of the ninth century. I had already received palaeographical advice which brought Werden into the frame as a possible localization of Ms. 94, before I encountered the initial *S* of the Berlin manuscript. A comparison makes it obvious that *Cologne* is a direct imitation of *Berlin* in this point.[49] Moreover, some marginal notes of subject matter were made, evidently at Werden, in the Berlin manuscript. In Cologne Ms. 94 there are forty-one such marginal notes of subject matter, but only twelve of these are in the same hand as the text. (See the Appendix to this chapter; the two hands may be most effectively contrasted at fos. 149v and 150r pls. 2, 3.) Every one of these twelve is to be found in the Berlin manuscript of Werden provenance, generally in precisely the same words; not one of the other twenty-nine which are not in the text hand. This seems effectively proof of the Werden origin of Cologne Ms. 94. The ever-close connections between Werden and Cologne are marked by the fact that at the end of the Berlin manuscript, in hands of the tenth/eleventh centuries, are lists of the abbots of Werden and archbishops of Cologne (fo. 127r and v).[50]

The all-important issue for our purpose is when and where the twenty-nine marginal notes which are not in the text hand of Ms. 94 were added. There seems hardly an option but to say that they were added at Cologne. If the manuscript follows the Berlin one so closely, it seems obvious that it was made for export from Werden. There is no sign of its ever having belonged to a library other than Cologne, and, as has already been said, a librarian of the cathedral would have had reason to want it as soon as it was on offer. Moreover, the hand of these marginal notes—it is a single hand and is easily differentiated from that of the notes in the same hand as the text—has very much

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[48] *Gregorii Magni Registrum Epistularum*. Ms. 92 belongs to Group C + P; Ms. 94 to Group Q + P (*MGH* edn. vol 2, pp. viii–xix).

[49] Brandis and Becker, *Glanz alter Buchkunst*, 26 and 27 (illustration). I owe this observation and my knowledge of this book to David Ganz.

[50] For the relationship of Cologne and Werden, Stüwer, *Das Erzbistum Köln: Die Reichsabtei Werden*, esp 67.

the appearance of a tenth-century Cologne hand. The nearest hand to it which I have encountered is that of a scribe who has added versicles and responses to Cologne Ms. 137 (fos. 138 ff.), a sacramentary of the time of Archbishop Willibert (870–89) or Archbishop Hermann (890–923). The additions do not look much later. Each hand has the same, slightly erratic sense of direction in the strokes, the same pronounced upward tendency from left to right, very much the same kind of minuscule *e* made in two pen movements, similar plain abbreviations, and similar *g* with the bowl often descending very low.

Such marginal notes as those in Ms. 94 cannot be dated so closely that we can tell whether they are a little before, contemporary with, or a little after Ruotger. But they are so much of his world, and several of them are so directly relevant to Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*, that the problem is not so much whether they are relevant, as to state their obvious relevance correctly. If they were in the manuscript already when Ruotger wrote in the late 960s they could have helped him to shape the subject matter of his work. If they were contemporary with him they might reflect his own reading process as he composed the *Life*. If they were slightly later, they must reflect backward on the ongoing study and discussions of the *Letters* at Cologne. I slightly prefer the first of these options, which would not be ruled out palaeographically, because if the book arrived at Cologne at any time up to 965 it is hard not to imagine Bruno himself taking some interest in it. If it had been part of Bruno's personal library before he became archbishop and had subsequently passed into the cathedral library, as is quite possible but not provable (see above, pp. 76–7), that would speak strongly for the first option.

At first sight some of the Werden comments could look rather specifically relevant to an abbey such as Werden, for example no. x on abbots and, even more, no. xxviii, 'that abbots who cannot be of advantage are to be removed from their office'. But Bruno as a bishop is seen in Ruotger to be a reformer of monasteries such as Lorsch, and an appointer of abbots such as Christian of Trier to St Pantaleon, Cologne. It is important not to dismiss the relevance to Cologne of the comments and *nota* signs with which this manuscript had already come from Werden.

The contrast between the interest taken in Gregory's *Letters* at Cologne *c*.800 and in the tenth century, on the evidence of the margins of Ms. 92 and Ms. 94 respectively, is a great one. The margins of Ms. 92 are empty except for thirty to forty *nota* signs, of a distinctive mono-grammic style, of which about half are attaching to Gregory's letter to

Quirichus and other Iberian bishops against the Nestorian heretics. The strong assertions of the divinity of Christ in this letter would have been highly relevant to the Adoptionist controversy of the 790s, in which Archbishop Hildebald was involved.[51] It is virtually impossible to date *nota* signs without any writing attached, but if these are later than Hildebald's time, they must surely relate to some note of the importance of this letter from his archiepiscopate. Cologne may be described as a Gregorian centre, but Gregory meant to it different things in different periods.

Hence with the tenth-century marginal notes of Ms. 94, we move away from the trinitarian and christological world of the *nota*s in Ms. 92, into the world of Ruotger, with his admiration for useful knowledge, action, and practical virtues, a world to which Gregory's *Letters* as a whole are much more naturally attuned. Characteristic in Ms. 94 is the *nota* monogram followed by a note of subject matter, or the *nota* (or *Chi-Rho* monogram) on its own, or note of subject matter on its own. These show up the special interests within the texts of the annotators. They draw attention to such subjects as the burials and reverence due to martyrs (fo. 30), that bishops should not be elected from another church (fo. 32), the lives of solitaries (fos. 42v–43), appeal to Rome (*nota quid dicat de episcopis*, fo. 80v), sick bishops not to be deposed (fo. 110), the pallium not to be paid for (fo. 178v). These and many other passages like them did not provide Ruotger with direct quotations, with the language of his work, but taken together they could have given, and probably did give, him much of his subject matter. For if one wanted to focus the mind on how to construct an image of an archbishop of Cologne, and what he actually did or was supposed to have done in that capacity—and that is what a good proportion of the *Life of Bruno* is about; if one wanted to select the right sort of topics to deal with, out of perhaps a mass of traditions, tales, and information, these notes and the texts into which they led would have been the ideal way of doing it. The reverence due to martyrs was highly relevant to what Ruotger had to say about Bruno's refoundation of the monastery of St Pantaleon.[52] That bishops should not be elected from another church was a matter to which strong feelings probably attached in

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[51] *Gregorii Magni Registrum*, XI. 52. ii, pp. 952–6. For Hildebald's involvement see the letter of Charlemagne to him, *Alcuini Epistolae*, 503.

[52] Ruotger, c. 27, pp. 27–8; c. 31, pp. 31–2, for the relics of martyrs, acquired by Bruno, more generally.

Cologne, since Bruno's predecessor and four successors all belonged to the Cologne clergy, which may help to explain why Ruotger stresses the desire and harmonious agreement of the church to elect Bruno (who had not belonged previously) and his education at Utrecht, a church historically associated with Cologne. Moreover, apropos of sick bishops not being deposed, Bruno's predecessor Archbishop Wicfrid had long been an imbecile, Ruotger states, but he was left undisturbed in the see until he died in 953.[53] Appeal to Rome and the pallium are both subjects which figure with importance in Ruotger, for Cologne based its position amidst the metropolitan rivalries of the Ottonian church quite as much as any other church on papal support.[54] Ruotger is explicit in stating that Bruno received the pallium with the unusual privilege, but customary to Cologne, that he might wear it whenever he chose; adding, against the charges made by Archbishop William of Mainz in his letter of 955 to Pope Agapetus II, that he received it for his great virtue and wisdom, that is to say, not because of any payment made.[55] Ruotger used the title *universalis pontifex* for the pope, the very title which Gregory eschewed for himself in criticizing the use of it by John, patriarch of Constantinople,[56] but it is of interest that a marginal note in Ms. 94 (fo. 165v) has *quid dicat de Johanne qui se universale dixit*. As for solitaries, Ruotger does not repeat what Gregory had said in his famous letter to the recluse Secundinus, where Ms. 94 marks with a *nota* the passage about how the weakness of human nature prevents anyone from praying the whole time, and how anyone who tries is in danger of having an idle mind and offering an opening to the devil; but he does recount Bruno's veneration for this way of life and his attempt to make suitable provision for it, in effect arranging for solitaries to be supervised in ones or twos by various monasteries of good repute. The spirit is the same; the idea that it is a good way of life but one which needs careful regulation.[57]

The whole background of Cologne interest in Gregory during the early ninth century is impressive, and thus points up the depth of tradition, so to speak, in Ruotger's Gregorianism. The library list of

[53] Ruotger, c. 11, p. 11, ll. 14–17.

[54] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Manuscript Illumination*, ii. 122–3.

[55] Ruotger, c. 27, pp. 27–8. For William of Mainz's letter of 955, *re* pallia, Jaffé, *Monumenta Moguntina*, 349.

[56] Ruotger, c. 27, p. 27, l. 18, cf. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Manuscript Illumination*, ii. 122.

[57] *Gregorii Magni Registrum*, IX. 148. ii, pp. 699–700; Ruotger, c. 33, p. 34, ll. 5–19.

833 refers to his forty *Homilies on the Gospels* in three volumes.[58] Cologne Ms. 86 (also Gregory's *Homilies on the Gospels*) must fit into this Gregorian picture, a book of about the same size as the Hildebald manuscript of the *Letters* (Ms. 92) and with the same clear layout in two columns, the same sort of rubrics, and numbered list of contents. Bischoff called it probably Cologne and dated it to around the second quarter of the ninth century.[59] The ornament on some of its capital letters imitates that of the early period of Hildebald; for instance, the *h*s at fos. 4v and 124v, with trident terminals, cross-banding, and decorative 'eyes', can be compared with Ms. 54, fo. 159v.[60] As to the three volumes mentioned in 833, now apparently no longer surviving, Ms. 86 may also imitate them in this respect: it is now a composite volume of sermons, but that they were not all previously bound in one is strongly suggested by the fact that it is actually missing nine quires (i.e. xv–xxiii), or sermons 23–34. An early exemplar at Cologne would explain why in a Cologne homeliary of Hildebald's time (Ms. 171), where only eight out of thirty-seven sermons are attributed to a named author, as many as four attributions are Gregorian, all four sermons being (or having been) in Cologne Ms. 86.[61]

Even more striking is the case of Paterius' *Liber Testimoniorum*, extracts from Gregory's writings. Paterius was a notary of Gregory who found that the pope, in the course of commenting on Job, had commented also on so many other parts of the Bible that he drew these comments, or testimonies, and comments from Gregory's other writings together in the order of the biblical books, to form a quasi-systematic commentary on the whole Bible (though Paterius' work did not reach beyond the Song of Songs).[62] Cologne Ms. 82 is a manuscript of Paterius (fos. 2–53r) and Eucherius' *Membra Domini* (fos. 53v–87r), which dates from Hildebald's time, probably early, as

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[58] Decker, 'Manuscriptensammlung', 226, no. 51, and p. 239.

[59] Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, i. 395.

[60] Ms. 54 has the Hildebald inscription and is generally agreed to be early Hildebald, see Jones, *The Script of Cologne*, pls. xvii, 1 and xxi, 1.

[61] Ms. 171 (Jones, *The Script of Cologne*, 57–8), for Christmas (Ms. 86, fos. 30v–32r); for Lent, fos. 52v–54v (where the second half is omitted, suggesting Ms. 171 was for use in church while Ms. 86 was a full master copy, this sermon fos. 64v–68v); for Easter; and for the octave of Easter; both now missing from Ms. 86 but listed in its table of contents.

[62] For a good account of Paterius, see Paul Meyvaert, 'The Enigma of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*', esp. 352–8.

Bischoff showed.[63] But the Cologne scholars must quickly have become aware of its poor organization and numerous lacunae, which they made shift to remedy in the acquisition of Ms. 97 with its clear layout and full text up to the Song of Songs.[64] One must assume that Ms. 97 is not a product of the Cologne scriptorium rather than an acquisition from outside, but it is clear that it was at Cologne early, by 833 in fact. How else can one explain the 833 catalogue entry no. 94, *Eucherii volumen I Paterii volumina II*, than by positing that Ms. 82 represented the Eucherius and one copy of Paterius, while Ms. 97 represented the other copy, or volume, of Paterius?[65] Here I have to take issue with those writers on Paterius who, following Jaffé–Wattenbach, have dated Ms. 97 to the tenth century.[66] Its frequent lack of word spacing, its use of the ampersand when one word ends in *e* and the next begins with *t*, its very open *g*s like **3**s, its ligatures, its initial letters with their bird, fish, and trinitarian ornament, would all place it in the first half of the ninth century.[67] This manuscript has two *nota* signs perhaps in the same hand as that which made the *nota* signs beside Gregory's letter to Bishop Quirichus in Ms. 92, and that is certainly a Cologne annotator. The first of these *notas* (fo. 106v) is placed against a comment about Gideon and the Book of Judges, which, extraordinarily, has exactly the same Christological interest as the letter to Quirichus. Gideon coming to battle, says Gregory, signifies the advent of our

[63] Bischoff, *The Epinal, etc., Glossaries*, 18.

[64] Ms. 82 numbers sections of text consecutively, whereas Ms. 97 exhibits the classic organization of biblical books; Ms. 82 ends, except for one further paragraph, with the texts on Leviticus, whereas Ms. 97 goes up to the Song of Songs. After 'Dum de persecutione … distribuit', Ms. 97, fo. 41, has, in mixture of red capitals and uncials, *Incipiunt capitula libri Exodi* and lists the Exodus chapters, according to its normal practice; whereas Ms. 82, fo 32v, continues with the third section of Exodus without a 'by your leave', *Dum de divinis mysteriis*, which is on fo. 43 of Ms. 97. I have traced the many other similar lacunae in Ms. 82. Independently of all this one should note that quire 4 of Ms. 82 is missing.

[65] Decker, 'Manuscriptensammlung', 227, no. 94, cf. p. 249, where, quite impossibly, he calls the hand of Ms. 97 11th-cent. Bischoff, *Katalog*, i. 395, calls it first or possibly second quarter of the 9th cent., and west German.

[66] e.g. Wilmart, 'Le Recueil Grégorien de Paterius', 86; Étaix, 'Le *Liber testimoniorum* de Paterius', 67, n. 6. References by the kindness of Conrad Leyser.

[67] A good example of a *g* (one of many) comes in the passage I cite below from fo. 106v, l. 17, where the name of Gideon begins with a large minuscule *g*. An example of the ampersand between words is *ipse transiret*, fo. 13r. For a fish initial (and this is Trinitarian), with a duck's head finial, fo. 172v. For pure trinitarianism, fo. 198v has a lovely *O* initial with cusped ornament inside, and inside that a Celtic interlaced trefoil. I discuss Trinitarian initials from the period of the Adoptionist Controversy in my paper, 'Charlemagne as a Patron of Art', 70–1.

Saviour. The name of Gideon itself means *circumiens in utero*, and what is that but that almighty God, redeeming us in his full divinity and assuming humanity in the womb, became incarnate in the womb but was not enclosed by it, because he was within the womb through the substance of our infirmity, but outside the world by the power of his majesty.[68]

There are not many marginal annotations in the manuscripts of the homilies and of Paterius which we have been discussing, and hence the method of studying Ruotger's patristic sources and intellectual framework which we have applied to other manuscripts is not directly applicable here. Nor have I yet been able to study Paterius in sufficient detail to tell whether the whole slant of Ruotger's Gregorianism suggests the significant mediation of Paterius.[69] It is quite possible, for Paterius became common property in the greater Carolingian libraries; anyone in the tenth century who felt that he knew all the writings of Gregory, as John of Gorze was said to have felt, might easily have derived the sensation from a study of Paterius' well-organized and impressive extracts.[70] Even so, one of the reasons for stepping back momentarily from Ruotger in order to consider the general picture of Gregory's writings at Cologne, as we have done, besides showing the strength of the Gregorian manuscript tradition at Cologne, is that Ruotger would seem to be more a Gregorian than he was an Augustinian. One work whose whole structure and purpose he had undoubtedly grasped was Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis*, the famous treatise on how to rule as a bishop (though not necessarily only as a bishop).

In the *Regula Pastoralis* Gregory stresses that he who rules—the *rector*, as both he and Ruotger sometimes call him—should strike a good balance between the necessities of the active life or external works, and the inner life of the soul without which he would freeze amidst his outer works. Inwardly (*intus*) he is rapt in contemplation; outwardly (*foris*) he is pressed by the business of carnal men. The contrast of *otium* and *negotium*, or study and business, in Bruno's life

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[68] Text, as from Paterius, *PL* 79, col. 787a.

[69] It is possible that a Hamburg Paterius, Ms. Theol. 1523, said to be 10th-cent. and from St Pantaleon, Cologne (see Étaix, 'Le *Liber testimoniorum*', 67, n. 6) would have helped here. But it was lost in the war.

[70] John of Gorze, *Vita*, 360: 'in his primum moralia beati Gregorii ordine quam sepissime percurrens, pene cunctas ex eo continentias sententiarum ita memoriae commendavit.' On Paterius in Carolingian libraries, see Wilmart, 'Le Recueil Grégorien de Paterius'.

is part of this, but Ruotger also explicitly has the *intus et foris* contrast: inwardly and outwardly, he says, Bruno was a tireless fighter for the Lord.[71] The *rector* cannot avoid secular business (*secularia negotia*) 'out of compassion', says Gregory, but he should not court it, otherwise it drags him down from the heights (*de coelestibus*) and plunges him into the depths. Ruotger obviously bore this in mind when he wrote that Bruno was never preoccupied by secular business, to which not his own desire but the needs of the people drew him; he was intent above all on religion and study.[72] Both Gregory and Ruotger, following him, believed that an effective *rector* should know how to inspire terror.[73] A large part of Gregory's book is taken up with advice on how to admonish or correct various contrasting sorts of people, the taciturn and the talkative, for instance, the poor and the rich, the sowers of discord and the peacemakers. One chapter is entitled: 'Quomodo admonendi humiles et elati.' Just so, Ruotger has it that towards the *humiles* none was more humble than Bruno; towards the wicked or *elatos* none was tougher.[74] Ruotger was keen to show that Bruno had something of the finesse in admonition which Gregory advocated. It can be necessary, says Gregory, to temper the reproof of sin with great moderation (*magno moderamine*). Bruno tried moderation in his admonition, it seems, and only used terror when it failed, for Ruotger writes of the *indomita barbaries* of the Lotharingians which despised the *blandimenta* of fatherly exhortation and scarcely felt the *terrorem potestatis*. The idea here derives from Gregory's view on admonition; the verbal contrast between *blandimenta* and *terror* also comes from the *Regula Pastoralis*, but from another context.[75] On the other hand, Gregory warned against

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[71] *Reg. Past*. ii. 5, *PL* 77, col. 33b; or *Grégoire le Grand, Règle Pastorale*, ed. Judic, i. 198., ll. 45–7: 'qui intus in contemplationem rapitur, foris infirmantium negotiis urgetur; intus dei arcana considerat, foris onera carnalium portat.' Ruotger, c. 25, p. 26, ll. 15–17. The reader will have noticed that I referred to the *intus–foris* contrast above in connection with Augustine, who strongly influenced Gregory on this theme, see Cuthbert Butler, *Western Mysticism*, part 2, chs. 1 and 2. I suppose a cumulative effect on Ruotger.

[72] *Reg. Past*. ii. 7, *PL* 77, col. 41a; or *Grégoire*, ed. Judic, i. 226., ll. 111–14; Ruotger, c. 29, pp. 29–30. Cf. Ruotger, c. 14, p. 13, ll. 19–20, that Bruno's intention was to fortify the church *in secularibus* and adorn it *in spiritualibus*.

[73] *Reg. Past*. ii. 6, *PL* 77, col. 34c–d; or *Grégoire*, ed. Judic, i. 204., ll. 21–31; Ruotger, c. 12, p. 12, l. 25, and c. 37, p. 39, l. 13.

[74] *Reg. Past*. iii. 17, *PL* 77, col. 77d; or *Grégoire*, ed. Judic, ii. 360–2; Ruotger, c. 30 p. 31, ll. 15–16.

[75] *Reg. Past*. ii. 10, *PL* 77, col. 46a; or *Grégoire*, ed. Judic, i. 244., ll. 83–6; Ruotger, c. 37, p. 39, ll. 10–14; *Reg. Past*. ii. 3, PL 77, col. 28d: 'blandimenta mundi respecto

seeking human approval, and Ruotger, following suit, was anxious to say in how little account Bruno held it.[76] Gregory said that the peaceful themselves were to be admonished not to desist from words of correction for fear of disturbing the temporal peace; likewise Ruotger has Otto I say to Bruno, as a reason for involving himself (though a bishop) in the rule of Lotharingia even to the point of battle: 'I know, my brother, that nobody will persuade your prudence that it is none of your business how much perverse men glory in damaging the good.'[77] It is doubtless true that Ruotger was familiar with the Augustinian peace of the *City of God*, but Gregory knew all about the *pax ecclesiae* and how it was harmed by dissension, and Ruotger would scarcely have needed to look further than the *Regula Pastoralis* for everything he had to say about peace.[78]

It is slightly surprising that Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* has hardly been brought into the discussion of Ruotger's work; actually, amidst the weighty discussion of its *hagiographische Grundschema*, I have not myself managed to find a single reference to it in anything that I have read on the subject.[79] Yet my argument would be that Ruotger's most important aim in writing was to show that, whatever anyone might say about Bruno's political involvements, he was a model bishop according to the image projected by Gregory in this work. All his use of other

intimo terrore despiciat, terrores autem considerato internae dulcedinis blandimento contemnat.'

[76] *Reg. Past.* ii. 8, *PL* 77, col. 42b–c; or *Grégoire*, ed. Judic, i. 230–2; Ruotger, c. 9, p. 9, ll. 20–3, 29–31.

[77] *Reg. Past.* iii. 22, *PL* 77, col. 91c; or *Grégoire*, ed. Judic, ii. 410, ll. 118–19; Ruotger, c. 20, p. 20, ll. 4–8.

[78] The phrase *pax ecclesiae* seems not to be used in the *Reg. Past.* itself, though the idea is implicit in several passages, e.g. the harm to the church of evil-acting priests, *Reg. Past.* i. 2, *PL* 77, col. 16a, or *Grégoire*, ed. Judic, i. 134, and the whole discussion of disturbers of the temporal peace in *Reg. Past.* iii. 22, or *Grégoire*, ed. Judic, esp. i. 406–8. But Markus, 'The Sacred and the Secular: From Augustine to Gregory the Great', 84–96, shows how fundamental to and pervasive in Gregory's thinking this idea was, and at p. 93 cites a passage from the *Moralia* which uses the actual phrase *pax ecclesiae* (*Moralia*, xix. 9. 16, *PL* 76, col. 106b).

[79] Except for Hoffmann, 'Politik und Kultur', 36, n. 29, where he mentions Gregory's use of the phrase *regale sacerdotium* in *Reg. Past.* ii. 3. His point is that the phrase had always, before Ruotger used it of Bruno, been applied to lay rulers, and that Gregory constitutes no precedent in applying it specifically to priests, because he wrote allegorically. But Ruotger uses the phrase allegorically in exactly the same way as Gregory (see below, p. 102). I do not say this to deny the extra significance of actual royal blood in Bruno's case (see Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 17, 86–7), but to mark Ruotger's dependence on Gregory's thought. The phrase *hagiographische grundschema* is that of Lotter, 'Das Bild Brunos von Köln in der *Vita* des Ruotger'.

patristic writings was subservient to this principal aim. It may be true, as Timothy Reuter says, that Bruno's following of ecclesiastics was analogous to the followings of fighting men which kings and aristocrats had; but at the same time as perhaps glorying in his large 'connection', Bruno insisted that his episcopal protégés should be men who knew what was the *pastoris officium*.[80] Indeed, Ruotger's whole language of religion and virtue was the language of the *Regula Pastoralis*, made up of words such as *patientia*, *moderatio* and *moderamen*, *sinceritas*, *humilitas*, *tranquillitas*, *mansuetudo*, and *stabilitas.*

One needs no Cologne manuscript to show that Ruotger knew Gregory's treatise, but there is a Cologne manuscript, Ms. 89, which can carry forward our understanding of Ruotger's use of it. This manuscript, possibly made at Werden, is dated by Bischoff to the first half of the tenth century and is located by him to West Germany. It is too late, therefore, to be the manuscript listed under Gregory as *Pastorales libri quattuor* in the library list of 833. What that could very well mean is that it was acquired at Cologne as a duplicate copy of this important work. But there is another intriguing possibility, namely that it was one of the books acquired by Bruno for his personal library before he became archbishop, which subsequently passed into the cathedral library (see above, pp. 53, 77). It is an ugly duckling of a manuscript. Its particular disagreeable quality is the extremely uneven cut of its leaves, which led Decker to describe it (wrongly) as damaged.[81] It was never made to look beautiful, but most of its leaves are of good thick parchment, the handwriting is clear, and the Roman numerals which mark the chapter divisions in the margin sometimes have the ornament of narrowing lines receding from them to give them greater prominence. It is very much a working copy of the book; its format is small and it is the kind of book that one might either want to deposit as a duplicate in a library or take on one's travels. The very fact of its unattractive appearance, however, gives it a certain significance for our purposes. For it is not the kind of book that anyone would be likely to jump at the opportunity of acquiring long after it was produced. It is a utilitarian book made for immediate use, rather than a fine exemplar that anyone might like to acquire at any time. Perhaps it could even have had the purpose of keeping the copy listed in 833 in as pristine a state as possible.

[80] Reuter, 'The *Imperial Church System*', 355; Ruotger, c. 37, p. 39, ll. 20–1.
[81] Decker, 'Manuscriptensammlung', 226, no. 56, and p. 240. Bischoff, *Katalog*, i. 396.

The feature of Ms. 89 most relevant to Ruotger is that the scriptural books from which quotations came are identified in the margins by a contemporary hand with the clarity and comprehensiveness present from the start in at least some manuscripts of this work.[82] The *Regula Pastoralis* is heavily studded with scriptural quotations, as is the *Life of Bruno*. They are not, of course, consistently the same ones, for as we have seen Ruotger had other sources to draw on, including—it would be churlish to deny it—his own direct knowledge of the Bible. Moreover, he seems to have taken to heart Augustine's view in the *De Doctrina Christiana* that it was good to quote the words of scripture, but even more important to understand them, and sometimes he shows his understanding by taking a verse contiguous to that quoted by Gregory and of similar purport rather than by using Gregory's own citation. Nonetheless, of Ruotger's four quotations from Proverbs, for instance, two are in the *Regula Pastoralis* and are marked as such in the margins of Ms. 89 (fos. 57v, 65r).[83] Gregory uses the phrase from St Peter's first epistle (1 Pet. 2: 9), which Ruotger takes over, the royal priesthood (*regale sacerdotium*), following Gregory's meaning at this point very closely when he says that in Bruno priestly religion and royal fortitude were both strong. Gregory refers the phrase to the desirable combination in priests of interior nobility and external power of a kingly sort.[84] In the margin of Ms. 89 here (fo. 16) is written *in epistola Petri Apostoli*. The quotation from St James (fo. 54), 'sit omnis homo velox ad audiendum tardus autem ad loquendum', must surely be the origin of Ruotger's phrase *ingenii velocitate*.[85] Ruotger alludes to Exodus 28: 35 when describing Bruno's entry into his see, which Gregory uses and which is marked with red letters in a frame, *in exodu* (Ms. 89, fo. 17v).[86] He also refers, in a phrase which would be unintelligible without the *Regula Pastoralis*, to some bishops of Bruno's following as being like the blue curtains (*cortine iacinctine*) adorning the interior of the Lord's house. This alludes to Exodus 26: 1. Gregory discusses hyacinth blue, one of the colours of the humeral veil worn by the priests of the Temple (Exod. 28: 8) in order to use it as an allegory of priestly virtue: 'hyacinth is

[82] Clearly present from the start in mss. of this work, see Gameson, 'The Earliest Books of Christian Kent', 315–18.

[83] Prov. 20: 21, *Hereditas ad quam festinavit*; Ruotger, c. 18, p. 16, ll. 23–4; Prov. 16: 18, *Ante ruinam exaltatur cor*; Ruotger, c. 35, p. 36, l. 2.

[84] *Reg. Past.* ii. 3, *PL* 77, col. 29; or *Grégoire*, ed. Judic, i. 184. ll. 48–55; Ruotger, c. 20, p. 19, ll. 20–1.

[85] Ruotger, c. 5, p. 7, l. 18.   [86] Ibid., c. 21, p. 22, ll. 8–9.

added, brilliant with the colour of the skies, that by every matter which the priest penetrates with his understanding, he may not stoop to the base favours of earth, but rise up to the love of heavenly things.'[87] In the margin here (fo. 15v) is also *in exodo.*

To study the manuscripts at Cologne, a fraction as they are of what was once there, begins to feel almost like entering the workshop, a Carolingian workshop, of the Ottonian Ruotger. One of its great instruments was the fathers, Augustine and Gregory, in whose terms Ruotger articulated the ideals of Ottonian churchmanship, while its finer tools were in all likelihood the marginalia in the manuscripts of their works belonging to Cologne. In Ruotger's time it was, as has been shown, not only a patristic but also a classical library; and even now, apart from the manuscripts of classical literature which have been dispersed or lost altogether, there remain at Cologne early manuscripts concerned with the *artes*, of Boethius, Priscian, Martianus Capella, and others, which repay attention.[88] They help to point up the reality of Bruno's knowledge of the *artes* and what lay behind Ruotger's stress on it. The manuscript of Vitruvius, now in the British Library (Ms. Harley 2767), which was produced in another scriptorium but belonged to Cologne Cathedral around Ruotger's time, shows the Cologne disposition of that period to turn knowledge relevantly towards contemporary preoccupations and social needs. A page of this manuscript (fo. 145v) contains a remarkable drawing of a cross and, next to it, written in dark ink, the words *Goderamnus prepositus*, which have generally been taken to refer to the person of that name who was provost of the monastery of St Pantaleon, Cologne, before he became abbot of St Michael, Hildesheim, in 996. It appears that St Pantaleon was borrowing a cathedral book.[89] Whether the wonderful church of St Pantaleon, whose building was initiated by Bruno in the 960s and presumably continued over the next decades, was influenced by the architectural principles or practical advice of Vitruvius, I am not qualified to say. But in terms of the assumed relevance of a piece of classical learning to a building project, if only in sharpening architectural awareness (and the opening book of Vitruvius stresses the need for architects to be persons of 'philosophy'), one could

[87] *Reg. Past.* ii. 3, PL 77, col. 29a–b or *Grégoire*, ed. Judic, i. 184. ll. 39–44. I have used the excellent translation here of Henry Davis, p. 50. Ruotger. c. 37, p. 39, ll. 23–4.
[88] See in chapters below.
[89] For Goderamnus, see *Thangmari Vita Bernwardi*, iv, c. 50, p. 779. For BL, Ms. Harley 2767, see esp. Bernhard Bischoff, 'Die Uberlieferung der technischen Literatur', esp. 281–2.

not have a neater illustration of the relation between *otium*, or study, and *negotium*, or business, as both Ruotger and Bruno conceived it. The fathers, too, seem normally to have been held in early medieval Cologne to have something to say to the world beyond that of the library and the theologians. A manuscript of Jerome on the Minor Prophets (Cologne Ms. 53), written under Archbishop Everger (985–99), has monogrammic *nota* signs in the margin against passages which speak of the relevance of prophecies to one's own times (fo. 4v), of Saul being made king not by the will of God but by the error of the people (fo. 42v), of the inevitability that if a bishop sins so will his people (fo. 229r), and of the necessity that a wife should fear her husband (fo. 236v). These are four of only some fourteen *nota* signs altogether. Few people at Cologne, it seems, believed in the *nobile otium* without wanting to see it applied to the world of affairs.

Texts of the Marginalia in Cologne Ms. 94
(Gregory's *Letters*)

This manuscript, its probable Werden origin and early-tenth-century date, are discussed at pp. 90–5 above. All the marginalia are notes of subject matter; most of them have a *nota* monogram before the actual note. Less than one-third of the forty-one marginal notes in the manuscript are in the same hand as the text. The rest were added in a different hand, which we may confidently call a Cologne hand of the tenth century. The letter W before the text below indicates the probably Werden hand which also wrote the text, the letter C the marginalia of the Cologne hand, added presumably after the manuscript came from Werden to Cologne. *Nota* signs on their own (cf. p. 94) not noted below.

In the following list the folio reference is to Cologne Ms. 94; then references to number, volume, and pages in the *Monumenta* edition of the *Letters* are given. These are followed by number, if different from the *Monumenta* edition, and page in the Norberg edition.

C	(i)	14r, Epp. VIII, 17; *MGH* ii, p. 20, ll. 8–10; N p. 537, ll. 44–7
		to Bishop Marinian of Ravenna:
		De privileg' monachorum
C	(ii)	23v, Epp. VIII, 35; *MGH* ii, p. 38, ll. 8–11; N p. 561, ll. 19–23
		to Bishop Januarius of Sardinia:
		Nota: quod non sit pretium pro sepultura exigendum
W	(iii)	32r, Epp. IX, 80; *MGH* ii, p. 96, ll. 7–13, 15–18; N IX, 81, p. 635
		to Bishop Fortunatus of Naples:
		Qualiter visitatio ecclesiis debeat impendi
		[and]
		Quod de altera non sit eligendus ecclesia
C	(iv)	35r, Epp. IX, 104; *MGH* ii, p. 111, ll. 26–9; N IX, 105, p. 657, ll. 12–16
		to Bishop Fortunatus of Naples:
		De christiano mancipio a iudeis coempto
C	(v)	37r, Epp. IX, 110; *MGH* ii, p. 116, ll. 18–20; N IX, 111, p. 664, ll. 31–4

		to Romanus etc. subdeacons: Nota: quod mulieres cum episcopis habitare non debeant
W	(vi)	44v, Epp. IX, 147; *MGH* ii, p. 147, ll. 16 ff.; N IX, 148, p. 703, ll. 130 ff.
		to Secundinus recluse: Quid dicit de animae origine
C	(vii)	58r, Epp. IX, 204; *MGH* ii, p. 192, ll. 23–6; N IX, 205, p. 764, ll. 34–7
		to Bishop Januarius of Sardinia: Nota: quod cultores idolorum si servi sint liceat flagellare
C	(viii)	59v, Epp. IX 208; *MGH* ii, p. 195, ll. 19–23; N IX, 209, p. 768, ll. 10–14
		to Bishop Serenus of Marseilles: Nota: quod pictura in ecclesia agat
C	(ix)	64r, Epp. IX 218; *MGH* ii, p. 206, ll. 12–14; N, IX, 219, p. 784, ll. 35–7
		to Aetherius etc. bishops in Gaul: Nota: quod benedictionem fugiens ab altari sit removendus
W	(x)	79v, Epp. X, 9; *MGH* ii; p. 244, ll. 7–10; N, p. 835, ll. 9–13
		to Bishop Fortunatus of Naples: Quid hic dicit de abbatibus
C	(xi)	80v, Epp. X, 11; *MGH* ii, p. 246, ll. 15–19; N, p. 838, ll. 31–6
		to Bishop Constantius of Milan, about the pope not judging a bishop hastily: Nota: quid dicit de episcopis
C	(xii)	89r, Epp. XI, 4; *MGH* ii, p. 263, ll. 9–11; N, p. 862, ll. 20–2 and p. 863, ll. 33–5
		to Leontius ex-consul: Nota: quid sit inter regem et imperatorem *This applies to ll. 9–11 but is against ll. 20–1, cf Ruotger p. 9, ll. 21–3; p. 26, 11–13.*
C	(xiii)	106r, Epp. XI, 27; *MGH* ii, p. 294, ll. 23 ff.; N, p. 909, ll. 199 ff.
		to Theotista: Nota: Quid dicat de coniugatis
C	(xiv)	110r, Epp. XI, 29; *MGH* ii, pp. 299, l. 31–300, l. 1; N, pp. 917–18
		to Anatolius, deacon in Constantinople: Nota: Quid dicat de episcopis egrotis (Sick bishops not to be deprived of their position, cf. xxi)

W	(xv)	117r, Epp. XI, 56; *MGH* ii, p. 331, ll. 5–7; N, p. 961, ll. 8–10
		to Abbot Mellitus in Francia:
		Nota: De fanis idolorum non destruendis
C	(xvi)	121v, Epp. XII, 6; *MGH* ii, p. 352, ll. 26–30; N, pp. 975–6
		to John Subdeacon of Ravenna:
		Nota: Quid precipiat de lectionibus vigiliarum
C	(xvii)	126r, Epp. XII, 14; *MGH* ii, p. 361, ll. 9–15; N, p. 988, ll. 2–9
		to Bishop Deudedit of Milan:
		Nota: De proprio episcoporum
C	(xviii)	129r, Epp. XIII 3; *MGH* ii, p. 368, ll. 6 ff.; N, XIII, 1, p. 992, ll. 15 ff.
		to the Citizens of Rome:
		Nota: Quid dicat de sabbato
W	(xix)	129v, ibid., ll. 22–5; N, ibid., ll. 36–9
		Nota: Quod liceat in dominico die necessitate lavare
C	(xx)	131v, Epp. XIII, 7; *MGH* ii, p. 372, ll. 17 ff.; N, XIII, 5, p. 998, ll. 28 ff.
		to Queen Brunchild of the Franks:
		Nota: Menae (i.e. Bp. Mena of Telesino) iuramentum episcopi
C	(xxi)	131v, ibid., ll. 24–30; N, ibid., ll. 37–45
		Nota: De episcopo infirmo non deponendo
		(*cf. Ruotger, c. 11, p. 11, ll. 14–17*)
C	(xxii)	132r, ibid., p. 373, ll. 4–7; N, p. 999, ll. 58–62
		Nota: De bigamis
C	(xxiii)	137v, Epp. XIII, 15; *MGH* ii, p. 383, ll. 11 ff.; N, XIII, 13, p. 1013, ll. 8 ff.
		to Bishop Pascasius of Naples
		Nota: Quid dicat de iudeis
		(The Jews not to be prohibited from celebrating their festivals)
W	(xxiv)	149v, Epp. XIII, 47; *MGH* ii, p. 410, ll. 19–27; N, XIII, 46, p. 1053, ll. 13–24
		to John Defensor in Spain
		Nota: Quod invasor sedis alienae debeat degradari
		This would have no clear relevance at Cologne but one can see how a reader of Bede at Werden, with its English connections, might be interested in this e.g. re Wilfrid, Chad, and York
		De ordinatoribus
C	(xxv)	150r, ibid., p. 411, ll 18–23; N, p. 1054, ll. 49–55

		(re credentials of those accusing bishops)
		Nota: Que persone accusantium esse debeant
W	(xxvi)	152r, Epp. XIII, 50; *MGH* ii, p. 416, ll. 4–8; N. XIII, 49, p. 1061, ll. 52–6
		to John Defensor in Spain:
		Non debere negari victum ad ecclesiam confugientibus
C	(xxvii)	Ibid., ll. 21–6; N, pp. 1061–2
		Nota: Quid dicat de episcopis
W	(xxviii)	154r, Epp. XIV, 2; *MGH* ii, p. 421, ll. 1–7; N, p. 1067, ll. 24–33
		to Vitalis Defensor in Sicily:
		Nota: Quod qui prodesse non possunt ab officio abbatis removendi
W	(xxix)	154v, ibid., ll. 26–9; N, p. 1068, ll. 58–62
		Nota: De communione quid dicat
W	(xxx)	156r, Epp. XIV, 5; *MGH* ii, p. 424, ll. 2–4; N, p. 1071, ll. 8–11
		to Bishop John of Palermo:
		Nota: Quod non sit habenda coniunx quae virgo non nupserit
C	(xxxi)	165v, Epp. V, 39; *MGH* i, p. 327, ll. 18–22; N, pp. 315–16
		to Empress Constantina:
		Nota: Quid dicat de iohanne qui se universalem dixit
C	(xxxii)	167v, Epp. V, 41; *MGH* i, p. 332, ll. 17–21; N, p. 321, ll. 26–31
		to Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria and Anastasius Bishop of Antioch:
		Quid dicat de nomine universitatis
		(Fos. 170v–173r contain the lengthy letter to John, Bishop of Constantinople, v, 44, about his style, 'universal', but there are no marginalia against this letter)
C	(xxxiii)	176r, Epp. V, 59; *MGH* i, p. 372, ll. 1–6; N, p. 358, ll. 18–27
		to all the bishops under King Childebert:
		Nota: Quid dicat de virgilio episcopo
C	(xxxix)	178v, Epp. V, 62; *MGH* i, p. 377, ll. 22–5; N, p. 366, ll. 52–6
		to Bishop John of the Corinthians:
		Nota: De pallio quondam non sine commodo dato
C	(xxxv)	183r, Epp. XI, 39; *MGH* ii, p. 312, ll. 13–16; N, p. 935, ll. 11–14
		to Bishop Augustine of the English:

Nota: Quid dicat de episcopo lugdunensi
(Reading Lyon, i.e. *lugdunensis*, for London, *Londoniensis*, in both text and margin!)

C (xxxvi) 185v, Epp. XI, 9; *MGH* ii, pp. 268–9; N, pp. 871–2
to Abbot Conon of Lérins:
Nota: Quid de pastoribus dicat

W (xxxvii) 188v, *Epp.* XI, 52; *MGH* ii, p. 325, ll. 10 ff.; N, pp. 952–3
to Bishop Quiricus and other Spanish bishops:
Nota: Qualiter heretici recipiantur a catholicis

C (xxxviii) 189v, ibid., p. 326, ll. 9–22; N, p. 954, ll. 45–60
Nota: Quid dicat de filio dei

C (xxxix) 191r, Epp. II, 31; *MGH* i, p. 128, ll. 1–4; N, II. 30, p. 116, ll. 9–13
to Abbot Eusebius:
Nota: Quid dicat de prepositis

W (xl) 194r, Epp. II, 37; *MGH* i, p. 133, ll. 8–12; N, II, 31, p. 118, ll. 15–20
to Bishop John of Squillacino:
Nota: Quid in ordinandis sit refutandum

C (xli) 198v, Epp. IX, 147; *MGH* i, p. 146, ll. 2–15; N, IX, 148 is taken from a different textual tradition which lacks this passage, see N, i, pp. VIII–IX
to Secundinus recluse
Nota: Quid dicat de lapsis in officio sacerdotii

4

Prudentius

As a subject, Prudentius seems to be halfway between the patristic aspects of Ruotger and Bruno, which we have just considered, and the liberal arts aspects to which we shall come, though in chronology he was the contemporary of Augustine and much earlier than Gregory.

A Christian Latin poet of the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries, Spanish by birth, Prudentius was much beloved in the Middle Ages, above all for his *Psychomachia*.[1] This was a poem which, with psychological insight and highly sophisticated Latin, recounted an epic struggle, in allegorical terms and based on classical models,[2] between personified virtues and vices. It played no small part to help the early and high Middle Ages organize their moral thinking. Jacques Le Goff may be right in his clever argument that in the twelfth century its dualism of outlook began to be less influential with 'the replacement of binary patterns by ternary patterns',[3] but its poetry and perceptions still had pulling power in the thirteenth century.[4] It was identified by Ruotger, in an important passage where he implies that he knew Bruno personally and well (at least in his later years), as *the* vital text in Bruno's formation. Bruno, he says, was sent, as a young boy, by his father King Henry I, to be educated by Bishop Balderic of Utrecht. This is what Ruotger writes, with perhaps some chronological telescoping:[5]

After learning the first rudiments of grammar, as we often heard from him when he was ruminating on the glory of God he began at the teaching of his master to read the poet Prudentius. Who because he is catholic in faith and

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[1] Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry*, 44–71.

[2] In his edition of Prudentius' *Carmina* Bergman gives an index of classical *imitationes* in the poet, pp. 455–69; for the *Psychomachia*, 460–2. Good discussion in O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius*, 16–27.

[3] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 213–30, the phrase quoted p. 225; O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius*, 3–21, is very helpful on Prudentius in the Carolingian and Ottonian worlds.

[4] O'Reilly, *Studies*, 6–12, 141–5.   [5] Ruotger, c. 4, p. 5.

intention, outstanding in truth and eloquence, and so elegant in the diversity of his metres and his books, soon tasted so sweet to his heart, that he drank in not only the external words, but also the marrow or pure nectar of the inner sense, so to speak, with inexpressible avidity.

We shall have to return shortly to the nectar of the inner sense. For the moment we may mention two principal reasons why Bruno should have *remained* so attached to Prudentius, especially the *Psychomachia*, to the degree that he would talk about the subject to Ruotger in what must have been the later years of his life. First, a leitmotif of Ruotger, surely reflecting Bruno's own perception, is that Bruno worked constantly for peace and concord in the Carolingian kingdoms, east and west; and the virtues of peace and concord are highlighted in the *Psychomachia*. I have already said something about peace in the context of Ruotger's thinking on Augustine and Gregory.[6] Now I have to say that this concept is fed by many springs and Prudentius is important among them. Ruotger says early on that Bruno was born at a time when his father, Henry, was restoring peace, and that Bruno always strove for peace 'as though it were the food of other virtues' (*nutrimentum ceterarum virtutum*).[7] The *Psychomachia* calls Concord the greatest virtue (*maxima virtus*).[8] Peace, or tranquillity, continues Ruotger, was a time when virtues could be nourished and consolidated.[9] The *Psychomachia* has the same point, expressed the other way round, the point about the interdependence of peace and virtue, saying, 'peace is the fulfilment of Virtue's work', and 'without peace nothing is pleasing to God'.[10]

A second reason for Bruno's continuing attachment to the *Psychomachia* is that in order to secure peace, as is another constant theme in Ruotger's justification of his hero, he had to fight as duke and archbishop not just allegorical but also real battles. He had to be a captain of soldiers. To a man who had to take an interest in military matters and obviously loved good language, the *Psychomachia* had much to offer because it described its battles as if they were literal battles and with a marvellous military vocabulary.[11] Anger's pine-shaft (*convicia pinus*, not your commonplace spear or *hasta*) goes hissing through the air. Patience's helmet of forged bronze (*aerea sed cocto cassis formata metallo*)

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[6] See above, pp. 83, 100.   [7] Ruotger, c. 2, p. 4, ll. 6–10.
[8] *Psychomachia*, l. 689.   [9] Ruotger, c. 2, p. 4, ll. 10–11.
[10] *Psychomachia*, ll. 769, 772.
[11] Sears, 'Louis the Pious as *Miles Christi*', 615–18. Also O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 111–27.

only blunts the sword of anger that strikes it (the *inlisum chalybem*).[12] An interesting gloss in the Cologne manuscript of Prudentius, to which we shall come later, says here—and this is not derived from Isidore of Seville—'the *Calibes* are the people amongst whom iron was born'.[13] Iron was a vital military resource of Ottonian Saxony.[14] We hear, too, of three-ply corselets of impenetrable mail; Pride's steed covered with a lion's skin to make it look more imposing (one use for those lions, when dead, which Otto I received as presents from abroad!); Luxury's chariot gleaming with gems, a golden axle, and wheel-rims of pale electrum; belts with shining studs.[15]

There are other ways, too, in which the *Psychomachia* must have struck chords with the adult Bruno. For instance, Ruotger saw Bruno's patience as essential to his efforts for peace; and the *Psychomachia* makes much of this virtue, and the dependence of every other virtue on this one. For 'a virtue is a widow if not upheld by Patience'.[16] Or again, Bruno was like the emperor Louis the Pious as presented by his biographer Thegan in not caring for jocularity. 'The heart of this prudent man was disgusted with royal decadence (*luxus*)', says Ruotger, and especially at that time with the usual allurements of aristocratic jests and revels. Likewise *Sobrietas* has a large role in Prudentius' dramatis personae; on her victory over *Luxuria*, the wanton delights of life turn to gall, while jesting and impudence 'throw away their cymbals'![17] For the present, however, what should be stressed in the attraction of the *Psychomachia* are the primacy of peace and the language of warfare.

The cathedral library at Cologne preserves one manuscript of the complete works of Prudentius (Ms. 81). The fact that it is of the complete works may not lack significance, because Irene Ott, in her edition of the (quite short) *Life of Bruno*, identified half-a-dozen verbal reminiscences or interesting comparisons, none with the *Psychomachia*, but three each with the *Contra Symmachum* and

[12] *Psychomachia*, ll. 121, 140, 143.
[13] Cologne Ms. 81, fo. 73r: 'Calibes sunt populi apud quos nascitur ferrum.' See O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 114.
[14] Leyser, *Medieval Germany*, 34–5; Mayr-Harting, 'The Church of Magdeburg', 135–6.
[15] *Psychomachia*, ll. 125–6, 179–82 (and for Otto I, see Widukind, iii. 56, p. 135, l. 20), 334–9, 475–6.
[16] *Psychomachia*, l. 177.
[17] Ruotger, c. 29, p. 30, ll. 8–10; *Psychomachia*, ll. 430–4. For Thegan, see *MGH SS* II, c. 19, p. 595.

the *Peristephanon*.[18] These works appear in the by then established order of what has been called a ninth-century, Swiss/South German family of manuscripts, arising very possibly from St Gall.[19] In this order of principal works, the *Psychomachia* appears fifth out of six. Nonetheless, in a manuscript planned as a unity and written for the most part—text, glosses (Latin and German), and several extra short pieces—in one hand, the *Psychomachia* was obviously its main business. Every other work is written in two columns, the *Psychomachia* in one, to take the extra weight of glosses. This work also has frequent spaces to take drawings, the great majority of which were never executed.

The monumental catalogue, *Glaube und Wissen* of 1998, following the American Collegeville catalogue of 1995, would date this manuscript to the late tenth century, and the latter, using microfilms, compares its script to that of the Priscian manuscript (Cologne Ms. 200), localized by Bischoff at Prüm.[20] First of all, I cannot accept this comparison, and in any case the ninth-century dating for the Priscian manuscript would be too early for our Prudentius manuscript. For a long time, however, I did think of the Cologne Prudentius as being tenth century rather than eleventh, and the coloured drawing representing Abraham venerating three angels as being an early eleventh-century addition (Pl. 1a). Eventually, after possibly persuading one or two other scholars of the tenth-century date, I felt forced to recognize that I was straining to bring this manuscript as close to Ruotger as possible, whereas my better instincts were pointing to the first two decades of the eleventh century. The real comparison palaeographically seems to me to be with the acknowledged manuscripts of the period of Archbishop Heribert (999–1021). If one compares, say, fo. 63v of the Prudentius with fo. 45v of the *Timaeus* (Ms. 192, generally acknowledged to be early eleventh century), the *g*s with their bowls descending from the left-hand side of the top part, the abbreviations for *us* or *bus* and the *orum* or *arum* abbreviations (particularly when like a large X, e.g. 81, 15v, l. 14; 192, 45v, 6 lines up), and the *S* in words with final s, one gets the sense of early eleventh-century Cologne.[21] Altogether, beneath the preciosity

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[18] Ruotger, p. 6, n. 6; p. 15, n. 4; p. 17, n. 1; p. 17, n. 2; p. 24, n. 1; p. 31, n. 3; also p. 43, n. 3 (from *Apoth*).

[19] *Glaube und Wissen*, 317

[20] *Epinal, etc. Glossaries*, p. 18, n. 65. In any case Bischoff dated the manuscript second third of the ninth century, *Katalog* i, 404.

[21] For the mss. of the period of Archbishop Heribert as a group, see below, Ch. 5.

and self-consciousness of the writing, and the fine quills used, one starts to see something very like the style of writing of Heribert's time in Cologne Ms. 81.

As the palaeographical argument already implies, there are grounds for thinking that this manuscript was written at Cologne. Rolf Bergmann thinks that in point of dialect the German glosses are Middle Rhine; he maintains that the manuscript must have belonged to the Cologne Dombibliothek of the Middle Ages, and points out that there is at least no evidence of any other provenance.[22] Then, there are three extra texts inserted into the manuscript between Prudentius' *Hamartigenia* and the *Psychomachia*, apparently to fill up a quire so that the text of the *Psychomachia* could start on the first folio of a new quire (i.e. 65v). These three are seemingly written in the main hand of the manuscript. There are (not in the order found in the manuscript) extracts from Hrabanus Maurus' *De Clericorum Institutione* on liturgical garb including the pallium and *rationale* (fo. 63v), the former of particular interest to a metropolitan church, and, given Ruotger on Bruno's pallium, to Cologne. The *rationale* would be of interest to an episcopal church.[23] Second, there is the lovely text of the Hibernian Chronological Ordinal (fo. 62v), showing the points in his life when Christ was acting as if in one of the seven orders of the church (Christ was a lector when he opened the Book of Isaiah and read, etc.). These ordinals circulated in various texts during the early Middle Ages. Two ninth-century Cologne manuscripts, probably there from when they were written, contain in all essentials the form of our text of this ordinal.[24]

The third extra text (fo. 62v), the second in the order of the manuscript, is a list of town places, given in Latin and German. In view of what has been made of this list, it is worth giving the full text.

[22] Bergmann, *Mittelfränkische Glossen*, 208–14.

[23] Cologne Ms. 81, fos. 63r–64v; *PL* 107, cols. 306, 309; or Hrabanus Maurus, *De Institutione Clericorum*, ed. Zimpel, 309, 315. For the pallium, see Ruotger, cc. 26–7, p. 27, ll. 8 and 24. For the *rationale*, or *superhumerale* as it is called by Hrabanus, see Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, ii. 96–7. It is all the more significant for the inclusion of pallium and *rationale*, that these extracts do not represent one continuous passage from the *De Clericorum Institutione*, but are themselves selections from within the selection, e.g. a jump is made from Book I, c. 24, to Book I, c. 33 *De Ordine Missae*, which continues at fos. 95v–96v.

[24] Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ*, 58–60 (text p. 58), and for Cologne Ms. 85, fo. 118r and Ms. 15, fos. 93v–94r, both 9th-cent., see ibid. 70–1, n. 9, nos. 4 and 9.

Argentaria Strazburg	i.e. Strasbourg
Agrippina. Colina	i.e. Cologne
Nemidona vel nemeta. Spira	i.e. Speyer
Basilea. basila	i.e. Basel
Aquas grana, i.e. achb (*sic*)	
(In Zurich C164 acha)	i.e. Aachen
Radasbona. Regnesburg	i.e. Regensburg
Mogonitia. Maginza	i.e. Mainz
Confluentia. couvelenza	i.e. Coblenz
Turegum. Zurih	i.e. Zurich
Constantia. Costinza	i.e. Constance
Torta aqua. I.e. Zurzacha	i.e. Zursach
Curia i.e. chura	i.e. Chur
Cumae i.e. chuma	i.e. Como
Mediolana. S.	i.e. Milan
vosegus. Uu asigo	i.e. ? the Vosges
Papigia. pavia	i.e. Pavia
Verona. perna	i.e. Verona

It has been argued that all these places are important with the exception of Zursach not far from Zurich, and that therefore Zursach, or somewhere nearby in the south-west German world, must be where this list was composed. Where else would anyone have an interest in including such a minor place?[25] This may seem to be reinforced by the fact that an early eleventh-century Prudentius manuscript in Zurich, Zentralbibliothek Car. C. 164 (fo. 212v) also has the ordinal and this same list,[26] although the provenance of the manuscript is quite uncertain. The whole argument, however, is completely worthless. It takes only a cursory study of the list to see that, arranged in due geographical order, it represents a journey starting at Aachen and then Cologne and going up the Rhine and over the Splügen Pass in the Alps to Como, Milan, and Pavia (and presumably on to Rome), with a more eastern route going Regensburg, the Brenner Pass, Verona. In these terms Zursach was not at all an insignificant place. Since the 880s it had been an important cell of the abbey of Reichenau,[27] and it is very conveniently placed just 2 or 3 miles off the Rhine on one of its tributaries. Thus the list could be of equal interest to anyone, anywhere from Cologne or Aachen to Chur in modern Switzerland.

[25] Steinmeyer, 'Glossen zu Prudentius', 9; and more emphatically, Stettiner, *Die Illustrierten Prudentius-Handschriften*, 118–22.

[26] The town names are given in exactly the same order as in Cologne Ms. 81.

[27] Zettler, *Die frühen Klosterbauten der Reichenau*, 107, 113; cf. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, i. 205.

One may reasonably conclude, therefore, that our Cologne manuscript of Prudentius was written—text, glosses, additions, and all—at Cologne in the first two decades of the eleventh century. If that is so, however, there is a strong case for proposing that the Prudentius texts were copied from an earlier manuscript which had been in Cologne at least since the time of Bruno. Given what Ruotger says about Bruno's devotion to Prudentius, it is indeed inconceivable that there should have been no manuscript of his works at Cologne in Bruno's time. Given the number of Ruotger's own citations or reminiscences of Prudentius, it is almost inconceivable that Ruotger should not have had access to a copy of the works in Cologne where he was writing the *Life*. And given what Ruotger says about Bruno not only comprehending the external words but also drinking in the nectar of their inner sense, and with glosses in principle available by Bruno's time, it seems very likely that this posited earlier manuscript (now of course disappeared) had glosses, or alternatively that there was a separate text of glosses. That is not to say that either necessarily had all the glosses which feature in Cologne 81. I prefer the idea that it was a glossed manuscript because the glosses are fitted so well to the text in Ms. 81; but it could have been either way, and it matters little. Steinmeyer made an important point in the same direction. Did not the regularity of the script of Latin and German glosses throughout the manuscript evidence the fact that we are dealing with a copy of an earlier manuscript, the wrong connections made between words by scribal misreadings would show it, for example at fo. 64r between *feima* rather than *spuma* and *pumices.*[28]

Where the glosses in our Cologne manuscript are concerned, Silvestre, in 1957, identified two main traditions of glossing the *Psychomachia*, a western and an eastern, which were both well into their development by about 900. The western he named *Valenciennes* after the ninth-century Valenciennes Ms. 413 which attests it in full and early form; the eastern *Weitz* after the name of its seventeenth-century editor who worked principally from London, Additional Ms. 34248, a tenth-century manuscript, but the tradition already attested in the late ninth- or early tenth-century South German, Bern Ms. 264. The glosses of Cologne Ms. 81 fit into the Weitz, or eastern (i.e. German) tradition. The glossing

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[28] Steinmeyer, 'Glossen zu Prudentius', 3. Bergmann shows that Cologne Ms. 81 is, as to its OHG glosses, a Middle Rhenish reworking of Alemannian glosses, e.g. the spelling of Coblenz with a *u* (= *v*) as Covelenza, rather than with a *b*, as Chobilinza, the spelling of Zurich Ms. C164, in the list of towns. Bergmann, *Mittelfränkischen Glossen*, 212.

of the *Psychomachia* did not occur in milieus hermetically sealed off from each other, and there is manifest overlapping of ideas and even of words between these two traditions,[29] but the broad distinction very much holds. Silvestre further divided Weitz into two distinct traditions, Weitz W and Weitz B. Weitz W included BL Additional Ms. 34248 and Paris BN Ms. 18554, another tenth-century manuscript, these two representing the oldest Weitz strand. Weitz B had at its head the ninth-century Bern 264, but this unfortunately lacking glosses, for whatever reason, after line 282.

Sinéad O'Sullivan, who has recently edited the Weitz glosses in their first scholarly edition, has made a vital refinement by showing two distinct, if overlapping, traditions which sprang from Weitz B, namely Weitz C, a continuing South German tradition (Paris 241, Clm. 14395, Zurich C164), and Weitz D (Brussels 9968 and Cologne 81), which developed during the tenth century as the 'Middle Frankish', or Rhine/Moselle tradition.[30] O'Sullivan has laid out her edition of the glosses, line by line, in three strands, marked by different type-faces—Weitz W, Weitz C, and Weitz D (the latter with Weitz B, as represented by Bern 264, drawn in), and within each of these strands significant variants are given in footnotes. This layout entirely vindicates her perception of the strands within Weitz, and it places the Cologne glosses with new precision in the overall tradition of glossing.

In his undoubtedly important article on Prudentius commentaries, published in 1957, the Belgian Silvestre would have it that the Valenciennes glosses are more allegorical and the Weitz more literal. He opines that this was because the French could understand Prudentius more easily than the Germans, and so the former could advance to allegorical interpretation, whereas the latter still needed commentary that would enable them basically to understand what the poet was saying.[31] Surprising to see such a view propounded so many years after the end of the war! It is certainly not grounded in fact. As I have said, the early medieval readers and glossators of Prudentius were obviously attracted to and not repelled by his high-flown language and many (to them) unusual words. Isidore of Seville, perhaps partly out of Spanish pride,

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[29] O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 25. Jeudy, 'L'Oeuvre de Remi d'Auxerre', 392, says that the Valenciennes tradition is very probably a commentary of Remigius of Auxerre. It is, however, the Weitz rather than the Valenciennes tradition which concerns us here.

[30] O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 29–37.

[31] Silvestre, 'Aperçu sur les commentaires', 52–3.
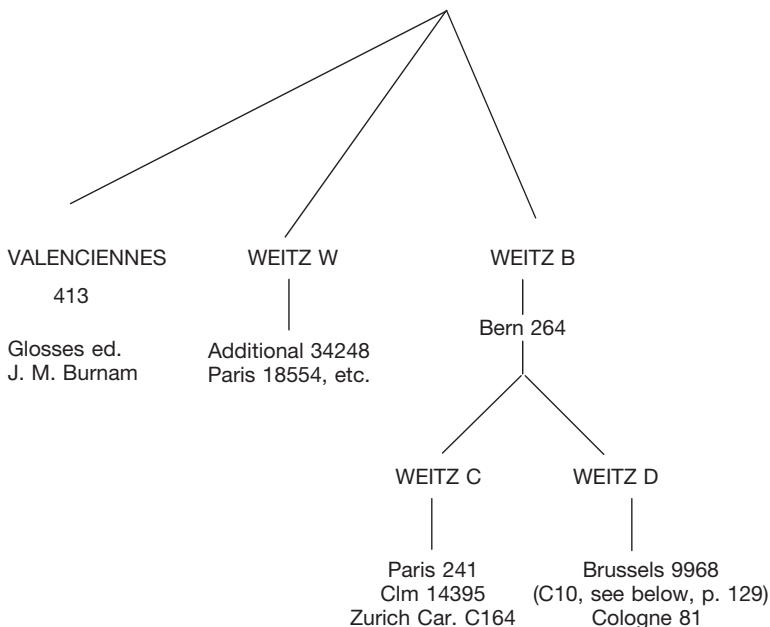
Figure 4.1. Diagram of families of manuscripts with Prudentius glosses in the Weitz tradition.

Note: In her published work Sinéad O'Sullivan has grouped Weitz B into two groups: (i) what I call Weitz C and (ii) Bern 264+ what I call Weitz D. Given the overlaps between the two groups this is an entirely reasonable nomenclature. But for some of the glosses in which I am most interested, the differences between the Brussels + Cologne Mss. and Bern 264, let alone between these and what I call Weitz C, are so important that I have 'split' Weitz B into B, C, and D. O'Sullivan herself recognizes that Brussels 9968 and Cologne 81 form a distinct subgroup within Weitz B (p. 33).

had apparently used Prudentius for his encyclopedic *Etymologies*,[32] and the Carolingian/Ottonian glossators, whether French or German, used Isidore with gusto to explain the meaning of Prudentius' words.[33] That does not mean that their interest *stopped* at the literal, even when they were not being formally allegorical; the whole of the *Psychomachia* was, after all, an allegory. Augustine of Hippo, in his *De Doctrina Christiana*,

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[32] Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville*, II, 481, n. 2; also 741, 748, 833, 867. But the evidence for this use seems to be indirect, see the table of citations by Fontaine in his work at p. 975.

[33] The enormous use of Isidore's *Etymologies* or *Origins* (the same work) in the Valenciennes glosses is clear from the identification in Burnam's notes, pp. 246–53. It would be easy to do a similar exercise for the Weitz glosses.

a very widely known book in the early Middle Ages, had explained at length how one needed as much factual knowledge as possible about animals, plants, and so on mentioned in the Bible in order to see what their allegorical or mystical significances might be.[34] Just so with the language of battle, armour, and the rest in the *Psychomachia* for understanding the battles raging within the soul. In other words, literal explanations would help readers to be more effective allegorizers for themselves. When Bruno was sucking the pure nectar of the inner sense out of Prudentius' words, that did not imply that he had to have the allegories handed to him on a plate.

The Weitz tradition has its share of formal allegory, but what strikes me most about its glosses is their ecclesiological slant, even by comparison with Valenciennes, which is not without this element. If that is right, it is of no small consequence for the intellectual setting of Ruotger's *Life of Bruno* because of its own markedly ecclesiological slant. To give a reminder of the convincing argument put forward by Hartmut Hoffmann (see above, pp. 13–14): Ruotger saw all Bruno's struggles as struggles for the peace of the church; he associated the unity of spirit at which Bruno aimed with this peace; he saw the great rebellion against Otto I in 953 as dissension in the church, as opposed to sincerity of religion; disturbers of the *Reich* were wolves seeking to devour the Church of God. Bruno's virtues were developed and directed to achieve the peace of the church.

An opening gloss in the Weitz tradition, as given in the Regensburg (Weitz C) manuscript of the late tenth or early eleventh century (Clm 14395, fo. 141r), reads:[35]

Assumpta praefata libro genesi proposita est ut sequens opus divina auctoritas commendet.

The beginning of the preface starts with the Book of Genesis, so that divine authority should recommend the work that follows.

This appears to say that the *Psychomachia*, starting with the first book of the Bible, just as it ends with the last book, the Apocalypse, and with

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[34] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, II, 59–60, pp. 50–1; cited in Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity*, 3rd edn., 211–12. See also Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*, 447–9, and the brilliant chapter on this work of Augustine in Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, ch. 23.

[35] For this gloss in Brussels Ms. 9968 and Cologne Ms. 81, see O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 140.

allusions to many other books of the Bible in between, could claim to be a poem of quasi-biblical authority. Indeed some of its attraction to the Middle Ages was as a poetic Bible. And who had the sole authority to teach the Bible but the church?

Preceding this gloss, but only in the Weitz D tradition, that is, surviving only in Brussels Ms. 9968 (fo. 74r) and Cologne Ms. 81 (fo. 66r, left-hand side), is a gloss still more ecclesial.[36] Being at the very beginning in these two manuscripts, it sets a tone. It is a keynote gloss which announces an ecclesial approach. It is a gloss on the first two lines of the Preface to the *Psychomachia*, which it overtly contradicts. The two lines read: 'the faithful patriarch who showed the first way of believing (*prima credendi via*) was Abram, late in life the father of a blessed progeny.' The gloss says it was not Abram but Abel who showed the first way of believing. It begins:

Questio: Quomodo prima via credentium? Cum Abel propter fidei sue merita a deo coronatus est et ab eo sumit originem sancta ecclesia.

Question: After what manner [or how] was the first way of believers? It was when Abel because of the merits of his faith was crowned by God, and from him Holy Church took its origin.

Only then does the gloss continue with Enoch and his stability of faith, and then how the faith of Abram in God was (also, one presumes) the first way of believing, because tested by God he believed in Him, and so on. This Abel gloss must surely have been added under the influence of Augustine's *City of God*, where Abel and his brother Seth are treated as begetters, by their faith and hope, of the City of God. True, the passage of Augustine's work in question, though mentioning Abel, refers mainly to Seth; but in the previous chapter Augustine had said that after the killing of Abel (*occiso Abel*), the fathers of the two cities earthly and heavenly were Cain and Seth.[37] Thus the Abel gloss, when Abel is not so much as mentioned in the text of the *Psychomachia*, is a peculiarly pointed piece of ecclesiology.

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[36] In Brussels Ms. 9968, fo. 74r, it is added at the foot of the page preceding the beginning of the text, a page with a rather crude drawing of the Sacrifice of Isaac. The gloss, albeit in a contemporary hand with the text, seems to have been added as an afterthought.

[37] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XV, 18, *CCSL* 48, p. 480, ll. 5–9; and on Cain and Seth, ibid. XV, 17, p. 479, ll. 1–7. Brilliant on Cain and Abel is Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 320–2 (319–21 in 2000 edn.).

The ecclesial approach of Weitz D is reinforced by a drawing in Brussels Ms. 9968 (fo. 76v) in connection with the Preface lines 38–44 and their accompanying gloss on Melchisedek as a priest for ever. In the drawing, the priest Melchisedek stands at an altar with chalice and host on it, which he blesses. In the chancel arch above the altar is the Hand of God with rays of light radiating from it. This arch fronts a picture of a church. Unlike Melchisedek, Abel is not mentioned here in the *Psychomachia* any more than he is mentioned at the beginning of its Preface, but the reference of the picture is quite clearly to the Canon of the Mass: 'as You deigned to accept the offerings of Your just servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that of Your high priest Melchisedek.'[38] Below this scene, illustrating lines 45–8, is a drawing of Abraham before his tent, receiving the three 'angels' for a meal, a neat linking of the eucharistic idea (always central to the theology of the church) between the two drawings.[39]

Besides the coloured drawing of Abraham and the Three Angels before the text of the *Psychomachia* in Cologne Ms. 81, and one or two other half-attempts at drawings, there are no drawings in the Cologne manuscript. There are, however, spaces for some seventy drawings left at intervals in the text, and even captions for them in rustic capitals. This argues for the likelihood that there were drawings in the prototype of the early eleventh-century Cologne 81, as of Brussels 9968 (where most of the drawings were also not executed). There are indeed spaces in Cologne 81 for exactly the same two drawings as I have just mentioned in Brussels 9968. It would also seem that Abraham and the Three angels in Cologne Ms. 81 (fo. 65v) was an afterthought when it became clear that the drawings were not going to be added. For the natural place for this subject would have been before line 45, as in Brussels 9968. Moreover, it is obvious that a space was left for a bigger picture than this picture in Cologne 81, probably the Sacrifice of Isaac as at the beginning of the poem in Brussels 9968, and as was far more usual as a

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[38] 'Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri justi Abel, et sacrificium Patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.'

[39] Brussels Ms. 9968, fo. 76v, Stettiner, *Tafelband*, pl. 180. The combination of the Melchisedek/Abel scene and Abraham with Three Angels is not unparalleled elsewhere, e.g. Stettiner, *Tafelband*, pl. 38, though here the scenes are not so connected and the eucharistic message does not come through so clearly.

'frontispiece' illustration to the *Psychomachia*.[40] And if one thinks that the picture of Abraham and the Three Angels in Cologne 81 seems to countermand the gloss on Abel's faith, it is not so dramatic a symbol of Abraham's faith as the Sacrifice of Isaac is.

Another ecclesiological interpretation in the Weitz tradition is the allegory of the number 318 in lines 56–8 of the Preface: 'of servants born in the house (*vernularum*) we are abundantly rich if we know through the mystic symbol what is the power of three hundred with eighteen more.'[41] In the Valenciennes tradition, 300 is explained by the letters TAU, that is, the Cross of Christ; the eighteen is explained as $10 + 8$, the perfection of works (the 10 Commandments and 8 Beatitudes) with faith in the Trinity (3×6).[42] The Weitz tradition likewise has this comment on TAU; the burden of its interpretation is mystical/moral/christological, as it comes across in the text of the *Psychomachia* itself. But it also has a further gloss (Cologne Ms. 81, both glosses on fo. 68r) which relates the number to Constantine, who presided over the Synod of Nicea (325), the Synod of Nicea itself attended by 318 bishops, and to the protection of the church from heresy:

Abundanter ab unde (*sic*) domesticorum divites sumus si cccxviii patrum fidem inconcussam tenuerimus. 'Si quid' significat in tempore Constanti(ni) id est ccctos xviii episcopos defendisse ecclesiam contra heresim arrianorum.[43]

We are abundantly rich among servants if we hold unshaken the faith of the 318 fathers. 'Si quid' [i.e. the lines, 57–8, beginning with these words], signifies in the time of Constantine, that is that 318 bishops [at Nicea] defended the church against the Arian heresy.

I have remarked that the Valencienes tradition was not without its ecclesial element, and it brings in its reference to the church and the Arian heresy, but with weaker ecclesial significance, when commenting on how Chastity dedicated her sword, having cleaned it after dispatching

[40] Fo. 74r, Stettiner, *Tafelband*, pl. 179. Colour illustration of Cologne Ms. 81, fo. 65v, in *Glaube und Wissen*, 318. For Sacrifice-of-Isaac scenes, Stettiner, *Tafelband*, besides pl. 1, 19, 49, 75, 85, 86, 110, 173, 193.

[41] Prudentius, tr. H. J. Thomson, p. 279.

[42] Burnam, *Commentaire anonyme*, 87

[43] Brussels Ms. 9968 has the same point at fo. 77r but in such different form (O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 210–11), that Cologne could not have been taken from it here. Moreover, while Brussels uses the word *vernacula*(*rum*) for Prudentius' *vernularum*, Cologne has rendered the word by another more familiar one, *domesticorum*.

filthy Lust, in a Catholic temple (ll. 104–7): 'He [Prudentius] says Catholic because the Arians too had baptism, but it availed them nothing because it was outside the Catholic Church.'[44] Over the words 'catholico in templo', Cologne Ms. 81 (fo. 71v) simply interlineates 'in sancta ecclesia', which makes the essential point.

Just as the *Psychomachia* begins near the beginning of the Bible, with Abraham and Genesis, so, after traversing many of the books of the Bible in between, it ends where the Bible ends, with the New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse, the heavenly city gleaming with the twelve types of gems. In the Valenciennes tradition the gems are explained in the literal sense, with use mainly of Solinus and Isidore of Seville.[45] These explanations would have offered a reader the opportunity to draw allegories of his or her own, if so minded. One should not, however, imagine that there was not a considerable interest in these gems, as gems, in the tenth century, when we consider the jewel-encrusted statues, reliquaries, book-covers, processional crosses, and so on of that period. A late ninth-century Werden manuscript of the *Psychomachia*, now at Düsseldorf (Univ. Bibl. Ms. F1, fos. 59r–v), has little in the way of glosses, but there are signs that the apocalyptic passage (ll. 825–85), where the gems are lovingly dwelt on, has been stress-marked for public reading.[46] And no wonder, if the pointers to an Essen provenance of this manuscript are correct, when we consider the gem-studded treasures from the Ottonian period, to this day in Essen Minster.[47]

The Weitz tradition has these gems interpreted allegorically, or rather it has two distinct allegorical traditions, both based on Bede's *Commentary* on the Apocalypse, as O'Sullivan shows.[48] Weitz W has by far the shorter text because it reproduces Bede's summary at the conclusion of his whole treatment of the subject.[49] Whereas Weitz D, that is, Brussels 9968 and Cologne 81, follow Bede when he is still in full cry (so to speak) with his allegorical gemology, and follow him without being slavish.[50] Thus, for instance, Weitz W has for chrysolite,

[44] Burnam, *Commentaire anonyme*, 91.

[45] O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 99

[46] See Bischoff, *Katalog*, i. 231. It cannot be demonstrated, but it is reasonable to propose, that this marking is contemporary.

[47] Mayr-Harting 'Artists and Patrons', 218–20.

[48] O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 99.

[49] *PL* 93, col. 202 c–d, or Bede, *Expos. Apoc.*, 555–7.

[50] *PL* 93, cols. 197–202, or Bede, *Expos. Apoc.*, 531–55.

'a spiritual voice amidst miracles';[51] whereas Weitz D says that it is sometimes blue, sometimes like shining gold with glowing sparks, which signifies those shining with wisdom and words of exhortation, and in others those offering signs (i.e. miracles).[52] Beryl, as another instance, in Weitz W is the perfected *operatio*, or effect, of preachers.[53] Weitz D says various things about beryl, including that it does not sparkle unless it is polished in such a way as to have six facets. Its brilliance is a function of the reflection of its angles. Hence it signifies men who are clever and sagacious (*homines ingenio sagaces*).[54] All this ties in nicely with Augustine, who specifically mentions the beryl in his *De Doctrina Christiana*: 'ignorance of the beryl often closes the door to understanding'![55] What is said about jacinth in the Cologne manuscript (Ms. 81) is also interesting: 'found in Ethiopa, it is of deep blue colour but changes with the sky; translucent when it is bright, it becomes dull when the sky is overcast.' Thus far from Bede on jacinth. The allegory, however, is taken from a later passage where Bede is summarizing the virtues of the heavenly Jerusalem. This is what I mean by Cologne/Weitz D not following Bede slavishly. Jacinth signifies 'the raising up to heavenly heights of the teachers, or doctors, of the church, and their humble descent to human concerns for the sake of the weak.'[56]

All this about the gems may look rather tangential to ecclesiology; it may not appear to have much to do with the church. But it has a lot to do with it. The key to the difference between Weitz W and our Weitz D lies in what Bede, followed by Weitz W, says at the end of his summary. These precious stones refer 'to the adornments of perfection in the heavenly city'.[57] Bede made a distinction between the church on earth and the church of the Resurrection in heaven.[58] It comes out mostly clearly in his allegorical commentary on the Temple, but it also comes out here on the Apocalypse. Of course there are many reflections

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[51] *Vox spiritalis inter miracula*, O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 280.

[52] Ibid. The gloss on the gems in Cologne Ms. 81 is at fos. 94v–95r.

[53] *In berillo praedicantium perfecta operatio*, ibid.   [54] Ibid. 280–1.

[55] Augustine *De Doctrina Christiana*, II, 61, p. 84: 'Ignorantia berylli vel adamantis [i.e. diamond] claudit plerumque intelligentiae fores.'

[56] O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 281. For Bede, see *PL* 93, cols. 201d and 202d, or Bede, *Expos. Apoc.*, pp. 553, 557, ll. 352–3.

[57] O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 280; Bede, *PL* 93, col. 202d, or Bede, *Expos. Apoc.*, p. 557, ll. 355–7. 'Singulique lapides pretiosi, singulis sunt fundamentis deputati. Quialicet omnes perfecti, quibus civitas dei nostri in monte sancto eius ornatur atque fundatur, spiritualis gratiae sunt luce fulgentes.'

[58] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, ii. 151–2, and 243, n. 86.

of each other, as with jacinth, but there is also a distinction; the church of the Resurrection represents in *perfected* form the qualities and virtues of the earthly church. It is clear in phrases like chrysolite as the *vox spiritalis*, or beryl as the *perfecta operatio*. The New Jerusalem, with all these gems, is the church of the Resurrection. The gems of the New Jerusalem as related to the earthly church, however, represent the virtues still needed by the earthly church while the struggle lasts. That is what Weitz D/Cologne 81 is about.

Moreover, the virtues signified by the gems in the Cologne glosses are extraordinarily close to the predominantly practical virtues of Bruno as presented by Ruotger. Ruotger is always calling Bruno wise, sagacious, and clever. He even uses the phrase which the gloss uses of beryl, that it signifies *homines ingenio sagaces*. When Bruno was a boy, he says, of good disposition and advancing in cleverness and sagacity ('*ingenio sagaci* proficeret'), he resolved to rebuild what he saw that the Vikings had destroyed.[59] Apropos of jacinth signifying doctors of the church who rise to heavenly heights and then descend to human concerns for the sake of the weak, almost in the same breath Ruotger tells us that Bruno always meditated after meals and that he became a refuge for all those in need.[60] This was part of the inner and outer (*intus et foris*) paradox,[61] the balance of the active and contemplative lives which Ruotger, following Gregory the Great, so much valued in Bruno. Chrysolite, which to Weitz W is a spiritual voice, represents to Weitz D/Cologne (Ms. 81) the more practical/active aspect of wise words of exhortation. Ruotger is full of Bruno's wisdom and eloquence in exhortation. Bruno cautioned (*ammonuit*) bishops and clergy to watch over their flocks sollicitously; he sought at first to soften the hearts of rebels with the healing of persuasion; he would speak to those who wanted to lead the solitary life with charitable exhortation.[62] Chalcedon to Weitz D, using Bede, represented the flame of fraternal love. Ruotger stresses the fraternal amity between Bruno and his brother Otto I,[63] even to overlooking his one known egregious act of treachery towards Otto (if he even knew of it) recorded by Thietmar of Merseburg.[64] Smaragdus, or emerald, in our glosses signifies souls who keep their faith

[59] Ruotger, c. 4., p. 5, l. 5.
[60] Ibid., c. 8, pp. 8–9, and p. 8, l. 19. Bruno's help to the poor and needy is also referred to at e.g. c. 30, p. 31, ll. 15–18; c. 46, p. 50, ll. 5–8.
[61] Ibid., c. 22, p. 23, l. 5; and esp. c. 25, p. 26, l. 15.
[62] Ibid., c. 22, pp. 22–3; c. 17, p. 16, ll. 11–15; c. 33, p. 34, ll. 8–14.
[63] Most of all, ibid., c. 20, p. 19.   [64] Thietmar of Merseburg, ii. 23, pp. 66–7.

ever green when tempted by the adversity of the world; likewise Bruno, amidst rebellions, criticism of his conduct, and dissension and disorder in his duchy of Lotharingia.[65] Sardonyx represents the humility of the saints. Ruotger constantly stresses Bruno's humility, for instance in his sitting at the feet of good teachers whenever he found them, or in those who observed his humble and contrite spirit.[66]

Could Ruotger have known the Weitz D glosses? Could they, in the form in which they appear in Cologne 81, have been in existence already when he wrote? Could Bruno have known them? Or, the other way round, could their composer/composers have known the *Life of Bruno*? It is impossible to answer these questions with any kind of certainty; it is impossible to define exactly the relationship between the glosses and the *Life*. I have said that the thinking not only of Prudentius, but also of these glosses on the *Psychomachia*, is to an extraordinary degree congruent with that of Ruotger and presumably of Bruno. In the end it has to be admitted that there is still some space left for the readers, the jury, to draw conclusions of their own as to the facts. But there are certain points that the jury would need to bear in mind: first, that Bruno's study of Prudentius and its inner meaning started at an early age; second, that the study of the poet's inner meaning surely implies study with the help of commentary or glosses; and third, that, as O'Sullivan says, the Weitz D tradition appears to be one which developed in the lower and middle Rhine,[67] thus fitting well to Bruno with his early education at Utrecht and his later life centred on Cologne. It is, I repeat, hard to believe that the exemplar from which Cologne Ms. 81 was copied was not at Cologne in Bruno's time.

The foregoing pages have been concerned with the general congruence between the ecclesiological stress of Ruotger's *Life of Bruno* and the ecclesiological slant of the glosses in the Weitz tradition, especially in Weitz D. Finally, but by no means less interestingly, we come to several shorter glosses in Cologne Ms. 81 which have an almost uncanny and particular relevance to Ruotger's *Life*. They carry, moreover, the strong implication that there was indeed a glossed Prudentius manuscript at Cologne in the tenth century which was the forerunner and exemplar of the surviving early eleventh-century manuscript, Cologne Ms. 81. Here they are:

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[65] Ruotger, esp. cc. 15, 16, 20, 24, 25, 37, 46.
[66] Ibid., c. 5, p. 7, ll. 17–18; also e.g. c. 30, p. 30, ll. 33–4, and p. 31, l. 15.
[67] O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 33.

1. In the very first gloss, about the steady faith of the church, and Old Testament personalities who prefigured it, we have:

Enoch propter stabilitatem fidei vivus in caelum evectus est (fo. 66r).

Enoch, on account of his stability of faith, was carried up live into heaven.

While in Ruotger we have that Bruno immediately before he died went west to Compiègne, recalled his quarrelling nephews in West Francia to concord, and 'stabilized them in faith and grace', or good will (*in fide et gratia stabiliret.*)[68]

2. In the Prudentius gloss on Abraham's offering his only son to God, we have:

Ob quod non solum pater est circumcisionis sed omnium eorum qui sectantur eius vesti(gi)a (fo. 66r).

On account of which he is the father not only of the circumcision but also of all those who follow in his footsteps [i.e. in faith].

In Ruotger, Bruno is said to have cut away all that was wrong in the religion of the church by the true spiritual circumcision (*vera et spirituali circumcisione*).[69]

3. The primacy of Peace among the virtues in the *Psychomachia* has already been mentioned, and the close alliance of Peace and Patience in bringing other virtues to fruition. Both Peace and Patience were numbered among the eight Beatitudes. Against the lines (176–7), 'no uncertain struggle begins [i.e. gets off the ground] without this virtue [i.e. Patience], for a virtue is a widow when not strengthened by Patience', the gloss in Cologne 81 reads:

Sine ipsa virtute, id est patientia, nulla alia carente virtute anceps luctamen init (fo. 74r).

Without this virtue, i.e. Patience, an uncertain contest begins, even if no other virtue is lacking.

This gloss says nothing which is not essentially in the text of the *Psychomachia*, but it shows that the glossator wished to mark the

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[68] Ruotger, c. 43, p. 45, ll. 19–22. For Brussels 9968, O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 140.

[69] Ruotger, c. 21, p. 22, ll. 23–31. For absence of gloss from Bern 264 and Brussels 9968, O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 143, n. 36. *Psychomachia*, Preface, ll. 7–8.

point particularly. So, as I have said, did Ruotger in attributing Bruno's capacity to bring about peace to his great patience.[70]

4. Where the *Psychomachia* refers (l. 231), apropos of pride, to the frivolities of vain talk, our gloss has:

Proprie dicuntur vasa fictilia quassa, unde dicta verba frivola que minus sunt fide subnixa (fo. 75v).

They (*frivola*) are appropriately called broken clay pots, whence sayings are called frivolous words when they are not supported by faith.

The glossator here has looked up Isidore of Seville on *frivola*: 'appropriately, useless broken pots are called *frivola*.'[71] We are back again with Bruno's reputed disapproval of frivolities, jokes, and scurrilities.[72]

5. Finally on the subject of glosses in Cologne 81 relevant to Ruotger's *Life*—though it would be possible to give more examples—Prudentius' line (l. 310) on Luxuria coming from the western borders of the enemy is picked up by the glossator:

Bene vero luxuria de occiduis partibus venire dicitur quia omnes quos potest necari fecit (fo. 78v).

Well is *Luxuria* said to come from western parts, because she causes all whom she can to be killed.

Ruotger did not write of the *luxuria* of the west, but he did write of Bruno's troubles in West Francia, and of the *indomita barbaries* of western Lotharingia, and the apparent death-wish to which it led.[73]

Here then are five examples of glosses in Cologne 81 dovetailing nicely with some passage or other in Ruotger. Moreover, an arresting fact about these glosses, which I only discovered after I had selected

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[70] Esp. Ruotger, c. 34, p. 35, ll. 9–13. For absence of gloss from Bern 264 and Brussels 9968, O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 207, n. 616.

[71] Isidore of Seville: *Etym*. IX. vii. 26: 'Proprie autem frivola vocantur fictilia vasa inutilia.'

[72] Ruotger, c. 8, p. 9, ll. 3–5; and c. 29, p. 30, ll. 8–10. For absence of gloss from Brussels 9968, O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 219, n. 711. By this stage, glosses in Bern 264 have ceased.

[73] Ruotger, esp. c. 37, p. 39, ll. 9–14. For absence of gloss from Brussels 9968, O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 232, n. 792.

them to make my point, is that all but the first, that is four out of the five, are unique to the Cologne manuscript. They do not appear in the other Weitz glosses; they do not appear in Bern 264, in the cases that they refer to lines before 282; they do not appear in O'Sullivan's other Weitz D, which means that they do not appear in Brussels 9968,[74] whose prototype was probably also the prototype for the Cologne forerunner of Cologne 81. Now the likely explanation for that is the same as what we shall see with the Cologne manuscript of Martianus Capella, which came to Cologne with glosses from somewhere else in the tenth century and then had a number more of short but very significant glosses added to it, still in the tenth century, at Cologne. It is likely that the tenth-century forerunner of Cologne 81, which I have posited, came to Cologne looking very like Brussels 9968, to whose glosses Cologne 81 is closest, and that then a Cologne scholar, as with the Martianus manuscript, added some glosses of his own. These then would have been later copied, in the early eleventh century, along with others, in the one hand of Cologne Ms. 81. Incidentally, the Brussels manuscript is usually dated eleventh century, by the *Glaube und Wissen* catalogue, following Collegeville 1995, even as mid-eleventh-century.[75] But to my eye its text and glosses look more tenth-century. It is not, however, a matter of consequence for my argument. For that, it would be the relative dates of the Brussels and Cologne *prototypes*, if these were knowable.

If my picture comes anywhere near the truth, it is natural to ask: was Ruotger prompted in his writing by these particular glosses (as I have earlier suggested, though of course not proved, in other cases), or were the glosses in question the results of someone who shared Ruotger's interests or even knew his *Life of Bruno*? The reason why I suggested that it was the first way round in the case of the Augustine and Gregory glosses was because there was strong reason to believe that the manuscripts, with their glosses, were already in the Cologne library when Ruotger wrote; though I said that in the case of the Cologne glosses on Gregory's *Letters* in Ms. 94, it could have been either way round (see above, pp. 67, 93–4). It could have been either way round in the Prudentius case also. There is, as I have said, strong reason to believe that there was a manuscript glossed in the

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[74] For this fact, see nn. 69, 70, 72, 73 above.
[75] *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, ii, ed. J. Van den Gheyn, 49; *Glaube und Wissen*, 317. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, 467.

Weitz D tradition already at Cologne in Bruno's time, but now I am raising the question of the particular glosses which appear to have been added at Cologne. What matters here is not necessarily what Ruotger had in front of him, so much as the closely shared religious and moral culture found in Ruotger's writing and the glosses of our manuscript.

5

The Liberal Arts at Cologne

5.1. COLOGNE CATHEDRAL SCHOOL AND SCHOLARS

Ruotger, besides knowing his Gregory and Prudentius, and at least some Augustine, was well versed in classical literature. Anyone who follows the notes to Irene Ott's edition of the *Life of Bruno* can see it; and if we cannot see much of it now in the remaining holdings of the Cologne cathedral library, that is largely due to the dispersal of that section of the library in the seventeenth century. The same as for Ruotger goes for Bruno himself. Indeed the latter was learned in the liberal arts as a whole. We have it on the independent testimonies of Ruotger, Thietmar of Merseburg, and the *Life of John of Gorze* by John of St Arnulph of Metz, as well as on later evidence. It seems likely that Ruotger knew Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*,[1] and Matthew Kempshall has shown how, for all that has been said about Einhard and Suetonius, the writings of Cicero, not least the *Tusculan Disputations*, also strongly influenced him.[2] Hence amidst their similar modesty topoi, it is notable that both books make reference to this work of Cicero in their prologues, Einhard by name and Ruotger by allusion.[3] Moreover it is clear that both Ruotger and Bruno took an interest in and knew some Greek, though how much it is hard to say.[4]

During the past two decades, Bruno's 'school' at Cologne, and its influence, have been the subject of debate between what one might call maximalists and minimalists. Gunther Wolf is an example of the former, seeing Bruno as refounder of the Carolingian school which had lapsed after Archbishop Gunther (850–60/3), its learning kept alive only at Utrecht by Gunther's nephew and pupil Bishop Radbod (899–917). He

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[1] For the foregoing, see above, pp. 52–6.
[2] Kempshall, 'Some Ciceronian Models', esp. 21–3.
[3] Einhard, p. 32; Ruotger, p. 2, ll. 19–20 and n. 3.   [4] See above, pp. 56–9.

sees Bruno as in touch with learned men everywhere, Greeks and Latins, as the teacher of many pupils who later became bishops, and—because he was also chancellor of Otto I from 940, arch-chancellor from 951, and central to the 'court school'—as founder of the institution in Cologne which could be described as an ecclesiastical and political high school (*Hochschule für Kirche und Politik*).[5] James Forse, by applying an idea of 'networking', namely studying the networks to which known or supposed pupils of Bruno belonged and drawing these into membership of his school in some sense also, has greatly enlarged the picture of Bruno's influence.[6]

On the other side is the minimalist, Ludwig Vones. He distinguishes in the first place, following Fleckenstein,[7] between Bruno's activity in the 'court school' of his brother and the influence of his cathedral school with its region stretching westwards through Lotharingia. Ruotger writes of Bruno presiding over discussions in Otto I's court which the king himself sometimes attended.[8] But it now seems that we have to give up any idea, for want of evidence, of a court school as a formal entity under Otto I, in the sense that we can speak of it at least for a time under Charlemagne. Nonetheless, Vones concedes, under Otto I the building up of bishops' schools had a knock-on effect for building up the Court Chapel and the education of bishops loyal to the king, in which Bruno had a role. But he argues that claims for membership of any such school at Cologne have been exaggerated. Above all, he regards the lack of evidence for literary production at Cologne as fatal to the grander claims made for it as a school. Although this may overlook the *Legend of Ursula* from the 970s, which shows a certain level of classical knowledge though not as high as Ruotger's,[9] the general point is a fair one. Vones also adds that any idea of the Cologne school as an administrative training-ground for bishops would be alien to contemporary notions of the nature of the episcopal task.[10] This is in line with Karl Leyser's

   [5] Wolf, 'Erzbischof Brun I von Köln'.

   [6] Forse, as in the Bibliography. See also Vones, 'Erzbischof Brun von Köln und seine "Schule"', 129–30.

   [7] Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, ii. 55–8.

   [8] See above, pp. 54–6, for what Ruotger could have had in mind here.

   [9] See below, pp. 199–200; Stiene, 'Kölner Heiligenlegenden', 126; Levison, *Das Werden der Ursula-Legende*, 58–90, and notes to the text of the first *Passio Ursulae*, ibid. 142–57 (though nothing exceeds the importance of Martianus Capella in this work as a source of linguistic and stylistic inspiration).

   [10] Vones, 'Erzbischof Brun von Köln und seine "Schule"'.

point, indeed demonstration, that government in Ottonian times had practically nothing of bureaucracy about it, but was face-to-face.[11]

From the surviving evidence it seems very hard, if not impossible, to gain any perception of the tenth-century Cologne cathedral school as a teaching organization. There was an emphasis on the liberal arts, but the method looks to us Socratic and unsystematic, matching well Leyser's perception of Ottonian government, and certainly does not look in accord with any idea that the 'school' provided a training for (non-existent) 'administration', whether in kingdom or church. That holds even for Sigebert of Gembloux's picture of Dietrich of Metz's education under Bruno, written a century later when Sigebert already had the chance to read back the rising eleventh-century schools of northern France into the tenth century. The Cologne Exhibition *Catalogue* of 1998 draws up its table of contents as if under the assumption that there is a presently discernible teaching organization to the 'school', having a section entitled 'Books for Teaching' (*Bücher für den Unterricht*).[12] It is true that some of these books could easily fall within a curriculum of arts teaching—Priscian, Martianus Capella, Boethius' *Arithmetic*, for instance—but the marginalia of copies of these books at Cologne suggest their use for private study by mature scholars rather than for people preparing lectures. Take rhetoric, for instance, one of the seven liberal arts. Although there was a large overlap, rhetoric was not the same as eloquence, but one might develop eloquence from the study of rhetoric, and eloquence back into late antiquity was regarded as one of the most necessary attributes of a bishop.[13] Ruotger refers to it in Bruno repeatedly. 'He inculcated a polished and luminous Latin eloquence', says Ruotger, 'not only in himself, where he excelled, but also in many others.' The tenth-century Cologne copy of Martianus Capella is practically without glossing for the book on rhetoric, but is stiff with it for the second book of the allegory. That is the opposite way round to what one would expect if the book were being used for teaching. It certainly is inconceivable that rhetoric was not taught at some level in tenth-century Cologne. But one is led to suppose that the way eloquence was learned was as much by reading, sometimes perhaps in pairs or small groups together, the Bible, Augustine, the classics, Prudentius, and so forth, and experiencing in that way how to

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[11] Leyser, 'Ottonian Government'.   [12] *Glaube und Wissen*, 6.
[13] See Foley, *Images of Sanctity*, 91, following Heinzelmann, *Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien*, 126, 239–40.

do it. Augustine himself did not think that Christian eloquence could be simply equated with the academic discipline of rhetoric; eloquence was nourished by the study of the Bible and by the 'erudition' including that of the ancients needed to study it.[14]

The valuable discussion of Stephen Jaeger on Bruno's educational activity gives us a lead when he writes that Ruotger places the stress 'on reading and intellectual activity in itself'.[15] These phrases, 'reading and intellectual activity in itself', very well reflect the glosses on liberal arts texts to which I am coming. These glosses shed little light on teaching, but quite a lot on the interests, thoughts, and studies of Cologne scholars. I would take issue with Jaeger's adding, after the phrases just quoted, 'not on any religious motive'. Ruotger also presents Bruno as a person of deep religion, prayer, and pastoral concerns, all as integral to his intellectual activity and rule. Nor, obviously considering what I have written above, can I see eye to eye with the idea of Bruno as the creator of 'a new model of education … for the civil administration of the church'.[16] When Sigebert of Gembloux, referring to Dietrich of Metz's education at Cologne, writes, 'quia erat quondam in castris coelestis militiae civiliter militaturus',[17] this is surely not to be translated as, he would 'one day do civil battle in the militia of the church' (though he might well have fought in battle), but that 'he would one day fight in the camp of the citizens of the heavenly city'. The point is an Augustinian one—again—that the citizens of the heavenly city (not to be equated with the church) should not shuffle off their responsibility to help establish peace in this world while they made their pilgrimage through it to the next world.[18] Civil administration has nothing to do with it; and the word *civiliter* more likely refers to being a citizen (*civis*) of the heavenly city.

Where, however, Jaeger has once more clearly given a useful lead is in pointing out that the utility of studies is constantly stressed, and moreover their utility for rule. In Carolingian times, he says, the main

[14] Ruotger, c. 8, p. 8, ll. 24–5. There are several other references to Bruno's eloquence, see ibid., p. 62. For eloquence and rhetoric, see Marrou, *Saint Augustin*, 505–40, esp. 514–15, 528–9.

[15] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, esp. 38.   [16] Ibid. 42.

[17] Ibid. 37, 386, n. 3; Dietrich of Metz, *Vita*, p. 464, l. 48. The reference is perhaps to Rev. 20: 9 'castra sanctorum et dilectam civitatem', commented on by Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, XX, 11, p. 721.

[18] The greatest statement to this effect is Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, XIX, 17, vol. ii, pp. 683–4; and see Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, ch. 27, esp. p. 324: the *City of God* 'is a book about being otherworldly in the world'.

idea of study was to benefit others generally; but from Ottonian times rule rises in importance.[19] This brings me perfectly once again to my question. If the utility of education under Bruno was stressed, and intellectual activity in itself in that education, how was intellectual activity at tenth-century Cologne, as seen for instance in the glosses and marginalia of liberal arts texts, related to rule?

5.2. THE LIBERAL ARTS AND THE GOOD ARTS

There is a singular feature about Ruotger's use of the word *artes*. He begins by talking about the seven liberal arts, or Bruno's being imbued with 'liberal studies'. Bruno 'brought to light', he says, 'the long-forgotten [*obliteratas* in his pun] seven liberal arts'.[20] It is obvious what this means. But thereafter the word 'liberal' is dropped and instead he refers usually to the good arts, the *bonae artes*. Were the phrases *liberales artes* and *bonae artes* interchangeable in his vocabulary? They were clearly not, not with so deliberate a change of usage. It seems that *bonae artes* included in its meaning the *liberales artes* but had a wider meaning also. The phrase *bonae artes* was much used by the classical writers, but second to none in this use was Sallust, the favourite ancient historian of both Widukind and Ruotger (both writing in the late 960s), and thereafter of many other medieval historians.[21] Widukind uses the phrase of Margrave Gero in such words as to make it clear that he was thinking of what Sallust said of the consul Scaurus in his *Jugurthine War*. Sallust says that in Scaurus were many good arts of mind and body, and that he was prudent enough and by no means ignorant of war (but all ruined by his avarice). Widukind says of Gero that there were in him many good arts, experience of warfare (*bellandi peritia*), good counsel in civil affairs, sufficient eloquence, much knowledge (*multum scientiae*), and prudence in deed as well as in word.[22] The reference to Gero's knowledge and eloquence here, as well as his experience and understanding (as *peritia* would also imply) of warfare, and to his

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[19] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, 39.　　[20] Ruotger, c. 5, p. 7, ll. 14–15.

[21] *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, ii, cols. 657–8; Beumann, *Widukind von Korvei*, 94–100; Ruotger, p. 15, n. 1, p. 19, n. 1, p. 21, n. 2, p. 33, n. 5; Smalley, 'Sallust in the Middle Ages', esp. 173.

[22] Widukind, *iii*, 54, p. 133: 'Erant quippe in Gerone multae artes bonae, bellandi peritia, in rebus civilibus bona consilia, satis eloquentiae, multum scientiae, et qui prudentiam suam opera ostenderet quam ore', etc. For Sallust see ibid., n. 2.

qualities of mind as well as of body, suggests that *bonae artes* included, for Widukind as for Sallust, both liberal studies and military capacity.

The arts came in many forms to the ancients. There were the poetic arts, the mathematical arts, the theatrical arts, the medical arts, the arts of divination, the Greek arts, the Persian arts, the Etruscan arts.[23] But in the use of the term, the arts of war occupy a prominent place. Tacitus, who wrote of eloquence as the foremost of the good arts (*eloquentiam bonarum artium principem*), and Livy, who wrote similarly, both liked the idea of the art of war, especially Livy.[24] Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* has the same combination of the arts of peace and war, as Suetonius called it. Charlemagne's sons as well as his daughters, he says, were to be instructed first in liberal studies to which he gave himself; then as soon as they were old enough the boys, according to Frankish practice, had to learn to ride and train in arms and hunting.[25] Here it was as if too much study for boys, compared with riding and arms, was still regarded as sissy.[26] This feeling would largely disappear during the ninth century, thanks to the Carolingian Renaissance. Bruno's need to combine the liberal arts with the arts of war was a matter of political necessity, indeed of survival. In all this we have to remind ourselves that Bruno was a Liudolfing, and deeply conscious of his royal blood and his responsibility to uphold the kingdom as a whole as well as the archbishopric of Cologne—and the latter by itself would have been no small thing. The liberal arts laid the foundations for acquiring divine wisdom, without which the kingdom would founder; the arts of war prevented its going under to rebels and enemies, particularly in the key region of Lotharingia.

One may notice with Ruotger that his use of the phrase *bonae artes* invariably comes in chapters where he writes of Bruno's *combination* of intellectual or spiritual and military gifts. In chapter 14 Bruno's aim was to defend the church externally, to adorn it internally, to defend it in secular matters, to adorn it in spiritual. Thus he brought death to some and life to others, and death in particular to those who, on fire with bitterness, were ignorant of the good arts.[27] In chapter 20, during Otto I's long panegyric addressed to his younger brother apropos the rebellion of 953, Ruotger has Otto say that in Bruno priestly religion and royal strength prevail. Some, such as Archbishop Frederick of Mainz,

[23] *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, ii, cols. 664–5.　　[24] Ibid., cols. 662, 663, 667–8.
[25] Einhard, c. 19, p. 78.　　[26] Wormald, 'St Hilda, Saint and Scholar', 101, 103.
[27] Ruotger, p. 13, l. 35.

would say that making war does not become Bruno and the dignity of his ministry. But so far as Otto was concerned, his enemies were traitors and Bruno was the one solid, trusty, firm solace to him (there would be a sad exception to this soon afterwards); throughout his life Bruno had advanced in the good arts, so that right actions and the utmost care in consideration had become second nature to him. This again is lifted by Ruotger from the speech of Marius, newly elected consul of Numidia, in Sallust's *Jugurthine War*: 'I have spent my life in the practice of the best arts (*in optimis artibus egi*), so that doing right has become second nature to me.'[28] Chapter 25 tells of how amidst the most pressing cares Bruno often gave himself undaunted to reading or discussion. At the same time the people at Trier and in Alsace knew with what constancy he had rebutted their enemies. He was the tireless champion of the Lord against troublemakers, more with the powers of his mind than of his body; he got a reputation for settling wars, securing peace, and strengthening zeal for all the good arts, enlarging the benefit of holy religion and saving peace.[29] In chapter 37 Ruotger describes how he had himself seen the three archbishops, Henry of Trier, William of Mainz, and Bruno, wise and religious men well versed in all the good arts, not only in reading and discussion together, but also in battle (*in acie*).[30]

It is not surprising that Ruotger should use a phrase, *bonae artes*, which from classical times had connotations of the liberal arts and also of the arts of war. Besides representing Bruno as a great pastor, the two pillars of his case in the *Life* were Bruno's pursuit of the liberal arts and the justification of Bruno, as a churchman, resorting to arms to secure peace. And both points had to be established against cavillers, as we know from evidence independent of Ruotger's.

5.3. LEGAL STUDIES

Before going on to a study of the glosses in liberal arts manuscripts of the tenth century at Cologne, two points should be clarified, or rather cleared out of the way. The first of these is the issue of legal studies at Cologne in the tenth century. There were none to speak of. In the eleventh century this appears to have been changing. In their remarkable book which shows the development of Burchard of Worms's

[28] Ibid., p. 20, ll. 22–6, and n. 8. [29] Ibid., p. 26, ll. 14–21.
[30] Ibid., p. 39, ll. 3–9.

Decretum straddling the imperial and Gregorian periods of the eleventh century, Hoffmann and Pokorny show up as an important witness to this development a manuscript from the Worms scriptorium which was clearly at Cologne before the mid-eleventh century.[31] There is, however, no sign of a particular interest in law of any sort in Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*; the references to law or laws, when not to 'the law of God', are with one exception of a totally generalized kind.[32] The surviving manuscripts show no efforts of legal study, such as can be seen, for instance, in Carolingian Constance. Certainly there were canon law manuscripts in the cathedral library, a fine Dionysio-Hadrianum from Archbishop Hildebald's scriptorium (Ms. 115), for instance; a *Collectio Canonum* from the time of Pope Gregory the Great, probably acquired under Hildebald (Ms. 212); and a glorious eighth-century illuminated *Collectio Canonum* from Northumbria (Ms. 213).[33] But with the half-exception of the Dionysio-Hadrianum, these were not working books so much as icons. Ms. 212, it is true, is heavily used, but probably the use was mainly before it came to Cologne, and as it dates from the time of Pope Gregory I (590–604), containing his name (without dates) at the end of a list of popes,[34] it is probably yet another example of the special veneration for Gregory at Cologne from at least the eighth century onwards. As to Ms. 213, David Ganz has pointed out to me how obviously its initial ornament influenced that of the manuscripts

[31] Hoffmann and Pokorny, *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms*, 20–1, 63–4, 160, *re* Cologne Ms. 119.

[32] e.g. Ruotger, c. 10, p. 11, l. 8; c. 15, p. 14, ll. 13–14; c. 28, p. 29, l. 2; c. 41, p. 44, l. 12. The one exception, c. 38, p. 40, ll. 7–12, relates to Bishop Rathier's enthronement at Liège. Rathier had been translated by Bruno's arrangement in 953 from Verona to Liège (which he was soon forced to leave again), despite the fact that translations were clean contrary to canon law and to normal ecclesiastical practice of the time. Cologne, though not a notable centre of canon-law study in the 10th century, had canon-law mss., the most used of them apparently a Dionysio-Hadrianum from the scriptorium of Archbishop Hildebald in Charlemagne's time. In the margin of this ms. opposite the Council of Antioch, c. 21, the most strenuous prohibition of episcopal translations amongst earlier conciliar degrees, is written in an early medieval hand the word *incardinatus*, i.e. enthroned (Cologne Ms. 115, fo. 45r). Not only is this word not in the canon, but it is also irrelevant to it. Not an uncommon word in itself, it happens to be precisely the word used by Ruotger to describe Rathier's enthronement at Liège (*secundum statuta canonum* [!] *incardinatus est*). Rathier's own attempt to justify his translation was unconvincing (Rathier, *Die Briefe*, 51). Gregory's letter to Martin of Corsica (I, 77) is not about a bishop driven from his own see, as Rathier had been from Verona, but about one whose see is destroyed beyond repair. Antioch 21 explicitly prohibited translation in the first case, but is silent on the second (*PL* 67, col. 163d).

[33] *Glaube und Wissen*, no. 18, pp. 110–16.   [34] Ibid., no. 17, pp. 105–10.

made in Hildebald's scriptorium, and likewise its *ni* and *mi* ligatures, which Bischoff identified as originally insular.[35] In these matters, rather than its content, lay its principal use later on, and not surprisingly, for it was a book designed to impress in externals.

A canon law manuscript (Ms. 123), dated in the Jaffé–Wattenbach catalogue to the tenth century, but in fact early ninth-century, with a style of writing comparable to some of the Hildebald manuscripts and the characteristic ligatures *mi* and *ni*, shows virtually no sign of use, thumbing, or marginalia.[36] It is in small format, a lovely little book—a travelling icon, perhaps. Most instructive of all is Ms. 113, signalized at fo. 1r as LIBER HERIBERTI ARCHIEPISCOPI, doubtless *the* lawbook of Archbishop Heribert (999–1021). It is a book in impressive format, written on pages of good parchment by several hands, and has little sign of use and no sign of thumbing. This is a kind of icon in that it symbolizes the archbishop as a fountain source of canon law, rather than being a book for actual study. This represents a concept of laws collected as a sign of the issuer's authority, leaving aside the question of how they were applied in real life, an early medieval concept with which Patrick Wormald, amongst others, has made us familiar.[37] The book has a few corrections but otherwise marginalia are very rare. Their 'silence' is broken on fo. 23r with a marginal *nota* sign against a passage in the text about clergy who name themselves Cathars and come into a Catholic church. This must be mid-twelfth-century, being highly relevant to the Cologne situation of that time.[38] By then, the age of Gratian, lawbooks had for the most part ceased to be icons.

5.4. THE HERIBERT PERIOD, 999–1021

The *Liber Heriberti* brings us on to the second point which needs clearing out of the way, namely the second phase of liberal arts activity centred on the period of Archbishop Heribert (first two decades of the eleventh century), which should not be confused with, or used

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[35] Bischoff, *The Epinal, etc. Glossaries*, 18.

[36] *Canonum Collectio Dacheriana*, Bischoff, *Katalog*, i. 401: 1st to 2nd quarter of the 9th cent., with a possibly Prüm addition of 2nd third of the 9th cent.

[37] Wormald, '*Lex Scripta et Verbum Regis*', 114–25; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, on Charlemagne, 43–53.

[38] See Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, 18–27; Moore, *Origins of European Dissent*, 168–82.

without good reason to interpret, the first phase of the Bruno/Ruotger period (third quarter of the tenth century). By good reason, I mean, for instance, the inferences which Anton von Euw has drawn about the *Timaeus* (below, p. 156), the use which I have made of the Prudentius Ms. 81 (above, pp. 116, 126–9), or the limited way in which I am about to use the Priscian from the Heribert period. Starting from the reasonable security of the *Liber Heriberti* (Ms. 113), one can construct a Cologne palaeographical group of manuscripts, that is, with several hands at work but a similar style of writing, which includes Boethius on Porphyry's *Isagogues* and on *Music* (Ms. 187), another Boethius on Porphyry and on Aristotle's *Categories*, (Ms. 189), another manuscript on the same (Ms. 191), Plato's *Timaeus* in Calcidius' translation with his Commentary (Ms. 192), Boethius on Cicero's *Topics* (Ms. 198), and Priscian's *Grammar* (Ms. 202).[39] No doubt there were other manuscripts in this group which are no longer in Cologne. I imagine that among the Cologne Harleian manuscripts in the British Library, for instance, at least the Quintilian (Harley Ms. 2664) and a manuscript of Cicero's *Letters* (Harley Ms. 2682) might be good candidates for it. The relevant point here about the *Timaeus*/Calcidius manuscript is that it may well have had a tenth-century exemplar at Cologne behind it, as the Prudentius manuscript must have had. The same could have been true of other manuscripts of the Heribert group, where, however, I see no strong grounds for proposing it.

In general, however impressive the burst of activity in Heribert's time may have been, I doubt that as a centre of learning Cologne could have held a candle to contemporary Chartres or Rheims in the west, or to Regensburg or St Gall in the east.

5.5. PRISCIAN

My main focus, in the study of the liberal arts at tenth-century Cologne, is on Boethius' *Arithmetic* and Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*. But before we come to those, I bring forward an outrider argument on Priscian. The *Ars Maior* of Donatus (fourth century AD)

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[39] It must be stressed that several hands have written in Cologne Ms. 113 itself. For all this see in particular Ms. 113, fos. 32r and 95r–v; Ms. 187, fo. 23r; Ms. 189, fo. 9v; Ms. 191, fo. 6r; Ms. 192, fos. 46r, 47r, 50v–51r; Ms. 198, fo. 17r; Ms. 202, fos. 33r, 98v, as examples.

was the basic text on Latin grammar, the first of the liberal arts, in the early medieval West. The Cologne library of 833 had two copies of it as well as a *Questiones super Donatum*.[40] All that has disappeared. But the early sixth-century Priscian, with his *Institutiones Grammaticae*, was not far behind. Three copies of Priscian survive in the Cologne cathedral library, but one of them (MS. 204), a tenth-century manuscript with marginalia, seemed to me to add nothing to my study not derivable from the other two. The earlier of the other two was written at Prüm in the mid-ninth century (Ms. 200).[41] It is an impressive folio volume which emphasizes the majesty of grammar and the liberal arts by its very appearance. Its marginalia are numerous but patchy, and written at different times and in different hands. When it came to Cologne is unclear. It has a late medieval ownership note, 'Liber Mauricii comitis de Spigellenberch prepositi Embricensis' (?provost of Emmerich, lower down the Rhine on the modern German–Dutch border). It seems to have a certain amount of early, pre-Cologne annotation; some of the later marginalia, however, look as if they might be tenth-century Cologne. Then there is a manuscript in smaller format (Ms. 202), on good parchment, which, as we have just seen, can almost certainly be located at Cologne in the period of Archbishop Heribert on palaeographical grounds. It is more fully glossed than Ms. 200, and for the most part in the same hand as the text. The scribe obviously had these glosses beside him as a set in some form when he produced his manuscript. It may seem a flat contradiction to write briefly about this early eleventh-century book, having just explicitly renounced the Heribert period as part of my brief, but I hope that my very limited purpose in doing so will become apparent and seem justified.

In her masterly paper on the early medieval study of Priscian, Margaret Gibson distinguished two phases of that study. In the ninth century annotation was brief and 'basically glossarial', tit-bits of knowledge being added first by one user then another. In the second phase, also already discernible in the ninth century (for these phases are more logical than strictly chronological), one is getting commentary, particularly at the beginning of books, 'on a scale which allows some assessment of what Priscian is saying'.[42] Cologne Ms. 200 very much fits into the Gibson first phase, and where it seems to go further, it is in late

[40] Decker, *Die Hildebold'sche Manuscriptensammlung*, 228, no. 103.
[41] Bischoff, *The Epinal, etc. Glossaries*, 18, n. 65.
[42] Gibson, 'Milestones in the Study of Priscian', esp. 20–4.

(eleventh-century)-looking hands. Cologne Ms. 202 on the other hand, fits more into Gibson's phase two. For instance, at the beginning of Book II (fo. 35v), *De Nomine*, a long marginal comment begins, 'Hoc loco querendum est quomodo diffinivit Priscianus nomen secundum substantiam' (Here we raise the question of how Priscian defined name according to substance). The beginning of Book III (fo. 51r) has a similar kind of comment on the comparative. There is a number of shorter comments on points of grammar such as syllables (fo. 26v), or the numbers of parts of speech (fo. 34r), or on the difference between *proprium* and *appellativum re* whiteness and blackness (fo. 37r). What is striking, however, about the glosses of Ms. 202 is the amount of interesting incidental knowledge which they bring forward in commenting on allusions in Priscian—knowledge of natural history, geography, ancient history, mythology, and suchlike. Not that that is surprising, since the true discipline of grammar involved not only correct linguistic understanding of texts, but also understanding of them in other aspects such as I have just mentioned.[43] But if not surprising, their interest is still striking. Of course much in them can be found in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, but by no means all; a wider knowledge of ancient history and the contemporary world was brought to bear. Besides, even Isidore had to be used presumably without the benefit of an index like W. M. Lindsay's.

In the glosses of Ms. 202 there is a premium on knowledge of the world to its largest extent. To give some examples, comments are made on a lugubrious Latin city called *Orrhena* or *Osrena* (fo. 18v); on asbestos (25r); on Gaza, which means riches in the Persian language (31v); on differences between the linguistic usages of the ancient and modern Greeks (e.g. 22r, 25v, 34r); on *Libicus*, the Greek name for a wind, and hence the name Libya in Africa whence it came (43r); on boundary stones (48v); on who was the strongest among the ancients (Aeneas was stronger than Hector, Hector than the strongest of the Greeks with Achilles his only rival) (52r); on quires of manuscripts (87r); on the fabulous giant Gerio (90v); on *supparus* as a topsail used in seafaring when the wind dropped (Isidore cited by name as the authority, 98r); on the difference between a diadem and a crown (116r);[44] on how Pisa had had a form of Olympic Games (132v); on salt production and salt

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[43] The point is well made by Marrou, *Saint Augustin*, 407. It is the implication of Isidore's *Etymologies* in total, see Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la Culture Classique*, i, esp. pp. 30–1.

[44] Crowns pertain to kings; diadems in round form are for dukes and margraves. Cited by Fried, *Otto III und Boleslaw Chrobry*, 44.

merchants (133r), and on the salt cellar (*concha*) (137v); on Palamedes, a leader of the Greeks, who because of his gold was thrown into a well (138v);[45] on the difference between history and annals (142r).

Although Ms. 202 is an early eleventh-century manuscript, it reflects back on the tenth century in two ways in particular. First, Ms. 200 is already pointing in the same direction of globalism with its glosses, albeit not with the same glosses as in Ms. 202. As I said, it is not clear when this manuscript (Ms. 200) came to Cologne, but that matters little for present purposes. What it shows are paths which annotation of Priscian was already taking in the tenth century. Besides glosses on various grammatical points, this book has others on, for example, the river Tigris, so called because it flows so fast, 'for *tigrin* is what the Persians call an arrow' (fo. 37r; Isidore has all this in two different places); on *vulturnum*, the river in Benevento where the monastery of St Vincent is (38v);[46] on the rhinoceros (again Isidore; 46v); and on *abdira* or *addir*, a kind of stone which Saturn ate.

Second, and more important: a developing factor in Ottonian rule, which underpinned its growing imperial ideology, was the sense that it knew the whole world and the whole world knew it. This is a feature already of Otto I's and Otto II's reigns; it did not start with the imperial dreamer Otto III. Notker of St Gall admittedly gave a global impression of Carolingian contacts already in the ninth century; but as Hans Haefele has brilliantly shown, Notker in the organization of his *Gesta Karoli* was notionally filling in a *mappa mundi* of the kind which St Gall, specialists in geography, had available at that time.[47] In any case such *mappae mundi* at so pivotal a centre as St Gall were doubtless themselves an influence in the tenth-century idea of global imperial rule. For the tenth century it was certainly real. Widukind, as is well known, related how legates of the Greeks, Romans, and Saracens came bearing their gifts to Otto I after the battle of the Lechfeld (955), and so far as gifts of rugs are concerned, there was demonstrably something in his statements.[48] Otto's victories, and his whole rule, were recognized and honoured by such gifts, and also

[45] Hyginus, *Fabularum Liber*, 83.

[46] The wealthy and strategically important south Italian monastery of St Vincenzio, Volturno, played a significant role in Ottonian Italian affairs, going back at least to 962, see *DO* I 245, 344, 359, 398; and this certainly continued through Otto II's reign, see *DO* II 251, 255, 261, 266, 288, 316, into that of Otto III, see *DO* III (Theophanu I of 990).

[47] *Notkeri Balbuli Gesta Karoli*, pp. xviii–xxiii, esp. pp. xviii–xix.

[48] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, ii. 163–6. Bruno's Testament also mentions three rugs, Ruotger, p. 52, l. 21.

by gifts of exotic animals. Again, Margaret Gibson showed how, when Otto II presided at Ravenna in 980 over a celebrated debate between Gerbert of Aurillac, then from Rheims, and Ohtric, head of the school at Magdeburg, he was showing how huge a geographical triangle was joined up under his patronage of learning.[49] It may also be mentioned that Rhine and Meuse merchants were developing their trading contacts with Muslim Spain in the tenth century.[50] One might suppose that the interest of our glosses in the Greeks, and the usages of the modern Greeks, would only have started with Otto II's marriage to Theophanu in 972, but many westerners were interested in Greek learning and learned Greeks further back into the tenth century, as Ruotger testifies in Bruno's case (see above, pp. 53, 56–7). Hence the glosses in the early eleventh-century Priscian, though later than the period of Ruotger and Bruno, could be seen as the culmination of a tenth-century tendency, which saw knowledge of the wider world, even the cosmos, as a part of the culture giving Ottonian rule its sense of being worldwide.

[49] Gibson, 'The *Artes* in the Eleventh Century', esp. 121–2.
[50] Lombard, 'La Route de la Meuse et les relations lointains'; Mayr-Harting, 'The Church of Magdeburg', 139–40.

6

Arithmetic, Platonism, and Calculation in Bruno's and Ruotger's Cologne

6.1. THE GLOSSES IN COLOGNE MS. 186 OF BOETHIUS' *ARITHMETIC*

By far the most important conveyor of ancient arithmetic to the early Middle Ages was Boethius in his hugely influential work *De Arithmetica*, as well as in his works on geometry and music. What do I mean by the 'early Middle Ages', arithmetically speaking? The answer is quite simple. It is the period before Euclid, having been translated from Greek into Arabic, was translated from Arabic into Latin and was floated onto the schools of western Europe by Adelard of Bath and others in the first half of the twelfth century. Before that there were various works to read on arithmetic, for example, Book VI of Martianus Capella, that important guide in the early Middle Ages to all the liberal arts; but Boethius ruled the roost. On the mid-twelfth-century Royal Portal of Chartres, where the seven liberal arts are represented together with an ancient practitioner of each, geometry is represented by Euclid, and music by Pythagoras; but it is Boethius who represents arithmetic. In fact, in many manuscripts of Martianus' *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, Book VI tends to be scantily commented on in glosses and marginalia, whereas Book IX on music, *De Harmonia*, is much more heavily glossed. My conclusion is that people didn't use Martianus so much for arithmetic, because they had the relatively easy-to-understand Boethius; whereas they used Martianus for music because Boethius' *Music*, often not glossed, was harder for them. Now there is no doubt that Euclid's *Elements* have principally to do with arithmetical and geometrical *calculation*; whereas Boethius' *Arithmetic*, though it is based on real arithmetic and real properties of numbers and is not at all numerology in the allegorical sense beloved of Bede and Hrabanus

Maurus, has practically nothing to do with calculation. If I would use one adjective to describe its approach, it would be *Platonist.* And here we must remember that the one work of Plato that was never lost between antiquity and the Middle Ages was the *Timaeus*, as translated into Latin, with his own commentary, by Calcidius in the fourth century. Boethius knew the *Timaeus*, and there are many points of contact between his *Arithmetic* and this work.

When Boethius, a high Romano-Italian aristocrat, wrote his *Arithmetic* around 500 he relied heavily on the work of a second-century AD Pythagorean, Nicomachus of Gerasa, whose *Introduction to Arithmetic* became a standard work in the Neoplatonic schools of Athens and Alexandria. So Boethius' *Arithmetic* should also be called Pythagorean, because Nicomachus used the *Pythagorean* theory of numbers, their progressions, and their geometrical characteristics.

There are three early medieval manuscripts of Boethius' *Arithmetic* in the Cologne cathedral library. This book is a deeply Platonist account of what Henry Chadwick has aptly called 'the divine mathematics of Creation'.[1] Ms. 83 is late ninth-century and lacks glosses.[2] There is no proof of when it came to Cologne, but neither is there any sign of its ever having been elsewhere; and its level of production, particularly as to diagrams and tables, while serviceable, is not of such a standard as to make it likely that anyone at Cologne could have had an interest to acquire it much after the time when it was written. Ms. 185 has a text of the late tenth century, probably not written at Cologne itself, but its glosses were mostly added a good half-century later. They are eminently comparable, in hand and in general effect of appearance on the page, to the mid-eleventh-century glosses of the Cologne Pseudo-Dionysius (Ms. 30). Hence they cannot be brought into consideration of Cologne intellectual interests between 950 and 1000, although, as will later be apparent, they are useful for textual purposes.

That leaves Ms. 186, of the first importance for us, a manuscript in which the *Arithmetic* and Macrobius' *Commentary* on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* are bound together. It is no accident that these works should be bound together, as I argue that they were at Cologne not later than *c*.1000.[3] According to Bischoff, the manuscript of the *Arithmetic*

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[1] Chadwick, *Boethius*, 73.

[2] *Glaube und Wissen*, 302–5. Bischoff, *Katalog*, i. 395, says NE France.

[3] See below, pp. 148–9, 234–41. For the Macrobius part of Cologne Ms. 186, see Bruce Barker-Benfield in Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, 228.

is second half of the ninth century and French, while the Macrobius is late ninth or early tenth century and German.[4] Between Boethius' *Arithmetic* and the early fifth-century Macrobius' *Commentary* there is much overlap of interest, for example, musical and arithmetical proportions, the Platonist/Timaean world soul, the basic geometrical forms of creation, as well as the origins of all things in number.[5] Nonetheless, it may have been a less obvious area that most interested tenth-century Cologne about Macrobius' *Commentary*, to judge by the marginal annotations in Ms. 186, namely what he had to say on the subject of fables.[6]

The text hand of the *Arithmetic* in Ms. 186 is ninth- rather than tenth-century. In its margins are the glosses edited in the last chapter of this book, glosses plainly of the tenth century (though not later) rather than the ninth, and in later hands from the hand of the text. It is not easy to say whenabouts in the tenth century, but given the old forms of some of the *g*s and *n*s, and the radical lack of word separation even where there is plenty of space, these glosses do not appear to sail close to the borders of the tenth and eleventh centuries. So far as I know they have never hitherto been identified as a composed *corpus* of comment on the *Arithmetic*, but that is what they must be, as I have found the same corpus in six other manuscripts. They are not, therefore, merely the jottings of a reader of this particular manuscript at Cologne, not user's glosses, as such glosses are sometimes called. And it is likely, as will be argued in Chapter 8, that most of this corpus was composed at Lyon in the tenth century. The other manuscripts containing it stretch from *c*.1000 to the later eleventh century. This Cologne Ms. 186 would appear to be the earliest surviving version, palaeographically speaking, though certainly not the earliest redaction of the text. In every other manuscript this corpus of glosses appears with some other corpus of gloss material. What the other corpus is, is a matter of variation. Bamberg Class 6 and Vienna 50 have the same as each other; so have Cologne 185 and Paris Lat. 17558; Paris 1784 and 6639 have each yet again different bodies of material. Cologne Ms. 186 is the only manuscript in which this corpus of glosses does not appear with any other corpus of gloss material. That is another sign that the glosses here were written down well within the tenth century.

[4] Bischoff, *Katalog*, i. 403–4.
[5] These examples are taken from Bk. II, 1–2, Macrobius, *Commentarii*, pp. 97–103.
[6] Ibid. I, 2, 7–21, pp. 5–8.

Cologne Ms. 186 is, however, clearly no Cologne manuscript in origin, either as to text or glosses. Before we could start using it as admissible evidence of Cologne intellectual interests in the period 950–1000, therefore, we would have to show, or at least demonstrate the likelihood, that, though not written at Cologne, it was already at Cologne at that period. In Chapter 8 I hope to be able to demonstrate that both the Boethius and the Macrobius of Ms. 186 were at Cologne by *c*.1000, wherever the glosses were written. If the manuscript was at Cologne by *c*.1000, that is yet another reason for calling the glosses to the *Arithmetic* tenth-century, for they were certainly not added at Cologne after *c*.1000, being totally unlike any script known at Cologne after 1000 when we have a large amount of material to go on. Even though there is much less for the tenth century, they are not like anything known from tenth-century Cologne either.[7]

Not only does all the evidence suggest, therefore, that Ms. 186 came to Cologne in the second half of the tenth century with all its glosses already in place when it arrived, but it is also hard to suppose that it was acquired for any other reason than for the sake of those glosses. When Ms. 185 was acquired, probably around the end of the tenth century (I take it to be German but not Cologne), it had no glosses. These were only added later, well into the eleventh century, as was said earlier. But its tables and diagrams, in their colouring, precision, clarity, and beauty, were such a vast improvement on anything in either Ms. 83 or Ms. 186, that these tables and diagrams, as well as the fine, bold and legible script, would have been quite enough in themselves to explain why any library which already had Mss. 83 and 186 should want it (with or without glosses).[8] The diagrams and tables of Ms. 186, however, so vital and large an element in any text of Boethius' *Arithmetic*, are scarcely an improvement at all on those of Ms. 83 (which in its text is probably the later manuscript), and nor is the script in its legibility. In the latter respect both Ms. 83 and Ms. 186 would score solid second-class marks as against the first-class of the later 185. Hence we are left only with the glosses as an obvious motive for the acquisition of the *Arithmetic* in Ms. 186 by Cologne.

To say that the *Arithmetic* in Ms. 186 was at Cologne by *c*.1000 is to name a *terminus ad quem*. Given the interest of Bruno and Ruotger in

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[7] In what is known from (mainly late) 10th-cent. Cologne, I mostly follow Kottje, 'Schreibstätten'.

[8] *Glaube und Wissen*, 306–7, for illustrations.

the liberal arts, and the similar interest of the Cologne author who wrote the first *passio* of St Ursula between 969 and 976 (see pp. 199–200), it would be the obvious sort of text and corpus of glosses to have been acquired by Cologne already in the third quarter of the tenth century, and no palaeographical considerations would appear positively to rule this out. But if so early a date cannot be proved, the manuscript is at least an example of the kind of liberal arts study which Bruno and Ruotger stimulated at Cologne, and must also surely result from the way in which Bruno opened up channels of communication between Cologne and other (particularly western) centres of learning. Moreover, if it is true to say that the *Arithmetic* in Ms. 186 was acquired at Cologne mainly for the sake of its glosses, whatever the motive for their being copied in the first place, and however much or little they were studied at Cologne subsequently, that is highly suggestive that they came within a context of an already formed interest. As a method, therefore, it seems reasonable to study these glosses if we want to learn about the nature of the Cologne interest in arithmetic during the second half of the tenth century.

Many of the marginal notes in this book are gritty efforts to clarify, or to state in slightly different words, what the text says; that is, their interest would at first sight appear to be purely arithmetical. A few of them, however, obviously have an ethical slant. In particular one senses that all the talk about mathematical unities in the text, when pointed up in the marginalia, is not irrelevant to the political 'unity of spirit' towards which Bruno was said to have striven. 'Unitates' is the word which rhetorically begins one gloss, explaining how in a natural sequence of numbers, the subsequent ones 'conquer' the preceding ones in unity. 'Unity is indivisible and not composed of parts', declares another; 'every number is derived from unity. Just so God has no separate, composite parts, from whom all things take their origin.'[9] This last, weighty gloss is not written in the hand of the original glossator, but is interlined by a Cologne hand of the late tenth century, another sign that the manuscript with its glosses was early at Cologne, and that the glosses were received there as anything but dead wood.

What makes the ethical point most clearly is a remarkable series of marginal glosses attached to the beginning of the famous Book I, chapter 32, where Boethius rises to a tremendous, Platonist descant on the integrity of nature, and on how Goodness imitates the mind of God

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[9] Glosses 81 and 76. (The references are to the numbered glosses of Ms. 186 edited in Ch. 8.)

and represents the triumph of the One against multiplicity, the latter the unprincipled and anarchic quality of evil. The following translations of the glosses will show how clearly we are here at the intersection of arithmetic and cosmic ethical awareness in early medieval minds.[10]

He [i.e. Boethius] calls [arithmetic] a most profound discipline because he shows in what follows that all inequality proceeds from equality and is again resolved by equality.

and

He compares goodness (*bonitatem*) to equity [or equality—*equitati*]. It consists principally in unity (*in unitate*); indeed it is not changed by any variation, it never ceases to exist, and never can be what it was not. In it, things participate of the same substance, and in it are inequalities, which are all formed according to the image and nature of unity.

And then:

Ambrose [says] that evil (*malitia*) arises from us and is not created by God; it is generated by loose morals (*morum levitate*). It has none of the prerogative of something created nor the authority of a natural substance, but [only] the vice of mutability and the weakness of error.

These glosses are not found in the earliest redaction of the corpus, which I shall argue to come probably from Lyon (I distinguish between the earliest redaction critically discernible from the manuscript tradition, and the earliest surviving written-down version in Ms. 186). It seems clear that they were added to the corpus in a probably north 'French' centre strongly influenced by the thought of John Scotus Eriugena. I doubt if they could have been written as they were without a knowledge of Eriugena's brilliant tract on predestination, his contribution to the stormy debate of the ninth century on that subject.

Although Eriugena does not use the citation of Ambrose (it is from his *Hexaemeron*),[11] the thought-world of the glosses just cited is that of Eriugena's *De Divina Predestinatione*, where he emphasizes (by way of arguing against the idea of double predestination to salvation and eternal punishment) the unity and immutability of God, and the uncreated nothingness of evil:[12]

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[10] Glosses 53, 55, 56.

[11] Ambrose, *Hexaemeron*, I, 8, *PL* 14, col. 189 b–c. The version of the text given in our gloss, no. 56, is virtually the same as that in *PL*.

[12] Eriugena, *De Divina Praedestinatione*, c. 3, 5, *PL* 122, col. 367 c–d.

If the divine, eternal essence is one and is alone unchangeable (*incommutabilis*), it must necessarily lack number, since all numbers are derived from it. If it lacks commutability it cannot be multiplied. The first multiplied thing is two; two therefore is not unity, which is what the divine substance is. Divine unity lacks the plurality of number.

All this is by way of arguing that predestination is of God; God is unity; therefore predestination cannot be dual (to heaven and hell), as Eriugena's antagonist in the controversy, Gottschalk, argued it was. Eriugena's might strike one as an over-clever argument; but what matters for our purposes here is not Eriugena's view of predestination, but his concept of God and number. Yet we also see that the strains of the vibrant and deeply felt Carolingian predestination controversy were still echoing in Ottonian times.[13]

The idea that evil is not created, nor is it of nature, is deeply embedded in Eriugena:[14]

If a turning of the will from God is sin, can we not call God the author of sin? But this motion is not of God. So from whence? If I answer, questioner, that I do not know, will you perhaps be dismayed? But I do truly answer. It cannot be known because it is nothing. There is no good that is not of God. There is no nature which is not of God. Everything you see in which there is measure and number and order, you should not hesitate to attribute to the Divine creator. Everything good is from God; there is no nature, therefore, which is not of God. The motion of turning away, which we said was sin, is a defective motion, and every defect is *ex nihilo*, and, you cannot doubt, does not belong to God.

Concerning the glosses on the good and unity, 'which never can be what it was not', Eriugena writes with relevance to this. There are no spaces nor intervals of time with God. How can one speak, therefore, of his foreknowledge if there is no future to him? In God, 'all things live unchangeably (*incommutabiliter*), not only those things which have been, but also those which will be'.[15] And concerning the gloss on evil as not being created nor a natural substance, Eriugena says exactly that: sin 'is not nature because it was not created in any substance [note the phrase *substantie naturalis* in the gloss] by God the creator of all things'.[16]

Hence, exactly the ideas used by Eriugena in the ninth-century predestination controversy to refute Gottschalk's view of the dual

[13] For an excellent discussion, Ganz, 'The Debate on Predestination', on Eriugena, esp. 359–60; and for Eriugena in this debate, also Devisse, *Hincmar*, i. 147–53.
[14] Eriugena, c. 7, 5, *PL* 122, col. 384 b–d.
[15] Ibid., c. 9, 5–6, *PL* 122, cols. 392–3.   [16] Ibid., c. 16, 2, *PL* 122, col. 419a.

predestination to salvation and damnation—and needless to say, Gott-schalk's views were not so crude as Eriugena represented them—were applied in our glosses to the explanation of Boethius' *Arithmetic* on goodness and unity.

Before we move on, it may be worth a moment's reflection on this singular citation of Ambrose in the glosses, singular because it is the only learned allusion of its kind in them. Otherwise they are practically all attempts to explain the text in different words or from other parts of Boethius' text. It is rare to find a group of glosses at this period with so honest-to-goodness a purpose and so little parade of learning. The citation of Ambrose is also singular because one would not expect the one patristic reference in a set of tenth-century glosses to be to Ambrose. Amongst the fathers, Ambrose would not have been the first port of call for most tenth-century students of theology, rather than Gregory or Augustine. One's thought, therefore, leaps naturally in this case to some kind of encyclopedia or florilegium or glossary. David Ganz has forcefully brought to our attention this world of scholarly *vade mecums*, particularly the gigantic *Liber Glossarum*, which by implication he justifiably regards as one of the major achievements of Charlemagne's reign.[17] Sadly, however, it has not been possible for me successfully to follow up this lead. Only the lemmata of the *Liber Glossarum* are in print, as edited by Lindsay. The word *malitia* does not figure among these, but only in some of the Greek–Latin word-lists edited by Goetz and Gundermann.[18] It occurred to me also that Sedulius Scotus' col-lection of quotations and aphorisms from the Bible, the fathers, and classical writers, made probably at Liège in the 860s and known as his *Collectaneum*, might offer another lead. But although a number of cita-tions from Ambrose's *Hexaemeron* do indeed figure in this compilation, they do not include the passage on *malitia*.[19] Since, as I have already said, Eriugena does not use the Ambrose citation itself in his work on predestination, there is nothing further to say at present other than that perhaps the passage of Ambrose caught the eye of some genuine reader of his work, but more likely it came from some kind of glossary. We have to remember how much ephemeral literature of this kind was

[17] Ganz, 'The *Liber Glossarum*', 127.

[18] e.g. Goetz and Gundermann, *Glossae*, ii. 126 and 336.

[19] *Sedulii Scotti Collectaneum Miscellaneum*, esp. lxx. 1–65, pp. 285–91. See Laistner, *Thought and Letters*, 251–2; and Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur*, i. 320–2.

floating around which is much less likely to have survived in libraries than the standard works of theological and other authors.

Another gloss which was not in the original corpus, but was added probably at a north French centre, albeit the gloss is only one sentence, could scarcely have been envisaged without a knowledge of Calcidius' translation into Latin of Plato's *Timaeus*. This work, on the creation and construction of the cosmos according to the principles of arithmetic and geometry, music, and astronomy, was the only work of Plato, thanks to Calcidius' translation of and commentary on the first half of it, never to have been lost in the early Middle Ages to be rediscovered later.[20] Its manuscript circulation in the early Middle Ages does not suggest that it was widely known, but it does suggest that it was known at several highly educated centres, and it is cited directly on four occasions in Boethius' *Arithmetic* itself.[21] Not infrequently these citations are taken up in the marginal comments of late tenth- and early eleventh-century manuscripts of the *Arithmetic*.[22] Richard Rutherford has described the *Timaeus* as 'the imaginative vision of a thinker reaching for the heavens, seeking a proper conception of god and man and their relation in the universe'.[23] Early medieval people could not have appreciated the *Timaeus* as it should be seen amongst Plato's other works, and 'in the light of his constant pre-occupation with finding a proper conception of the gods'. It does look, however, as if they had some sense of what Rutherford calls the essential principle of the *Timaeus*, 'that physical explanations on their own are facile, without the further step of explanation on moral and theological grounds'.[24] Similarly, Klibansky has seen its influence on the early Middle Ages as due to 'its attempted synthesis of the religious teleological justification of the world and the rational exposition of creation'.[25] That is a Platonist sense conveyed through the *Arithmetic* also, and it shows up very well in the glosses which I have just cited.

[20] Marenbon, *Early Medieval Philosophy*, esp. 5–6.

[21] McKitterick, 'Knowledge of Plato's *Timaeus*'. I do not think that the points in Gibson, 'The Study of the *Timaeus*', reasonable in themselves, tell against McKitterick here. The references to the *Timaeus* in Boethius' *Arithmetic* are I, 1, p. 11, l. 68; II, 2, p. 97, l. 6; II, 32, p. 157, ll. 22–3; II, 46, pp. 191–2.

[22] e.g. Verdun Ms. 24 *re Arith*. II, 2, fo. 38r (hand of text); Gotha Memb. I, 103, fo. 38v, *nota* against mention in II, 32, and fo. 44v *re* II, 41 ref. to Calcidius on the number 10; Milan C128 inf. fo. 27r *re* II, 32, and fo. 34v *re* II, 46; Paris lat. 6639, fo. 141v *re* II, 46.

[23] Rutherford, *The Art of Plato*, 296.

[24] Ibid. 291, with observations on the immense influence of this work at pp. 295–6.

[25] Klibansky, *Continuity of the Platonic Tradition*, 28.

The other gloss to which reference has just been made is a comment on Boethius where he says that arithmetic is the prior discipline because it is that on which God, in the first instance, based the structure of the world; and also because whatever things are prior by nature, it is to these that posterior things can be referred (e.g. arithmetic is 'prior' to music and geometry, geometry is 'prior' to astronomy). If posterior things pass away, nothing of the status of the prior substance is changed. But take away prior things and the posterior fall with them.[26] The gloss in question reads:[27]

These things cannot be expressed in the most subtle element which is fire, because the crass [compressed] element, that is water, contemns fire, but they [these elements] are drawn together from geometry to astronomy.

In the *Timaeus* Plato gives an explanation of the geometrical make-up of the four elements. In Calcidius' commentary the word *subtilis* is used of fire, while according to his translation of Plato himself, air, more condensed (*crassior*) collects into clouds.[28] In his commentary Calcidius also writes of the *acumen* of fire, that is acute, penetrating, tender, and with a certain delicate subtlety.[29] Was it with this in mind that Ruotger used the phrase *acumen ingenii*, the acuteness of his intelligence, of Bruno himself?[30] The talk of fire and water may not initially seem too relevant to the passage of the *Arithmetic* being commentated on, but the last phrase, about the elements being drawn together from geometry to astronomy, makes it so. This seems meant in two senses, both Timaean. One is that by the basic principles of the construction of the universe, all the elements are in a sense drawn together, just as Boethius writes in his famous poem *O qui perpetua* of the creator, *tu numeris elementa ligas* (you bind together the elements by numbers).[31] The other is that geometry is static while astronomy is moving, and so the contraries of elements, and the antitheses of *priora* and *posteriora* themselves, are ultimately resolved in the heavens by the principles of astronomy. In a similar way the designer of the Uta Codex of Regensburg in the early eleventh

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[26] *De Arith.*, I, 1, p. 12, ll. 75–82. References are to the Friedlein edition, whose page numbers are given in the margins of that of Oosthout and Schilling, which has not only an Index Analyticus but also an Index Fontium.

[27] Gloss 7.

[28] *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, for *subtilitas* of fire, p. 72, ll. 7–9, for air, p. 47, l. 3.

[29] Ibid., p. 72, ll. 7–9.   [30] Ruotger, p. 22, l. 21.

[31] Boethius, *De Cons. Phil.*, III, 9, p. 80, l. 10 of the poem. See also Chadwick, *Boethius*, 234–5.

century would see, in connection with the Crucifixion, the discords of the universe resolved in the harmonies of perfect musical intervals, represented in diagrammatic form round the cross.[32] Music was the posterior and moving in relation to the prior and static of arithmetic.

Considering where we have got so far, it would seem to me that the likeliest place where the original corpus of glosses received the additions which we have been discussing would have been Liège.[33] It had a high reputation in the study of the quadrivium; and Bruno of Cologne's links with it were of the closest.[34] But other centres in the north French world, such as Laon or Rheims, would be possibilities also.[35]

The evidence increasingly suggests that the *Timaeus* was better known in the ninth and tenth centuries than was once thought. Bernhard Bischoff, for instance, showed that a *Timaeus* manuscript was amongst the books collected for the court library of Charlemagne.[36] Rosamond McKitterick has studied the modest but not negligible manuscript production, as known, of the *Timaeus* in the Carolingian period.[37] I have found allusions to Plato and the *Timaeus*, not only as previously said, in glosses to Boethius' *Arithmetic*, but also in glosses to Martianus Capella.[38] The surviving manuscript of the *Timaeus* and Calcidius' commentary at Cologne is early eleventh-century.[39] But it is quite

[32] Cohen, *The Uta Codex*, 67–72; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, i. 126 and colour pl. XVIII.

[33] From the late 10th century this is obvious, but one should note the importance given to Bishop Eberacher of Liège (959–79), Butzer, 'Die Mathematiker des Aachen-Lütticher Raumes', 15–16. And before that for Bishop Rathier as a teacher of arithmetic, as is implied in his *Phrenesis*, see n. 96 below.

[34] See above pp. 18, 30–2.

[35] Rheims had yet to reach its heyday under Gerbert's teaching, as described by Richer, ii. 54–80, but it had a strong Carolingian learned tradition, and Bruno, with his many links to it, actually died there, Ruotger, c. 43, pp. 45–6. Laon was past its heyday, Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, chs. 10 and 11, but could still have been a centre to be reckoned with. Also its ms. collection remained in good shape after the heyday of the school itself (ibid. 166–7). When Lothar, king of the West Franks, and his mother, Gerberga, Bruno's sister, spent Easter 959 at Cologne, it was to Laon that they returned, Oediger, 132. The power-base of Bruno's West Frankish relatives was centred on Laon and Rheims, see Dunbabin, 'West Francia', 374.

[36] Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries*, 29, 64, 139. Huglo, 'Trois livres manuscrits', esp. 282, argues conclusively that the surviving ms. is late 10th-cent Fleury (Paris lat. 2164), but that it copies an 8th–9th-cent. exemplar.

[37] McKitterick, 'Knowledge of Plato's *Timaeus*'.

[38] e.g. Besançon Ms. 594, fos. 14v, 71r; Paris lat. 8669, fo. 101v (different from Besançon comments); and Remigius of Auxerre cites the *Timaeus* five times in his commentary on Books I and II, pp. 76, 126, 167, 181, 207.

[39] Anton von Euw in *Glaube und Wissen*, 309–13.

possible that it could be a copy from an earlier book at Cologne, just as the early eleventh-century Prudentius is likely to be.

Anton von Euw, discussing the Cologne *Timaeus* (Ms. 192), shows how clearly and in detail it, and its diagrams, influenced the Christ in Majesty of the mid-eleventh-century Cologne Bible now at Bamberg. But he has argued, if suggestively rather than compellingly, that Cologne artists before 1000 were conversant with the Platonist *Weltbild*. In the Hitda Codex, now considered by some scholars, including himself, to be just before 1000 AD, the inner figures in the circular form of its *Maiestas* are like the diagram of the Cologne *Timaeus* (fo. 43v) which Calcidius signifies as the zodiacal circle. The throne of Christ is hence to be understood as in the outer circle of the fixed-star heaven. The Sacramentary of St Gereon (not later than 996) has the Platonist figure of the double circle in the *Maiestas*. Thus von Euw argues that this *Weltbild* was mediated to Cologne artists in the last quarter of the tenth century, earlier than the surviving Cologne *Timaeus* (Ms. 192).[40] But if it can be taken back so far on the evidence of Cologne Ottonian art, given that the phenomenon of that art only began in the last quarter of the tenth century, why should the Platonist *Weltbild* in fact not have been known at Cologne even earlier? Von Euw says it belongs to the *Graeca*, that is, knowledge of things Greek, intensively pursued at Cologne in the last quarter of the tenth century.[41] Yet *Graeca* were intensively pursued at Cologne in the *third* quarter of that century, as Ruotger shows us, reinforced by such scholars as Berschin and Lapidge.[42] Again, Huygens has shown that before 1026 three commentaries on the Platonist, Timaean hymn in Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae*, the *O qui perpetua*, were in circulation, one of them composed by the noted Greek scholar Abbot Bovo II of Corvey (900–16). An important manuscript witness to these commentaries is London BL Harley 3095, a manuscript no later than the mid-tenth century and probably written at Cologne itself.[43]

If the *Timaeus* were known at Cologne in the mid-tenth century, that would be an interesting feature in the Cologne intellectual landscape,

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[40] Von Euw, 'Die Maiestas-Domini-Bilder', 396–8.   [41] Ibid. 398.

[42] See above, pp. 56–9.

[43] Huygens, 'Mittelalterliche Kommentare zu *O qui perpetua*', 375–98, though Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*, 11, argues that Bovo was an isolated figure and before his time. For important discussion of Harley 3095 and particularly its musical notation which he relates to Cologne, see Huglo, 'Remarques sur un manuscrit de la *Consolatio Philosophiae*', esp. 291–3.

helping us to understand why its scholars were interested to acquire the Boethius *Arithmetic* with its glosses in Cologne 186.

It was said earlier that many of the glosses in this book might at first sight appear to have a purely arithmetical appearance. Now I am going back on that, however, to say that there is probably no such thing as a purely arithmetical interest in text or glosses of this book. That is the case in the glosses to Book II with its strong geometrical interest; it is even more so with those to Book I. Let me give a simple example. A gloss on *Arithmetic* I, 9, for instance, tries to explain what Boethius meant by an even times even number. First the passage from the *Arithmetic* which is being glossed:[44]

The even times even number is that which is able to be divided into two equal parts, and those parts again into two equal parts, and then into further equal parts. This is done until the division of parts arrives naturally at indivisible unity. So the number 64 has a half of 32, and this has a half of 16, and this a half of 8; from here the 4, which is a double of the binary, is divided into equals. The binary is divided by the half, of unity; and unity is naturally singular and does not accept division.

The arithmetic here is child's play, but the point is not a merely arithmetical one; it is a cosmic one. It is about how a number resolves back into its underlying unity. One could not have a better example of the principle enunciated by Boethius earlier in his book, that 'a number is a collection of unities'.[45]

The gloss sheds no extra light on the text at this point, which is in any case self-explanatory. But it tries, in its heavy-weather way, to bring out a philosophical principle involved in the process of division by which an even times even number (i.e. a number which can be divided equally more than once) is resolved back into unity:[46]

He [Boethius] calls a number even times even not because of what some part of it has from the quantity of its numerosity but because of the mutual relations of the parts by reason of its division, so that, for example, if you divide 128 equally each part is 64. This number 64 which is called a double does not have [this name] from its numerosity in the partition of 128, but receives it from its twoness (*sed a duobus accipit*). Similarly with two which in the division of the same number 128 are said to be two 64s (64 *par*). And the designation of division refers to the parility/equality/evenness which is said to be even times even.

[44] *De Arith.*, I, 9, p. 21, ll. 2–9. Tr. Masi, *Boethian Number Theory*, 80.
[45] Ibid. I, 3, p. 15, ll. 2–3: 'Numerus est unitatum collectio.'   [46] Gloss 21.

This same interest in a number and its underlying unity features in other glosses; for instance, a gloss on *Arithmetic* I, 15 reads:[47]

Nine has two denominators of its parts, one from its quantity, that is the ninth, the part which is unity, the other the third from its other termed number, that is from 3.

This relates to Boethius' treatment of primary and incomposite numbers, that is, prime numbers, and secondary and composite numbers, which runs over five chapters altogether. Nine and 25 both have equal fractional parts, the one 3 and the other 5. But 3 is not in 25, nor is 5 in 9. Both numbers, therefore, are by nature secondary and composite, but when compared to each other they become primary and incomposite, because the only denominator they have in common is one, that is, unity. What other point can there be in going through this arithmetically obvious rigmarole, both by Boethius and by the glossator who isolates a slice of it, than to show how all numbers resolve themselves back into unity? That is a cosmological point.

Now we come to a much more difficult problem within the context of mathematical unities: fractions. When Aldhelm of Malmesbury described the progress in studies that he was making in the Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian in the 670s, he admitted that he was having difficulty with fractions.[48] That in itself is interesting, because it seems to imply that these teachers, exceptionally for their time, were using Boethius' *Arithmetic* and its treatment of superpartients. Our Cologne glosses struggle with this subject also, and most particularly in yet another gloss which was added later to the original, probably Lyon, corpus. The gloss is on a passage of I, 31, a short chapter which deals with the multiplex superpartient. The passage of the *Arithmetic* is:[49]

These [numbers] will be called according to their own fractions, duplex superbipartient, or duplex supertripartient, or duplex superquadripartient, and again triple superbipartient, and triple supertripartient and triple superquadripartient, and so on; as 8 compared to 3 makes a duplex superbipartient, and 16 compared to 6 …

I render Boethius' examples in this way:

    [47] Gloss 35.
    [48] Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm, The Prose Works*, 153, trans. from Aldhelm's letter to Leuthere, bishop of the West Saxons (670–6).
    [49] *De Arith.*, p. 79, ll. 11–16. Tr. Masi, *Boethian Number Theory*, 113.

$$8 = 3 \times 2 \text{ (double)} + {}^2\!/_3 \text{ of 3 (bipartient)}$$
$$16 = 6 \times 2 \text{ (double)} + {}^2\!/_3 \text{ of 6 (bipartient)}.$$

Here follows a translation of the gloss, *Est autem in his quoque audiendum*, as it appears against the above passage of the *Arithmetic* in Cologne 186:[50]

In all this it is to be understood that in superpartients when we say double superbipartient we mean [or are talking about] thirds, and so on by extension: double supertripartient fourths, double superquadripartient fifths, etc. Again the treble superbipartient [means] thirds, the treble supertripartient fourths, the treble superquadripartient fifths, and so on. And these have related and appropriate names, so that what is called double superbipartient may also be called double superbi-third. And what is called double [super] tripartient may [also] be called double supertri-fourth. And what is called double superquadripartient may also be [called] double superquadri-fifth. And the rest in this way.

This gloss helps to make sense of I, 31 and of the tables showing the derivations of superpartients in I, 32. The learned Carolingian scholar, Lupus of Ferrières, in a letter of 836 to Einhard which we shall again encounter shortly, asked concerning I, 31 why 8 was the *duplex superbipartiens* of 3, and how these relationships could be established.[51] Detlef Illmer says that had Lupus studied the next chapter (I, 32), it would have given him all his answers.[52] I find this slightly unfair on Lupus, considering how much help I have derived in understanding both chapters from the way Illmer himself lays out his table of superpartients in simplified form, as against the way Boethius does it. Illmer's table helps one to see the explanatory usefulness of the gloss in Cologne 186:[53]

25 : 15   15 : 9   superbipartient i.e. $15 = 1{}^2\!/_3$ of 9, $25 = 1{}^2\!/_3$ of 15

49 : 28   28 : 16   supertripartient i.e. $28 = 1{}^3\!/_4$ of 16, $49 = 1{}^3\!/_4$ of 28

81 : 45   45 : 15   superquadripartient i.e. $45 = 1{}^4\!/_5$ of 25,
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad 81 = 1{}^4\!/_5$ of 45.

[50] Gloss 52.   [51] Lupus of Ferrières, *Correspondance*, i, no. 5, p. 46.
[52] Illmer, 'Arithmetik in der gelehrten Arbeitsweise des frühen Mittelalters', 39–40.
[53] Ibid. 41.

The point here is once again an obviously Platonist one. No subject at first sight looks less like a demonstration of the unities and equalities of arithmetic than does superpartients, in other words, fractions. Yet Boethius wants to show—the Cologne glossator following him doggedly in this—that fractions emanate from relating numbers to each other in perfect proportions, or, as the title of the next chapter puts it, that all inequality proceeds from equality, just as all multiplicity proceeds from unity.

There are of course many aspects of arithmetic, even besides fractions, which at first sight seem far removed from unity. Arithmetical processes which involve contrary effects to each other are another of these, which Boethius had been keen to deal with. He was followed in this by our glossator of Cologne 186. What was one to make of the contrary tendencies of magnitudes and multitudes, for instance, when one divides an equal number, the *contrarie passiones* about which Lupus of Ferrières had already sought Einhard's guidance in 836?[54] Whether Lupus got any answer we do not know. One way in which the Cologne glosses most obviously show their Platonist slant is in their interest in these contrary motions.

Fundamental to Platonist thinking was that creation was composed of contraries. Plato writes in the *Timaeus* about the Creator's construction of the World Soul, that he made the fabric of the soul into two circles, one inner and one outer, the outer circle made after the nature of the Same, the inner after the nature of the Different. He fastened them to each other opposite the point at which the two strips (from which they were made) crossed. The circle of the Same he caused to revolve from left to right, the circle of the Different from right to left, on an axis inclined to it.[55] Boethius picked up a similar point in the *Arithmetic* (II, 32), when he wrote, 'in the *Timaeus* Plato discussed things of one nature and of their opposite, whatever is in the world'.[56] The creator cut the inner circle of the Different, *Timaeus* continued, into seven circles of unequal size (*impares*), and he ordered these circles to be borne by a contrary motion (*orbesque ipsos contraria ferri iussit agitatione*), three of the seven going at the same speed, four at speeds different from each other and from the three. Yet—and this is vital—there was a

[54] Lupus of Ferrières, *Correspondance*, i, no. 5, p. 44.
[55] *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, 48–9.   [56] *De Arith.*, p. 157, ll. 22–4.

proportion about their motion in relation to each other (*sed cum ratione motu*).[57] Calcidius, in his commentary on the *Timaeus*, was interested in the contraries of fire and earth, the *acumen* and *subtilitas* of the one, the resistance and *obtunsitas* of the other. But though they were contrary natures, he said, yet from that very contrariness they had a certain equality (*parilitas*).[58] This was one of the great Platonist themes, then: the ultimate harmonization, or *parilitas*, of contraries. As Boethius says in the *Arithmetic*, again in II, 32, 'all things which consist of contraries are compounded and joined together by a certain harmony'.[59] It was not a theme which one would expect to leave the tenth century cold. *Parilitas in contrarietate* might almost be the subtitle of Karl Leyser's book *Rule and Conflict*, on Ottonian Saxony. A theme of this book is that the one agreed kingship gave an equilibrium to that society as, paradoxically, a principle of unity amidst the very rebellions against it and conflicts which surrounded it.[60]

The idea of contraries in creation was easily seen in the consonances and dissonances of music. The fifth-century Claudius Mamertus, in his *De Statu Animae*, used this analogy in order to say that the dissonances of contraries within human bodies, as in the case of any living body, were forced by the creator into a certain concord.[61] Perhaps the finest expression of this idea certainly known to tenth-century scholars comes in Augustine's *City of God* (XI, 18), where he argues that just as antitheses give grace to speech, never more eloquently than in St Paul,[62] 'so is the world's beauty composed of contraries, not in figure but in actual nature. This is plain in Ecclesiasticus: against evil is good, and against death is life; so is the godly against the sinner. Seen in all the works of the Highest here is two and two, one against one.' Indeed the

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[57] *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, 72. Much further on Calcidius says that fire and air have in essence nothing of a contrary, but if not in *essentia* then in *qualitas*, 'in qua diversitas et contrarietas invenitur'. Ibid. 320.

[58] Ibid. 72: 'Hae vero naturae licet sint contrarie, habent tamen aliquam ex ipsa contrarietate parilitatem.'

[59] Tr. Masi, p. 156: 'omnia quae ex contrariis consisteret, armonia quadam coniungi atque componi' (*De Arith.*, p. 126).

[60] Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, see esp. 102 for a statement of this theme.

[61] Claudius Mamertus, *De Statu Animae*, c. 8, *PL* 53, col. 711b. I owe this reference to Jane Bellingham, 'The Development of Musical Thought', 36.

[62] Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, II, 337, ll. 19–24.

whole *City of God* is about the greatest of all contraries, which would be resolved only outside the *saeculum* and in the heavenly city, the contrary 'in which men's lives had crystallized around two basic alternatives'.[63]

Boethius takes up the theme of contraries in *Arithmetic* I, 4, the very passage referred to by Lupus of Ferrières, where he deals with the properties of even numbers, indeed of even times even numbers like 8 (he deals with even times odd numbers, such as 6 or 10, in I, 10). Here he writes of the contrary *passiones*, or tendencies of, or processes set up by, *spatium* and *quantitas*.[64] Against this passage Cologne 186 has one of its longer glosses. The Platonist nature of the gloss in Cologne 186 is brought out clearly if one considers its pointed ending. In the end the Cologne gloss stresses not the arithmetical process, but the Platonist lesson to be learned from it. Cologne 186 seeks to explain the Boethius passage by applying to it terms that come from earlier in Boethius' treatise, magnitude for *spatium* and multitude for *quantitas*.[65] Here is the translation of the gloss:[66]

He [Boethius] calls the two types [of contrary *passiones*] magnitude and multitude, magnitude because it is continuous and does not suffer *divisio* but [only] *sectio* [divided into equal parts]. Multitude can be divided but cannot be divided into equal parts (*secari*). If you want something to be divided (*partiri*) by *sectio* or *divisio*, you can make in it no greater parts than if you divide it equally. Divided equally there is magnitude of *spatium* in each part, but smallness of numerosity [i.e. multitude]. If you want to divide it again [see the example of 8 and 4 in Boethius' text], the more the magnitude decreases, so the multitude increases [in proportion].

For instance, if you divide 8 (the example in Boethius' text) into 4 and 4, the magnitude, or *spatium*, is the maximum at 4, but the *quantitas* or multitude is the minimum at 2. If you divide 8 by 4, the multitude is now up to 4 and the magnitude has decreased to 2, and if you divide it by 8 the proportions are of course 8 to 1. Once again all this looks not merely child's play, but even pointless, until one realizes that once again the point is cosmological. The point in the gloss just quoted is reinforced by the subsequent glosses in Cologne 186 on the rest of this short chapter of the *Arithmetic* (I, 4).[67] Thus, from the motions of contraries in arithmetic, one discerns a unity in their balance, or *parilitas*.

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[63] Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 320 (319 in 2000 edn).   [64] *De Arith.*, pp. 16–17.
[65] Ibid. 10, ll. 23–30.   [66] Gloss 15.   [67] Glosses 16, 16*a*, 17, 18.

It will be noticed that, by chance, all our examples so far have come from the glosses to Book I of the *Arithmetic*. But there is no difficulty in bringing the same Platonist themes home to the glosses of Book II; they run through them, or rather, they tend to pick up the most Platonist elements in Book II itself. To take three almost at random, nos. 65, 99, 100:

[65] Every numeral figure which has effect by act and operation, whether a triangle or a quadrangle or whatever, will have as many unities in its first position as the number of triangles into which it can be divided. These numeral figures are composed of triangles and are resolved back into them.

The series of figures just below this in the text, near the beginning of II, 7, explains this so well as to render the gloss almost redundant, for it explains the text with reference to those figures. But the gloss is making a Platonist point, that the construction of the world and its elements is based on triangles. It would be tempting to think, therefore, that the purpose of the gloss was to relate the *Arithmetic* to the *Timaeus.* But the part of the *Timaeus* known to the early Middle Ages ends in section 53, just before the discussion of triangles starts.[68] Rather, this is an example of how Boethius himself imparted Platonism to the period.

[99] He calls the extremities 6 and 12, which when multiplied by their medial term, that is, 8, come to 144. But if one multiplies one extremity by the other, 6 by 12 or 12 by 6, that comes to 72 whose duplex [or double] is 144.

Boethius has already explained in II, 47 that medial proportions are relative, according to whether they are arithmetical, musical, or geometrical. A harmonic mediety has different proportions to its extremities, or as Boethius prefers to call them contrary proportions (*contrarie proportiones*, p. 153, l. 28), from an arithmetical mediety. Thus 8 is a harmonic mediety between 6 and 12. This brings us on to the gloss on diapason and diapente in II, 49:

[100] [Diapason] is said to be born from a duplex because what is called a duplex in arithmetic is named diapason in music. How diapason and diapente obtain the proportion of a triplex he shows above when he says that the triplex contains two consonances, namely diapente and diapason [II, 48, p. 157, l. 3]. In the position [*recte* disposition?] of this triplex, we again find the same triplex in the differentials. Thus 6 to 3 in diapason, 3 to 2 diapente; 6 take away 3 leaves 3, 3 take away 2 is 1. Again 3 is a triplex to 1. In this disposition, 6, 8,

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[68] *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, 52. This said, however, the point about triangles is implicit in Calcidius section, *De Genitura Mundi*, ibid. 61–76.

and 12, 12 to 6 is a diapason, and 12 to 8 is a diapente. A triplex is apparent only in the differences.'

It was a commonplace of Plato, and Calcidius' commentary on the *Timaeus*, that the sound made by the planets, as they rotated at various speeds and distances from each other, was that of the perfect intervals of music. Calcidius explains that Pythagoras was said to have been the first to have noted these consonant sounds and to have understood that they had something to do with numbers. All the motion of the planets was rotatory, Calcidius said, the *actus atque operatio* of the universe.[69] His phrase is picked up by Boethius much earlier in his book (I, 20): 'unity is first in power and potentiality, but not in act and operation' (*actu vel opere*, p. 44, l. 17). It is again taken up by our gloss no. 65, translated above: 'every numeral figure which has effect by act and operation (*actu et opere*), whether a triangle', and so on. All three of these glosses, therefore, lead us easily to Timaean principles, nos. 99 and 100 that God made in the universe a moving (or mobile) image of himself (*imaginem eius mobilem*), which remains eternal and forever at one, and no. 65 on triangles, that the Timaean account of creation reveals a single, divine world.

It is most important not to conclude that mathematical unities were seen merely as beautiful analogies, or rhetorical analogies, to ethico-political unities. There was a strong Platonist element in the intellectual make-up of the tenth-century West, not perhaps as recognized as it deserves to be. Hence these were real correspondences, because, in Platonist manner, arithmetical unities, contraries, processes, and so on were thought of as participators in, or ground-principles of, the varied but intellectually unified substance of the created world. 'Are we right to speak of one universe', asks Plato in the *Timaeus*, 'or would it be more correct to speak of a plurality?' 'One is right', he answers decisively. First the Creator made the whole structure of the (World) Soul, and then 'he proceeded to fashion the whole corporal world within it, fitting the two together centre to centre'.[70] Numbers, argued Boethius in the *Arithmetic* (II, 32), quoting the *Timaeus* in his support, partook of this unity; indeed they first determined the division of the unified substance of the world.[71] Whatever the arguments about the circulation of the

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[69]   Ibid., Calcidius, c. 76, p. 124, ll. 5–8.

[70]   Ibid., p. 23, ll. 20–3: 'Nunc utrum recte mundum unum dixerimus an plures dici oportuerit vel innumerabiles, etiam considerandum. Unum plane …'

[71]   *De Arith.*, p. 157, ll. 20–6. Ladner, *God, Cosmos and Humankind*, 111–14, finely relates the thinking of Boethius' *Arithmetic* to that of Plato's *Timaeus*.

Timaeus at this period, Boethius' *Arithmetic* gave a much wider public their best chance to become Platonists. Hence politics and morality were an integral part of what Henry Chadwick has called, as noted above apropos of Boethius, 'the divine mathematics of creation'.

It may seem paradoxical that a society which, as Karl Leyser showed, was so fractured, and which had violence, rebellion, and feuding written into its very *raison d'être*, should show so much zeal in the pursuit of mathematical unities. But it is only a paradox, not a contradiction. Those who knew the fissures of Ottonian society had a special reason to long for unity as a cosmic principle of structure. And none knew them better than Bruno of Cologne, with his involvements on one side or another in the Liudolfing family rebellions, and with his military efforts to secure peace in Lotharingia, which some criticized in a bishop, and for which he was hated by many Lotharingians.[72] A similar longing was expressed, amidst the conflicts of the Ottonian aristocracy, by the remarkable and varied 'glimpses of heaven' which Ottonian art affords us.[73]

The idea of the integrity of ethical and arithmetical principles, and by extension the principles of the fluid music derived from those of the static arithmetic, an idea which we find focused on Boethius' *Arithmetic* in our glosses, was of course nothing new to the tenth century, nothing that represents a radical new departure of the tenth-century mind. Claudianus Mamertus, in his *De Statu Animae*, had related ancient musical theory to the ideal state of body and soul. Cassiodorus, in his *Expositio Psalmorum*, wrote of the abstract principle of harmony in relation to human actions;[74] while Pascasius Radbertus in the ninth century, actually quoting Boethius, compared Adalard of Corbie, in relation to his two brothers and two sisters, to the diapente in 'the mellifluous symphony of the musical art', and to the pyramid 'of the geometrical discipline'.[75]

By now we have surely the beginnings of a clue to what Ruotger meant by implying that knowledge of the liberal arts was an important foundation for rule. It is very doubtful that he could have had the nineteenth-century Oxford idea, current perhaps from as early as the twelfth century onwards, that these subjects were an ideal training of the kind of minds needed for government. In any case, Karl Leyser has

[72] See above, pp. 2–5, 22–37.
[73] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, ii. 212.
[74] *CCSL* 98, pp. 749–51, esp. p. 750, ll. 69–74 (on Ps. 80). I owe this reference, and that in the next note, to Jane Bellingham's unpublished DPhil. thesis (see Bibliography), 41–2.
[75] *Vita Sancti Adalhardi*, c. 34, *PL* 120, col. 1527a–b.

shown that Ottonian government was not at all as this model would imply, not being based on bureaucracy but rather being patrimonial in character.[76] Ruotger much more likely thought that, given the coherent whole which creation was in its physical, intellectual, aesthetic, and moral aspects, if a person could once plumb, or tap into, any part of that whole, the rest would necessarily be added unto him or her. Alison Peden (née White), referring to Augustine of Hippo's *De Libero Arbitrio*, has written: 'knowledge of the rational, numerical structure of the universe would lead to knowledge of the divine nature and to apprehension of God himself.'[77] There is an almost magical, holistic view of the universe at work, at any rate in the tenth century. It can be seen constantly in Ottonian art.[78] If one grasped the intellectual principles of the universe's construction, the moral principles of rule would follow like a quasi-sacramental source of illumination. Arithmetic was as good an entry-point as any to tap into that cosmic whole which the ruler needed to grasp. A little later the emperor Otto III, as a youth of 17 in 997, wrote to Gerbert of Aurillac, asking him to expound for himself Boethius' *Arithmetic*. Gerbert replied:[79] 'if you were not firmly and immovably convinced that the power of numbers both contained the origins of all things in itself, and brought forth all things from itself, you would not be hastening to a full and perfect knowledge of these numbers with such zeal.'

We have reached a point where some reference is required to a work of Boethius more influential in the early Middle Ages than even the *De Arithmetica*, namely the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, particularly because there are two surviving manuscripts of this work amongst the Harleian manuscripts which almost certainly belonged to Cologne in the tenth century. Harley Ms. 2685, fos. 1r–23v, has few glosses after the first two folios. It is ninth-century and probably western, with a very nice text of large format, laid out in two columns on each page. Harley Ms. 3095 has quite a lot in the way of glossing, and text and glosses were written at some centre in the middle Rhine—very likely Cologne. Its date is generally considered to be mid-tenth-century.

Anyone in the tenth century interested in Boethius' *Arithmetic* must, *a fortiori*, be interested in his *Consolation of Philosophy*. Here Boethius stresses that true goodness is unity (***esse unum atque bonum simili***

[76] Leyser, 'Ottonian Government'.

[77] White, 'Boethius in the Medieval Quadrivium', 163.

[78] For examples, Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, i. 20–1, 126–8; ii. 151–2, 219.

[79] Gerbert of Aurillac, *Briefsammlung*, no. 187, p. 224, ll. 7–10.

ratione); that evil could not have been created by God because it is nothingness; and, by implication, that one need not say anything specifically Christian to explain the nature of creation.[80] Henry Chadwick has written that, 'in this profoundly religious book there is an evidently conscious refusal to say anything distinctively Christian'.[81] He shows how Boethius was led on from the stoicism with which he contemplated fortune and the barbarism of King Theoderic (writing in prison while awaiting execution at the orders of this king), to the transcendence of Platonism, especially in the beauty of the poem, *O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas* (O Thou who rulest the universe in an everlasting order) and 'the quest for the One'.[82]

The question of why Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* lacks explicit references to Christianity has been much discussed, although there is no suggestion that he saw any incompatibility between his Platonism and his Christianity. Indeed John Marenbon has described the work as 'a dialogue between a figure who is recognizably Christian, Boethius, and a figure who is not, Philosophy'. That comes closer to what Ruotger says about Bruno's learning and the necessity of studying the liberal arts, than to Bovo of Corvey's wondering whether the author of *O qui perpetua* could be a Christian with his Platonism.[83] But there may have been a particular significance in this for tenth-century readers familiar with Remigius of Auxerre's commentary on Martianus Capella. Remigius took the idea from Eriugena that the liberal arts were naturally inherent in the soul (and thus not specific to Christianity); but original sin had driven memory of them deep into the recesses of the mind, and hence the necessity to recover them through learning.[84] This would make Boethius' book a work on natural philosophy, straddling, so to speak, all the liberal arts. Ruotger makes no allusions to the *Arithmetic* in his *Life of Bruno*, but four allusions to the *Consolation of Philosophy*.[85] If, as is likely, the latter book was read and glossed at Cologne before Boethius' *Arithmetic* was studied there, if Harley Ms. 3095 is truly Cologne and David Ganz's mid-tenth-century dating of it is accepted,[86] the *Consolation of Philosophy* must have played a more important role

[80] Chadwick, *Boethius*, 229, 239.   [81] Ibid. 224.
[82] Ibid. 227–36. 'O qui perpetua', *Cons. Phil.* III, 9.
[83] Marenbon, *Early Medieval Philosophy*, 41–2; Marenbon, *Boethius*, 157.
[84] Beaumont, 'The Latin Tradition', 286, following Cora Lutz.
[85] Ruotger, c. 5, p. 7, l. 3; c. 6, p. 7, l. 26; c. 34, p. 35, ll. 7–8; c. 34, p. 35, ll. 13–14;
[86] Ganz, 'A Tenth-century Drawing of Philosophy', 275. Bischoff, *Katalog*, ii. 121, dates it first half of the 10th cent.

(perhaps much more important) than Plato's *Timaeus* in stimulating the interest which led to the tenth-century acquisition of the glossed *Arithmetic* in Cologne Ms. 186.

   Since, thanks to the work of scholars such as Huygens, Courcelle, and Beaumont, the early medieval reception and glossing of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* are much better known than those of the *Arithmetic*,[87] it has not seemed necessary to make a detailed study here of the glosses in Harley 3095, as I have of those in *Arithmetic*. Harley 3095 has as its gloss the full commentary of Remigius of Auxerre (*c*.905), plus further commentaries of Bovo of Corvey and the so-called Anonymous of Einsiedeln. Courcelle took his text of Remigius' commentary from Paris Ms. Lat. 15090.[88] The encyclopedic character of most of Remigius' comments, rather than the grappling with ideas, was not to his taste. After citing one of these, he exclaimed 'what does he not know?' (*Que ne connaît-il pas!*).[89] One comment, however, of Jacqueline Beaumont on Remigius and the *Consolation of Philosophy*, is so pertinent to what I have been saying about the moral/Platonist relevance of arithmetic to tenth-century thinking and tenth-century rule, that it is worth quoting. Boethius refers to the legend of Orpheus (*Cons. Phil.* III, 12) and how in the underworld he was betrayed by his love for Euridice into looking back after her. This love, according to Remigius, indicated worldly desires. Whoever had found the highest good, he opined, and then looked back to worldly things, lost God. Beaumont's comment is: 'The scope of the moral content of the myth is enlarged (by Remigius); we are concerned not with the theory of an art (*re* the liberal arts) which leads to the acquisition of a particular good, but with the ultimate good which is the end result of obedience to right principle in life.'[90]

   Platonism is not necessarily the same intellectual substance in one period of the Middle Ages as in another. In the twelfth century the *Timaeus* gave an imagery to mystics struggling to express their place in God's creation,[91] and to scholars like Thierry of Chartres at least an authority to support their quasi-scientific grapplings with the construction of the universe.[92] It fits quite as well, however, to the holistic/magical concepts

   [87] See Huygens, Courcelle, and Beaumont in the Bibliography.
   [88] Courcelle, *La Consolation de la Philosophie*, 278–90, 406–8.
   [89] Ibid. 407.   [90] Beaumont, 'The Latin Tradition', 288.
   [91] See e.g. Dronke, *Fabula*, on Hildegard of Bingen, 96–9, esp. 99, n. 1; and also Hans Liebeschütz, *Das Allegorische Weltbild der Heiligen Hildegard von Bingen*, esp. 103–4.
   [92] Dronke, 'Thierry of Chartres', esp. 366–74; and id. *Fabula*, 28–30. See also Elford, 'William of Conches', esp. 308–9, 316–17, 326–7. For the number of forms

of the tenth century, and the notion that the wholeness of the universe and the universality of imperial rule somehow operate as a kind of double helix. We need a little Clifford Geertz at this point, particularly where he says that the stories (and arithmetic may be considered in a sense a story here), ceremonies, and insignia of a governing elite not only give it its aura, 'but are also in some odd fashion connected with its conception of the way the world is built'.[93]

6.2. CALCULATION AND PLATONIST ARITHMETIC I

Do we conclude that the tenth century despised arithmetic as the art of calculation? Far from it! Indeed, alongside our glosses on Boethius, with their Platonist approach, there cannot have been any question of calculation (having nothing to do with these glosses) being despised in the city of Cologne itself; but this is a matter of inference, for want of direct evidence. One of the more prominent centres of mathematical teaching in northern Europe during the second half of the tenth century was Liège. A Saxon follower of Bruno of Cologne, Bishop Eberacher (959–71), was said to have revived the liberal arts there after a low period following that of Sedulius Scotus in the ninth century.[94] An idea of his reputation for the arts of calculation is given by his being said to be the only person in the entourage of Otto I in Calabria in 969 who could explain an eclipse of the sun.[95] Eberacher's immediate predecessor at Liège was Rathier of Verona, placed there in 953 by Bruno, and Rathier probably taught arithmetic among other subjects.[96] But given the short time Rathier spent at Liège, the biographer of Eberacher may not have much exaggerated in attributing a revival of learning so exclusively to him. In any case, from Bruno's time the connections between Liège and

and the various inspirations of Platonism in the 12th century, see M. D. Chenu, 'The Platonisms of the Twelfth Century'. His point is certainly applicable to earlier periods.

[93] Geertz, 'Centers, Kings and Charisma', esp. 152–3, but the whole highly relevant to understanding the Ottonians. Cf. Mango, *Byzantium*, 218: 'God compacted the universe in an orderly manner and it was His wish that human life should be led in the same spirit.'

[94] For the evidence of Eberacher at Liège, see Kurth, *Notker de Liège*, 254–7, and Butzer, 'Die Mathematiker des Aachen-Lütticher Raumes', pp. 15–16.

[95] Butzer, 'Die Mathematiker', 15.

[96] Kurth, *Notker de Liège*, 283. Cf. Rathier of Liège, *Die Briefe*, no. 11 (*Phrenesis*), p. 65, ll. 12–15.

Cologne were of the closest. From the early 970s a powerful intellectual influence at Liège was Heriger, who became abbot of Lobbes in 990. He wrote a treatise on the abacus, almost the hallmark of arithmetic as calculation, and there is an argument that this was known to and used by Gerbert of Aurillac in his time as Rheims *scholasticus*.[97] This was at the same period as the then bishop, the Swabian Notker who had studied at St Gall, instituted an inner and an outer school at Liège Cathedral, the latter presumably for the benefit of (amongst others) the Liège laity.[98]

Liège was situated on the River Meuse, and one reason for its citizens to have taken the art of calculation seriously in the second half of the tenth century was commerce. It is likely that Liège was developing into a significant commercial centre at this period, if not earlier, although the evidence for this is largely inferential, namely its growing number of churches and its location on the great Rhone–Saone–Meuse trade-route which linked Muslim Spain to Carolingian and post-Carolingian Europe.[99] Higher up the Meuse, there is no doubt of the importance of tenth-century Verdun in this connection, where, incidentally, sat another follower of Bruno, Bishop Wicfrid.[100] Now it could even have been—though this is a somewhat speculative point—that via the trading links between El Andalus in Spain and the north, some Arabic arithmetic, derived ultimately from Baghdad, penetrated into the Meuse and Rhine regions. Arabic biographical dictionaries record scholar merchants from Baghdad and elsewhere in the East who settled in El Andalus during the tenth century; and Spanish Muslims were notably tolerant to Christian traders from the north.[101] These will no doubt have included the Verdun merchant, one of many who had made their fortunes in slave dealings with Islamic Spain, who accompanied Abbot John of Gorze on his mission from Otto I to Cordova in 953.[102] Such tolerance was needed, given the dependence of the whole Muslim world of the tenth century for vital supplies of slaves from northern Europe.[103] This tolerance is exemplified by Ibn Abi Zayd (d. 996), who

[97] Butzer, 'Die Mathematiker des Aachen-Lütticher Raumes', 16 and 23, n. 79; *Gerberti Opera Mathematica*, 245–69.

[98] Kurth, *Notker de Liège*, 261–2.

[99] Lombard, 'La Route de la Meuse et les relations lointaines'.

[100] Ibid. 16–17; and Mayr-Harting, 'The Church of Magdeburg', 139–40, 145. For Bishop Wicfrid of Verdun, see above, pp. 13, 61.

[101] Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain*, esp. 81–2, 65.

[102] Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, VI, 6, p. 148.

[103] Verlinden, *L'Esclavage*, 217–23. The best discussion of this that I know, however, is Murray, *Reason and Society*, 43–54.

recalled a ruling of the ninth-century scholar Sahnūn, that 'regarding Christian ships which arrive, it is not permitted to capture them if they carry merchants known for their commercial relations with the Muslims'. But in all circumstances the Muslims liked merchants to be men of learning and refinement.[104]

Whatever the case with Liège, Cologne was undoubtedly a major centre of commerce in the mid-tenth century. It probably helped that even before 953 it became a frequent stopping-place on the royal itinerary. The once-held idea that there was a market of Greek traders, the *forum Grecorum*, must now be abandoned,[105] but evidence of mints, tolls, and fairs comes at this time from diplomas conveying rights to the archbishops to control them, or in one case (966) freeing merchants belonging to the monastery of St Pantaleon, Cologne, from tolls.[106] Tenth-century coin finds show up a trade, probably mainly of Rhenish wine, with the Baltic.[107] There is evidence from 975 that Magdeburg merchants from the Elbe habitually visited Cologne.[108] Bruno himself seems to have begun the settlement of previously unenclosed areas in the vicinity of St Pantaleon, and perhaps already at the present-day Heumarkt. In connection with the eleventh century, there is so passing a mention of a *praepositus negotiatorum*, a prefect of merchants, with policing functions, that one must suppose that there were such officers already in the tenth century.[109] All this suggests a context in which the art of calculation was indispensable. Perhaps, therefore, there were scholars at Cologne in the tenth century, who took full advantage of the material benefits of the art of calculation, and who then returned to their library to comfort their souls with the beauty of Boethius!

A recent radio discussion between Lisa Jardine, Robert Kaplan, and Ian Stewart, chaired by Melvyn Bragg (*In Our Time*, 13 May 2004) provides us with a helpful analogy between Cologne and the ancient world in respect of philosophical arithmetic and calculating arithmetic. It was a discussion about zero, vital for 'positional arithmetic' (i.e. columns or positions representing units, tens, hundreds, etc., as in 325 with the zero understood, $300 + 20 + 5$) and for calculation. This

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[104] Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain*, 65; and also esp. 64, but this is a running theme in her book, e.g. also pp. 36, 81–2.

[105] Verscharen, 'Köln im Zeitalter der Ottonen', 83–4, with further references.

[106] Ibid. 82, and 83, n. 118 (*DO* I, 324).   [107] Ibid. 82.

[108] *DO* II, 112. For the growth in the area occupied by merchants altogether in 10th-cent. Cologne, see Johanek, 'Merchants, Markets and Towns', 85.

[109] Verscharen, 'Köln', 85, 86.

was how Lisa Jardine explained it in that discussion. When Alexander conquered the Babylonians he brought back zero calculation from them to Greece, but there it was lost. The Greeks (apparently like the tenth-century Cologne scholars) were more interested in logical/philosophical matters and in patterns of numbers with which one could, as it were, play and which then 'took on a reality of their own'. Of course, zero must always have been important for calculations, especially of merchants, and that is how it got to India;[110] but to the Greeks that was not 'the elite part of culture'. Why did the Romans, great traders, not take over zero? Because culturally they were such imitators and absorbers of Greek culture (as was Boethius). The idea of zero passed from the Islamic world to the West in the form of the abacus (that was already happening in the tenth century). But zero only came fully into its own as a part of western intellectual culture with the widespread adoption of Arabic numerals around 1300.

One of the problems of trying to balance the importance of calculation against what we may call Platonist arithmetic in the tenth-century thought-world is that the latter could scarcely exist except in writing, whereas the former is much less likely to survive in written form at all. I have mentioned treatises on the abacus as evidence of it, and Gerbert of Aurillac, besides his cosmic approach to arithmetic which has already been cited, composed a treatise on the abacus. The written evidence of tenth-century interest in calculation, however, comes less with arithmetic than with astronomy, and there is no sign of significant interest in that subject at Cologne in the tenth century.

It has generally been thought that Gerbert was the greatest master of the arts of calculation in the tenth century. Besides his treatise on the abacus, addressed to Constantine of Fleury, he wrote to the same friend explaining how to construct a sphere for making astronomical calculations, and giving various explanations of numbers from Boethius' *Music*, a text of such advanced standard that many tenth-century scholars fought shy of it.[111] Recently, however, new evidence has been published

[110] For the passing of Greek scientific teaching to India from the period of Alexander the Great (4th cent. BC), if not earlier, and its returning thence via the Arabs to the West, see O'Leary, *How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs*, 96–119. For the concept of zero in ancient India, see Pavan Varma, *Being Indian: Inside the Real India* (London, 2004), 98.

[111] There is a ms. tradition of glossing on Boethius' *De Musica* from the 9th century, however, reaching its height in the 12th century. See Bernhard and Bower, *Glossa Maior*, vol. i, pp. xii–xviii, xxxix–xliv. I am grateful to David Howlett for pointing me in the direction of this work of scholarship, and for help with it.

which shows that Gerbert must take a back place to Abbo of Fleury, and to the very Constantine who has seemed previously to be little more than a passive recipient of Gerbert's knowledge. Despite Gerbert's having studied in Spain for some years, it can now be demonstrated that Arabic knowledge on the astrolabe became known in the north earliest at Fleury around the turn of the first millennium or earlier. Moreover, the likeliest reason why Constantine of Fleury wanted Gerbert's advice on the astrolabe was because he already had texts on the subject, and at the same time he was seeking advice from another scholar, Ascelin of Augsburg.[112]

Alison Peden's recent edition of Abbo of Fleury's *Commentary on the Calculus of Victorius of Aquitaine*, the *Calculus* from *c*.450 and the *Commentary* probably from the early 980s, has thrown the spotlight onto the most brilliant tenth-century text of arithmetic as calculation. But for our present purposes it is more than that. It is an amalgam of calculatory and Platonist arithmetic by a scholar who had a supreme mastery of both and saw how they could be synthesized. He thus rises above both our Platonist glosses and the Liège tractators on the abacus. He was dealing with a challenging text, but was equal to the complexities of fractions,[113] multiplication,[114] and finger calculation.[115] At the same time he saw unity as that from which all numbers proceed, and inequalities as all resolved into the equal.[116] He studied Claudianus Mamertus' *De Statu Animae*, believing that an explanation of number would reveal the ordering principles of Creation and thus lead the soul closer to God.[117] He alluded to the Preface of Boethius' *De Arithmetica* and used Macrobius' *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* in his discussion of the division of time.[118] As Peden writes, Abbo's *Commentary on the Calculus* 'displays a confidence that Creation is rational, numerical and knowable through any and all of the liberal arts'.[119] Of the liberal arts, he brought grammar, logic, and arithmetic, as well as cosmology and ethics, to bear on his text.

Nonetheless, Gerbert is also a good example of the way in which a balance between theoretical and applied arithmetic could be held in

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[112] Burnett, 'King Ptolemy and Alchandrus', esp. 330–4; and for Ascelin of Augsburg, ibid. 343–58.

[113] Abbo of Fleury, *Commentary on the Calculus*, pp. xv–xvii, xxx–xxxi. In this and the following references I have been guided by Alison Peden's introduction, which always points one appositely to the relevant places in the text of Abbo.

[114] Ibid., pp. xxvii, xxx–xxxi.   [115] Ibid., pp. xxxiii–xxxiv, xxx.

[116] Ibid., pp. xvii, xxix.   [117] Ibid., p. xxviii.   [118] Ibid., p. xxxiv.

[119] Ibid., p. xxviii.

the tenth century. Richer, describing Gerbert's teaching at Rheims in the 970s and 980s, says of his construction of the abacus: 'doing so many multiplications and divisions in such a quick way, it was possible to make numbers much more intelligible than could have been done with words.'[120] In his covering letter to Constantine of Fleury, when he sent him his treatise on the abacus, Gerbert claims its usefulness 'for comparing with true fidelity the theoretical and actual measurement of the sky and of the earth'.[121] But as we have already seen, in writing to Otto III he declares that the power of numbers contained 'the origins of all things in itself'.

6.3. CALCULATION AND PLATONIST ARITHMETIC II

The glosses under discussion, apart from making the study of Boethius' *Arithmetic* more interesting and accessible, thereby drawing educated people further into the interest of the subject as a whole, also demonstrably provided an avenue towards the more scientific aspect of the subject. In every one of the manuscripts except Cologne Ms. 186 the corpus of glosses which I have discovered is accompanied by a further corpus. In two manuscripts that corpus is one published some years ago by Michael Bernhard, which I consider separately a little further on. The other four contain three distinct *corpora* of glosses, though there is considerable overlap. The manuscripts date from between the late tenth and mid-eleventh centuries. That these are recognizable *corpora* of material is fairly clear from the fact that in two manuscripts the extra material is virtually the same in each.

Now what strikes me about all these added *corpora* is that, while taking the Platonist interest of the Cologne glosses for granted, by the mere fact that they share the same margins, what they add practically never brings out the Platonist point of the text, as the Cologne glosses often do, but has a purely arithmetical focus; or else, particularly in the case of A (Paris BN lat. 6639: for sigla, see below, p. 242), they try to bring out issues of the relation between arithmetic and other liberal arts.

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[120] Richer, III, 54, vol. ii, p. 64, ll. 3–8.
[121] *Gerberti Opera Mathematica*. The letter with discussion of mss. is at pp. 1–22; for the citation, see pp. 7–8.

Let me give a simple example of what I mean — B's helpful explanation (Paris lat. 7184, fo. 36v),[122] arithmetically, of the end and last table in Book I, chapter 32. Boethius says, 'if I set down the supertripartient, without doubt the duplex supertripartient will be found, as is seen [says Boethius hopefully] in the following description:

16	28	49
16	44	121.'

The gloss reads: '28 has 16 in itself plus three parts of 16, namely 12; 49 has 28 within itself plus three parts of 28, namely 21, and these are supertripartients; 44 has two 16s in itself plus three parts of 16, namely 12; 121 has twice 44 within itself plus three parts of 44, namely 33.'

B (Paris lat. 7184, fo. 26v), F (Cologne Ms. 185, fo. 26v), and G (Paris lat. 17858, fo. 13r) all have a lengthy gloss explaining, in elementary arithmetical terms, Boethius' table of so-called longitude and latitude (I, 26), in effect a multiplication table, without taking an interest in the reason why Boethius produced it. Boethius wanted to show that multiplicity, according to its own order, is the *first* type of inequality. Following on directly from this gloss, F (fo. 15v) and G (fo. 13v) have another on how tetragons and their 'angles' are generated, very much weighted to expounding an elementary arithmetical progression in a spirit of calculation. This has nothing to do with geometry, but expounds the multiplication table further:

The angles of a tetragon are the numbers which are situated in the middle where two lines of longitude and latitude cross each other. For if you bring together the second line of longitude with the second line of latitude, you get 4 at the angle; if the third line of longitude and the third line of latitude, you get 9 at the angle.

'Line' here does not mean geometrical lines but lines of figures and their intersection. Charts showing lines of longitude and latitude look like those charts in motoring handbooks which enable one to see the distances between any two of many cities. 'Tetragons' do not here mean geometrical figures but the same number in each of the longitude and

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[122] The capital letters refer to the sigla for manuscripts which contain the glosses in Cologne 186. Thus A = Paris lat. 6639; B = Paris lat. 7184; F = Cologne 185; G = Paris lat. 17858 (provenance Notre Dame, Paris). See the list at p. 242.

latitude sides of the table, and 'angles' are where they intersect; hence obviously 2 and 2 have four at their intersection, while 3 and 3 have 9. For myself, I must admit, the table makes sense of the gloss, rather than the other way round. But the point here is the abandonment of Platonism for mere arithmetic, however elementary. Boethius' interest in the multiplication table was actually twofold. It showed that multiplicity was anterior to all other forms of inequality; and in deriving super particulars from it, it revealed the 'natural integrity' of numbers without need of human manipulation. None of this concerns our glossator.

One could give other examples of the same kind. They would mostly show a retreat from the moderately high level of cosmological thinking behind the Cologne glosses, with much concern for Boethius' Platonism, to what one might call remedial teaching in purely elementary arithmetic.[123] It was as if the composers or incorporators of the extra *corpora* of glosses were saying: 'we respect the grappling, the steady relevance, the integrity, of the original Platonist core of glosses; but none of it is any use if people cannot cope with the naked arithmetic.' In other words, they were for readers well below the standard of Abbo of Fleury on the Calculus.

Where does all this leave us in the question of religion and arithmetical science? First of all, one has to posit a society in which two overlapping but radically different approaches to arithmetic coexisted, a quasi-magical and a scientific, in rather the same way, perhaps, as magic and science must have coexisted in seventeenth-century England. It may seem surprising to call Platonist arithmetic magical; but in the tenth century at least one can see that much of it had nothing to do with the art of calculation. By magic I do not mean the word in its crudest sense, of using arithmetic to compel supernatural powers to work in the interest of particular human interests. I mean more what Mary Douglas and others call expressive magic, magic ritual or literature which expresses the total values, desires, and cosmic perceptions of a society.[124] In that sense I think it has to be said that Platonist arithmetic, although itself

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[123] Other similar examples are B, fo. 9r *re Arith* I, 9 on quantity and multitude, and fo. 56r *re* II, 23 on pyramids, triangles, heptagons, where the Platonist implications are not brought out rather than the purely arithmetical or geometrical; A, which has more interest in the Platonist aspects but also some elementary arithmetic, e.g. fo. 132r on the proportions of tetragons *re* table in II, 33; F and G, the latter fo. 21r on hexagons *re* II, 15, very much weighted to expounding the arithmetic progression rather than pointing up the Platonist lesson. However, these extra corpora of glosses have other points of interest, and would be worth further study than I have given them here.

[124] See e.g. Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, esp. ch. 4.

in the world of rational explanation, can lend itself to a magical, holistic understanding of the cosmos rather than to any sort of a scientific one. Secondly, as I hope that I have shown, the Platonist interest itself could lead students on to an interest in arithmetic as the art of calculation, that is, scientific arithmetic. The added *corpora* of glosses to the corpus that I have discovered seem to suggest this.

6.4. A CAROLINGIAN COLOGNE BACKGROUND

The interests in the liberal arts shown at Cologne in the tenth century, which Ruotger himself (surely knowing its Carolingian manuscripts) regarded as a restoration, did not come entirely out of the blue. Archbishop Hildebald, it seems, was a sharer in the astronomical and calendrical interests of Charlemagne's court, and the delightful Ms. 83^{II} (793–805) with its ornament and vivid illustrations shows it. It is an encyclopedic work, containing, besides the writings of church historians, pre-eminently Eusebius, an astronomical compendium, illustrated with various zodiacal and astral symbols, some identifiable and some not, and, among its diagrams, a beautifully drawn plan of the sun, showing in light blue its course in daylight and in dark brown its course at night! Much of the material is taken from Isidore of Seville, though it also shows much computistical learning, and it strikes one more as an extension of grammar in giving knowledge needed to understand Latin texts in all their aspects, than a serious engagement with the quadrivium. What also strikes one is the lucidity of the drawings and of the layout of the whole manuscript. Like the manuscript of Gregory's *Letters* (Ms. 92), this is the best of the Carolingian Renaissance at work.[125]

There is one intriguing detail of Ms. 83^{II} which, because it gives to arithmetic a universal biblical history, is worth mentioning, even in connection with the much later cosmological approach of the glosses at Cologne which we have been discussing. It was pointed out to me by Rutherford Aris, Regents' Professor of Engineering at the University of Minnesota, who has made a collection of photographs of the opening of Isidore's *Etymologies*, Book III, on arithmetic, in medieval manuscripts.[126] On the authors of arithmetic the Cologne manuscript

[125] *Glaube und Wissen*, 136–56, a fine discussion by Anton von Euw, with beautiful illustrations.

[126] I am very grateful to Professor Aris for his most interesting private letter to me of 14 July 1994, with several accompanying photocopies.

(fo. 16r) makes a unique insertion before giving the standard names of Isidore's text, Pythagoras, Apuleius, and Boethius. The insertion is:

Adam primus invenit numerum ubi dixit de Eva coniuge sua, ecce os de ossibus meis et caro de carne mea, et erunt duo in carne una. Et post eum Moyses in ebrea lingua, et phitagoras in graeca etc.

Adam was the first to discover number when he said of Eve his wife, 'behold bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh, and they will be two in one flesh'. And after him Moses in the Hebrew language and Pythagoras in the Greek, etc.

A less fine and more school-like manuscript of Hildebald is Ms. 103. From the calendrical details, the manuscript would appear to have been begun in 795.[127] Among its texts were Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*. Its particular interest for us is that at its start (fos. 55v–59r)[128] it has a number of marginalia, which must have been written at Cologne, from the late tenth or early eleventh century (I would say late tenth). They are not of a high standard of comment. One represents an obvious point about the passage on Roman finger-sign language for numerals;[129] most of the others are taken from Isidore's *Etymologies*.[130] But they do indicate a reactivated interest in the work over a century-and-a-half after it was copied, perhaps as a result of Bruno's and Ruotger's stimulus. Written onto the final leaf (fo. 192v), also in a tenth-century hand, are the *Versus Catonis contra Luxuriam*, beginning *Qui cupis esse bonus, qui vitam quaeris honestam*.[131] There are lines and words here which fit well to the ethic in which Ruotger describes Bruno, such as 'luxury [or wantonness] certainly cuts off the keeness of sense' (*luxuria prorsus sensus detruncat acumen*), or 'luxury always likes laughter, likes doubling up with laughter' (*semper amat risus, semper crispare cachinnos*).[132]

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[127] *Glaube und Wissen*, 129.   [128] *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*, 179–86.

[129] Fo. 56r: 'Ab uno usque ad viiii tres digiti continent numerum; a x usque ad xc duo in eadem manu, index et pollex.' This seems not to owe anything to Abbo of Fleury, but to be an easier summary of Bede's text as at pp. 179–80.

[130] Certainly with the gloss on Month, fo. 57v, and on Zodiac, fo. 58r. See also *Glaube und Wissen*, 134.

[131] On the mid-3rd-cent. Cato, his *Ethica seu Disticha de Moribus*, and the *Versus Catonis*, see Walther, *Carmina Medii Aevi*, II, 4; *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, p. 162, no. 23993a; and *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, esp. ii, col. 936. The *Disticha Catonis* became a success in the Carolingian period (Jeauneau, *Quatre thèmes érigéniens*, 50), and was known in 9th-cent. Laon (Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 67).

[132] Compare those 'concrepantes risu' at whom the finger is pointed, Ruotger, p. 9, l. 4; or Bruno's tiring of the 'regifici luxus et consuete … potentibus iocorum et voluptatum illecebre', p. 30, ll. 8–10; or Bruno's own 'acumen ingenii', p. 22, l. 21.

6.5. THE COLOGNE GLOSSES IN THEIR WIDER SETTING

By the early eleventh century there was a myriad of glosses to Boethius' *Arithmetic* in circulation. That in itself alerts us to one of the largely unheralded intellectual achievements of the tenth century—the great strides in making this widely read text comprehensible. Where and how do the Cologne glosses fit into this picture? Although glossing of the *Arithmetic* had begun in the ninth century,[133] the momentum so picked up in the tenth century that these glosses must be considered relatively early on the scene. A particularly interesting example of the way they fit is to see how, around 1000, they were joined together with another set of glosses, which I call the Bernhard glosses, in a manuscript now, and presumably since the early eleventh century, at Bamberg (Ms. Class. 6). This joining together helps us to understand better the character of the Cologne glosses and why they could have been appreciated earlier than *c*.1000 at Cologne.

Some years ago Michael Bernhard published a set of glosses to Boethius' *Arithmetic*, which he took from a Leiden manuscript (Voss. lat. fol. 70[II]) of the late tenth or early eleventh century, where the glosses were not in the margins of a Boethius text, but were in the form of a continuous text themselves, with lemmata from Boethius. In such a way most sets of glosses more often than not must have been preserved and carried from one place to another. Bernhard notes some other manuscripts in which his glosses, or some of them, were contained, but not Bamberg Class. 6.[134] Given his purposes, there was no reason why he should have done.

Bamberg Class. 6 has been localized by Hartmut Hoffmann as a Strasbourg manuscript,[135] and that would make sense of how it came to Bamberg. The whole court library of the Ottonians was inherited after Otto III's death by Henry II, who deposited it in his new foundation

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[133] White, 'Boethius in the Medieval Quadrivium', 164.

[134] Bernhard, 'Glossen zur Arithmetik des Boethius', 23. Caiazzo, 'Un Commento Altomedievale al *De Arithmetico* di Boezio', published the same text, pp. 126–50, unfortunately without realizing that it had been published twelve years previously by Bernhard (something that can happen to any of us), or that her first six pages of text (up to p. 132, l. 168) were newly published because Bernhard's text lacked the opening. Bamberg Ms. Class. 6, unknown to either scholar, will have this opening, fos. 1r–12v.

[135] Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften*, 125–6.

of Bamberg (1007), where for the most part it has remained ever since. And Otto III was a close friend of Abbot Alawich II of Reichenau, whom he made bishop of Strasbourg in 1000.[136] The gloss hands in the manuscript are not those of the main text of the *Arithmetic*, but they are, as Hoffmann showed, the hands of some contemporary additions to the end of the manuscript, and thus also to be dated *c*.1000. One could either suppose that Otto III, with his interest to understand Boethius' work, had the glosses added if and when he acquired the manuscript, or that Henry II had them added when the manuscript was given to Bamberg, presumably in the first decade of the eleventh century. The latter would certainly fit with Henry's efforts to galvanize libraries and scriptoria all over the empire to provide for his new foundation.[137]

It cannot be proved that the Cologne glosses and the Bernhard glosses were joined together *for the first time* in the Bamberg manuscript, but there are grounds for thinking it. They are, that for much of the manuscript each set of glosses is written by its own scribe, but towards the end the writer of the Cologne glosses starts to write Bernhard glosses as well as his own. Thus the manuscript begins with Book III of Isidore's *Etymologies* by way of an introduction; then on fo. 7v, where the Preface of the *Arithmetic* begins, is what is obviously the beginning of the Bernhard glosses (missing in Bernhard's edition, since the text which he found lacked anything for the Preface of the *Arithmetic* and opens only in I, 1).[138] This lengthy introductory gloss is written in a hand that writes all the rest of the Bernhard material up to fo. 76r, when, for the *docides*, *globus*, *iste secundum paganos* material, it yields to the hand of the 'Cologne' glosses.[139] Meanwhile, the Cologne texts, which appear generally to have taken second place to the expansive (but good) Bernhard hand, are written virtually from start to finish by a tighter, more economical and straight-laced hand.

The issue is complicated by the fact that there are at least three hands working in the Bamberg margins, although by and large the third hand wrote the material neither from the Cologne glosses nor Bernhard's. It

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[136] See Maurer, 'Rechtlicher Anspruch und geistlicher Würde', 262–3, 266, 272; Seibert, 'Herrscher und Mönchtum', 233, n. 142, and 238, n. 169; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, i. 154.

[137] Fischer, 'Die königliche Bibliothek in Bamberg'.

[138] Bernhard, 'Glossen zur Arithmetik des Boethius', 24. Hence the text of the glosses from the start could be supplied, both from the Bamberg and the Vienna mss. (see below), and now from Caiazzo, see above, n. 134.

[139] Ibid. 31–2.

is also complicated, more interestingly, by the fact that, whereas early on the hand of the Cologne glosses used a somewhat darker ink than that of the Bernhard scribe, by fo. 84v at the latest the former is using a lighter-brown ink, almost as if he were now using the Bernhard ink. Altogether, it is not easy to avoid the impression that the 'Cologne' and Bernhard scribes were working simultaneously and collaboratively to get their glosses into the margins. I am not, of course, saying that it was someone from Cologne, or using Cologne 186 as the exemplar, that wrote the Cologne glosses, so-called, into the Bamberg manuscript. In fact I think the opposite, because the Bamberg text of these glosses was taken from a purer source than Cologne 186.[140] I say only that one can see from this the value attaching to these gloss texts around the year 1000 at a centre other than Cologne.

Both sets of glosses are also found together in the margins of an *Arithmetic* manuscript at Vienna (Ms. 50), which must date from well into the eleventh century. There is no sign of provenance earlier than 1439, when the book was newly bound by order of Georg Feychter, canon of Salzburg (fo. 135v). The glosses are written by two hands, but both write both Bernhard glosses and Cologne glosses indifferently throughout, and the gloss hands could be those of the text, although this is not easy to tell. In any case the scribes here were evidently not joining two separate texts of glosses, but were writing what was by then a well-integrated corpus.

Obviously two sets of glosses would not have been joined together, least of all in the highly intelligent entourage of Otto III,[141] or in the highly intelligent operation of forming the Bamberg library, unless each were thought to make a distinctive contribution which would somehow complement the other. Hence if we compare and contrast them we gain a better understanding of the characteristics of each; as well, we see how fortunate we are to have the evidence which shows that they began life as two distinct bodies of material. The clearest similarity between the two is their Platonism, though even this comes out in different places, another sign of how deeply it was embedded in the intellect of some tenth-century scholars. For instance, 'Cologne' has nothing directly on numbers as the principal exemplar in the mind of the Creator, but 'Bernhard' has it in order to say that it defined the number of creatures

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[140] See below, pp. 242–8 on the textual history of the Cologne glosses and the stemma.

[141] e.g. as seen in Fleckenstein, *Hofkapelle*, ii. 77–117.

in Creation, treating Creation thereby as a reflection of the mind of the Creator.[142] It also has, if not as pointedly as 'Cologne', a comment of Platonist character on *secundum contrarias passiones*; and the unity of God and of goodness is stressed, bringing in also an Eriugenan theme. The *Timaeus* and the creation of the world are explicitly alluded to twice, *re* II, 2 and II, 46.[143]

The differences, however, are considerable. The Bernhard glosses are less interested in the arithmetical processes through which Platonist points can be made, though not uninterested in arithmetic as such,[144] and much more interested in moral philosophy and in the relation of arithmetic to the other liberal arts; they also show an interest in encyclopedic knowledge where the Cologne glosses show none. This glossator's eye, for instance, unlike that of 'Cologne', is caught by Boethius' phrase 'the eye of the soul' (or mind, i.e. *oculus animae*), that is, he says, the intellect, which rather than the corporeal eye should be our saving from the stirrings of all vices, because it is only by the intellect that we know the truth. Corporeal eyes we have in common with beasts and flies; intellect we share only with the angels.[145] There are echoes here of another Carolingian preoccupation—shall we see God with our corporeal eyes in heaven?[146] He spreads himself on goodness and evil in connection with *Arithmetic* I, 32, not to much greater effect than the Cologne glosses, but at much greater length.[147] On the priority of arithmetic (I, 1) he dilates on the two kinds of dialectic touched upon here, *diaretike* and *analitike*, giving amongst other examples the not obviously relevant one of Esau preceding Jacob by birth, before plunging with zest into the explanation of the musical terms in the same chapter.[148] Like the Cologne glossator, he is interested in geometry, but astronomy gets an airing too, with citations of Isidore and a mention of the music of the spheres and the celestial harmony.[149] With regard to encyclopedic knowledge, he seizes on the passing analogies of Gerio (Geryon) and the Cyclops in the *Arithmetic* to explain who King Gerio was and why Hercules came to him with a bronze jar and a two-headed dog, and

[142] Bernhard, 'Glossen', p. 26, ll. 1–2 (Bamberg Ms. Class 6, fo. 14r).
[143] Ibid., p. 26, ll. 28–36 (Class 6, fo. 15r); p. 29, ll. 5–7, and a little further on (ll. 21–5) the point is evil is not created but is the absence of good, put differently but the same point as in Cologne 186; p. 30, ll. 28–9, and p. 33, ll. 24–5.
[144] e.g. ibid., p. 26, ll. 15–25.   [145] Ibid., p. 24, ll. 8–12.
[146] e.g. Candidus of Fulda, *Num Christus Corporeis Oculis Deum Videre Potuit*, PL 106, cols. 103–8.
[147] Bernhard, 'Glossen', 29.
[148] Ibid., p. 24, ll. 30–7, and then p. 25 for the musical terms.

why the Cyclops had only one eye.[150] His parade of knowledge includes the explanations of many Greek terms, Alexander the Great's giving his name to a city,[151] and, apropos of the intervals of music, a reference to the harsh (or hard) singing tones of the Irish and British (which, whether intended as a compliment or not, might suggest somewhere like Laon or Liège as a place of origin for the glosses).[152]

It is difficult not to hear the schoolroom in these Bernhard glosses. They seem to make the *Arithmetic* into a series of pegs on which a teacher can hang some teaching on practically all the subjects of the liberal arts, and on *ethica*, riding above them all.[153] The Cologne glosses are much more like the efforts of a single scholar in his study, struggling to make sense of the *Timaeus*, or the Platonist concept of the cosmos, in a remarkably coherent series of steadily relevant and concise comments. Whoever masterminded the margins of the Bamberg manuscript saw the value of the Cologne nuggets amidst the busy ripples of the Bernhard encyclopedic stream.

Two manuscripts of the *Arithmetic* which would always have been important to consider for their possible Cologne connections were those at Hildesheim (Diözesanmuseum, Ms. 31) and at Munich (Clm. 18764)—Hildesheim because of Bishop Bernward's (993–1022) connections with Cologne, and Munich because of the involvement of Froumund of Tegernsee, who visited St Pantaleon at Cologne in the early 990s.[154] Concerning Hildesheim, the manuscript itself is written in a tenth-century hand, but the glosses are certainly later, if perhaps still eleventh-century.[155] Hence they are hardly relevant to our purposes, and they do not have any of the Cologne glosses, although they have some interesting comments on unities. The Tegernsee manuscript (*c*.1000) has a colophon at the end (fo. 78r) to say that Froumund both wrote the book and had it written; 'whoever reads these things, I ask you to remember me in your prayers, brother.'[156] Neither glosses nor text are in one hand, and the glosses are later, though quite possibly reflecting Froumund's influence. In a letter, Froumund said he had asked for a

[149] e.g. ibid., p. 25, ll. 17–38.   [150] Ibid., p. 28, ll. 3–8.
[151] Ibid., p. 31, ll. 35–6.   [152] Ibid., p. 30, ll. 38–9.
[153] For *Ethica* as one of the three principal divisions of *Philosophia*, riding above the seven liberal arts, see Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, ii, 3.
[154] Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, i. 122–3; Sporbeck, 'Froumund von Tegernsee'.
[155] Stähli and Härtel, *Handschriften*, no. 31, pp. 71–3.
[156] Eder, *Die Schule des Klosters Tegernsee*, 44. For the dangers of taking such claims to scribeship in colophons and other inscriptions at face value, see Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, esp. 45–6; and see also below, p. 187, on Verdun Ms. 24.

Boethius *Arithmetic* as a security for a Persius or Juvenal.[157] Clearly this was not the Munich manuscript itself, though, if he obtained his wish, it might have been an exemplar for the surviving manuscript.

Although the Munich manuscript (Clm. 18764) has none of the gloss texts of Cologne, some of its glosses are by no means in a different thought-world from ours. Alison Peden (née White) many years ago brought to light its remarkably interesting comment on Boethius' discussion of mutability and immutability in II, 31.[158] On I, 32, on goodness and evil, it has a gloss evidently widespread by the early eleventh century (fo. 34v): 'for death did not come to men by nature but by sin [or vice], and nor [or 'now', according to the variant] is it reckoned to be in nature.'[159] A very similar point to that of St Ambrose cited in the Cologne glosses. On II, 36 it virtually repeats the Boethius text by saying in the margin (fo. 60v):

Sicut enim unitas una et principium immutabilis substantie est, ita dualitas prima et principium mutabilitatis est.

As unity is one and the origin of immutable substance, so duality is first as the origin of mutability.

And on II, 32, where *Timaeus* is quoted on divisibility and indivisibility in the world, a gloss reads (fo. 57r):

Scilicet ut totus mundus divideretur in indivisibilem et eiusdem unius nature, et divisibilem et non unius nature.

Namely that the whole world was divided into the indivisible and of one nature, and the divisible and not of one nature.

At the same points in Cologne Ms. 186 are glosses not the same in words but very similar in idea. On II, 36:[160]

Quia unitas insecabilis similiter impares sunt unitatis.

Because unity is indivisible, similarly odd numbers are of unity.

And on II, 32:

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[157] Eder, *Die Schule des Klosters Tegernsee*, 45.

[158] White, 'Boethius in the Medieval Quadrivium', 175–7, and 198, n. 87.

[159] 'Mors enim [non] per naturam sed per vitium accessit hominibus, et nec in natura computatur.' I have used the obviously better text of Ms. Madrid 9088, fo. 17r, here. See below, pp. 189–91.

[160] Glosses 79, 76.

Ut unitas non dividitur non componitur ab ipsa omnis numerus deus insepa-
rabilis incompositus a quo est principium omnium rerum.

As unity is not divided, not every number being composed of unity, so God is
inseparable and not made up of components, from whom is the origin of all
things.

Now these two glosses in the Cologne manuscript have a particular
interest since they are found in no other manuscript with the corpus,
and were clearly written into the manuscript by a Cologne hand of the
late tenth century, the one interlined and the other in the margin. The
specimen of script is so small that I would not like to use these glosses
as an argument by itself that this manuscript was at Cologne by about
1000, but they contribute to that case. The hand of these glosses has
the appearance of a Cologne hand. Two points follow. First, the glosses
are another small sign that this corpus of glosses, and Boethius' text, did
not just quickly become dead wood at Cologne. Secondly, whichever
way round the influence worked, it is just what one might expect as a
result of the visit of a notable scholar to Cologne, or of the presumed
links between Froumund and Cologne previous to that visit, that similar
approaches to the same chapters of the *Arithmetic* should crop up in
Cologne and Froumund contexts.

A manuscript whose marginalia, in contrast to those of Cologne 186,
have especially suggested to me the teaching situation, is Gotha Memb.
I, 103. The marginalia are partly from the late tenth century and partly
from the eleventh. Among the tenth-century ones (fo. 18r) are, against
Arithmetic I, 27:

Istud expositum invenis in II libro ubi de tetragonis et parte altera longioribus
loquitur quod ex eis proportionibus omnes habitudines constant.

You will find this expounded in the second book where he speaks of tetragons
and of those longer by one side [or 'in one part'], because from their proportions
derive all habitudes.

The promise to pay is redeemed on fo. 40r against II, 33: 'Here is
expounded what is briefly noted on Chapter 27 of the first book.'
Against II, 2 (fo. 24r) the question is raised why Boethius seems to
change his terminology of *duces* and *comites* from Book I to Book
II. Late on in the book (fos. 53v–54r) an eleventh-century glossator
suddenly bursts into lengthy notes, mainly comparing the disciplines

of arithmetic and music, but even these are anticipated by a probably tenth-century note against II, 47 (fo. 50r, *re* p. 152, ll. 13–26):

Quia ostensurus est musicas proportiones omnes bina dat exempla armonice medietatis.

Because it will be shown that all musical proportions give two examples each of harmonic mediety.

One should not assume that such notes, because they may look like the spontaneous jottings of a teacher or user, are not excerpted from one or more *corpora* of glosses. There is a large area of work among these which still needs to be done. Thus the marginal notes on cube and sphere at fo. 26r of the Gotha manuscript are as in the Bernhard corpus of glosses. On the whole the marginal comments in this book have not the Platonist character of so many of those in Cologne 186, but have to do with numerical discipline as such. It has none of the glosses of Cologne 186 on *Arithmetic* I, 32; but only, later on in that chapter, on a point about suprapartients, the practical note interlined (fo. 22r): 'as the figure below shows' (*ut infra posita figura monet*). Yet at II, 32 (fo. 38v) there is a *nota* sign referring to Plato's *Timaeus*, quite possibly in the tenth-century text hand, to judge by the colour of the ink; and against the end of II, 41 there is a reference to Calcidius on the perfection of the number ten (fo. 44v). This is an eleventh-century note, suggesting that Plato and Calcidius' commentary were at least sometimes distinguished.

Gotha I, 103 is probably an Echternach manuscript, although written in a Trier-trained hand,[161] and so we are getting here a small sense of its monastic school at the time when its library began to be built up with classical texts, under Abbot Ravanger (973–1007).[162]

A very similar impression to the Gotha manuscript is given by a manuscript whose provenance is the monastery of St Vanne, Verdun (Verdun Ms. 24). This book was treated as a work on arithmetic, not on the cosmos. It has a colophon (fo. 81r) which reads:

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[161] Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, 477.

[162] Kahsnitz, 'Echternach und Trier', 29. White, 'Boethius in the Medieval Quadrivium', 175, following Schroeder, 'Bibliothek und Schule der Abtei Echternach', 129–45, has commented: 'Echternach appears to have made intensive use of the texts copied around 1000 only in the mid-eleventh century with the advent of such teachers as Theofrid.' Cf. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, 511. The 11th-cent. marginalia in Gotha Memb. I 103 have indeed been attributed to Theofrid.

Ex numeris librum quem conspicis esse peractum
Carpe libens docilis arithmetica fertur ubi vis
Ecce fuge rerum numeri quos concipis aptum
Querunt ingenium sed hebes non concipit istum
Laubaco scripsi lector misere Rothardi.

This book which you are looking at is a work on numbers.
Take it freely where you will. Arithmetic is said to be easily taught.
Beware! Numerical matters which you see require intelligence and aptitude.
But the dull person does not grasp this.
Have mercy on me, Rothard, O reader; I wrote at Lobbes.

As so often where the scribe of the whole manuscript seems to have identified himself,[163] Rothard was nothing of the sort. The text of the *Arithmetic* is in a tenth-century hand; where it was written I cannot say. The hand of the colophon, however, is later—early eleventh-century; Rothard was a corrector who supplied textual omissions, for example at fos. 7r and 22v. He therefore must have had the labour of going over the whole text, and hence perhaps his plea for mercy! I imagine that Rothard was a monk of St Vanne, perhaps in the period when Richard of St Vanne was abbot (1004–46), who went to Lobbes, near Liège lower down the River Meuse, to collate the Boethius text with a manuscript there, and brought it back again to St Vanne.[164]

Rothard also wrote, I think, some glosses in relation to the Platonist II, 1 of the *Arithmetic*, a short one, for instance, on progression from equality and regression or return back to it (fo. 36r), and a long one revealing perhaps the liberal arts teacher (*ibid*). The latter concerns the basic element of the various liberal arts, the letter in grammar, the premiss in dialectic, the sentence in rhetoric, the unity (*monas*) in arithmetic, the *conerum* (*sic*, i.e. the angle)[165] in geometry, the atom in astronomy, the tone in music. And despite what I said earlier about his not conceiving the work as one about the cosmos, at the beginning of II, 1 (fo. 35v) he has a neat Platonist summary of the work, picked up from that chapter:

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[163] Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, 45–6.

[164] I follow here an unpublished note, deposited in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Verdun, by Mme Turcan, 'Notice du Ms Verdun BM 24'. She identified Rothardus as a monk of St Vanne, Verdun, who has left colophons in St Vanne manuscripts, Verdun Mss. 24, 50 and 75. Since writing this, I have found her paper published in *Scriptorium*, see Bibliography. Monique-Cécile Garand, 'A propos du scribe Rothardus de Saint-Vanne', has proposed that the Rothardus colophon was recopied by another scribe. If that is right, what I say about Rothard may have to apply to him.

[165] Du Cange gives the word *corneirus* for an angle; I cannot find the word in the classical Latin dictionaries. Boethius in his *Ars Geometriae* uses the word *angulus*.

In superiori libro demonstravit quomodo inaequalitas ab aequalitate processerit. Hic vero demonstraturus est quemadmodum omnis inaequalitas in ipsam unde processit aequalitatem revertatur.

In the previous book [Boethius] demonstrated how inequality proceeded from equality. Here it will be demonstrated how all inequality reverts to that equality from which it proceeded.

There are earlier marginal notes in the text hand, and yet others not, I think, in the text hand but probably tenth-century. These are mostly purely arithmetical and rather rudimentary, for instance at I, 32 (fo. 34v): 'a *supertripartiens* number is so-called because it has in it the whole of itself and another three-quarters … as you find between 28 and 49.' But even amongst these there is the spark of Platonist interest shown, apropos of II, 2 and the reference to the *Timaeus*, by a note on the meaning of *Timaeus*, written in the text hand (fo. 37v): 'Timeus liber platonis quasi preciosus. Tymon namque preciosum denominans, inde timiana vocatur' (*Timaeus* is the book of Plato, as if precious, *Tymon* denoting what is precious whence it is called *timiana*).

A manuscript of the *Arithmetic* which cannot but arouse one's interest (Barcelona, Ripoll Ms. 168), before one sees it, is one which belonged to the library of Ripoll in Catalonia, because Ripoll was almost certainly a library which Gerbert of Aurillac knew and worked in while he studied in Spain during the 960s.[166] It has been variously dated, but would seem to be ninth-century, or anyhow not later than the tenth century.[167] The whole book is written in a single hand, and the Latin glosses are for the most part in the same hand as the text. These are jejune, but one can say that they show an interest only in arithmetic, as distinct from the 'divine mathematics of creation'. There is one exception, a note attached to II, 41 (fo. 75r), where Boethius has mentioned the Pythagorean ten, saying that there are many other tens which he need not pursue. But the need came over our glossator, and he lists the ten fluids of the body—two in the eyes, of tears and *colera nigra*; one in the ears, *colera rubea*; two in the nose, of phlegm and blood; one in the mouth, of phlegm; two in the penis (*in virga genitali*—he is not interested in women!), of urine and semen; one in the bottom, *recessionis* (presumably a euphemism);

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[166] The abbey of Ripoll was a dependency of the bishopric of Vich, under whose bishop, Hatto or Atto, Gerbert studied, Richer, II, 50.

[167] e.g. fo. 20r the open *g*s as in *colligitur* 3 lines up; the style of ligature *nt*, e.g. l. 10; the use of ampersands in words as in *scilicet* 3 lines up; and the style of the initial letters.

and one in the whole body, of sweat. This is undoubtedly interesting and comes from a source less obvious than Isidore. Indeed one fears that it might represent a teacher's attempt to whack up interest with pupils glazed-eyed at the very mention of Pythagorean tens. The excuse for it was doubtless the idea that the discipline of grammar could be applied to any text, even one concerned with another of the liberal arts, and that it involved understanding a text in all its aspects including the natural-history ones. It is thus an example of that tendency which we have noted in the Bernhard glosses to take any occasion to display knowledge of history, geography, or nature,[168] a tendency rigorously eschewed in the Cologne glosses with their strong sense (as one more and more sees in comparisons) of purpose and relevance.

The Ripoll manuscript has some nicely drawn initial letters at the beginning of chapters, also perhaps a way of arousing interest in the text if one considers the well-known story of King Alfred as a boy,[169] including a remarkable bird illustration for A (II, 47) at fo. 81v. The manuscript looks likely to be French, and whether it was already at Ripoll in Gerbert's time or whether it was acquired subsequently there is no means of telling. Either way the glosses need not be taken as an indicator of the level of arithmetical understanding wherever they were written or used, for they are clearly directed to the needs of teachers and their pupils, rather than being, as the Cologne glosses obviously are, an instrument of study for scholars. When the manuscript was at Ripoll (one must assume), three Arabic glosses were added, at fo. 42r on I, 32 about superpartients, fo. 62r on II, 25 about spheriscon, and fo. 91r on arithmetical and harmonic proportions. These are brief explanatory arithmetical notes, but they have great interest in showing microcosmically the working together of Arabic and Latin scholars to achieve understanding of arithmetic in early medieval Spain.[170]

Another manuscript of the *Arithmetic* in Spain which makes one feel more on the trail of Gerbert of Aurillac than does the Ripoll manuscript is Madrid 9088, undoubtedly of the eleventh century rather than the twelfth as stated in the catalogue of Madrid manuscripts. The provenance of this book, which also contains the *Music*, is the monastery of St Vincent, Plasentia. Plasentia is near the border of Spain

[168] See above, pp. 182–3.

[169] For the Alfred story, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, c. 23, Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, 75.

[170] Charles Burnett, to whom I am very grateful, gave me full translations of the first and the third; the second is too scrappy to decipher.

with modern Portugal and how this manuscript came there is not clear, but again its initials give it the look of being French in origin. Amongst the texts of geometrical interest are Gerbert's letter to Adalbold of Liège on geometrical figures and the area of a triangle (fos. 147v–148r), and Adalbold's letter to Gerbert. Extracts from the Agrimensores also seem to have, or were thought to have, a Gerbert connection (fos. 130r–134r). Gerbert's tract on why pipes and the monochord are not commensurate is present (fo. 125r–v), as are extracts from Boethius' *Ars Geometriae*.[171] There is a neat statement on the relation of practical and philosophical in the study of the liberal arts (fo. 130r):

Utilitas geometrie triplex est, ad facultatem, ad sanitatem, ad animam; ad facultatem ut moechani et architecti, ad sanitatem ut medici, ad animam ut philosophi.

The utility of geometry is threefold, for practice, for health, and for the mind; for practice as with mechanics and architects, for health as with doctors, for the mind as with philosophers.

If this is all the trail of Gerbert, however, the profuse glosses (for the period) to the *Arithmetic*, none of them Bernhard's or Cologne, represent very much the non-philosophical, calculating Gerbert, or at least the Gerbert of arithmetic devoid of cosmic implications, the Gerbert described by Richer rather than the Gerbert of the letter about arithmetic to Otto III.[172] For instance, on I, 32, besides one brief gloss which we will come to shortly, the main comment relates to the purely arithmetical process of handling unities, doubles, and triples, as if it were purely an issue of calculation, ending, 'if you [take] the second double of 2 and add the third double, that makes the third triple, i.e. 9, and this will explain all the forms of the multiplex number *ad infinitum*

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[171] *Gerberti Opera Mathematica*, respectively pp. 43–5, 302–9, 366–9 and 472–6, p. c (roman numeral), and 155–96.

[172] See above, p. 166. Navari, 'The Leitmotif in the Mathematic Thought of Gerbert', esp. 143, maintains that judging from Richer on Gerbert and the abacus, (Richer, II, 64), Gerbert was not interested in practical calculation but in the visual demonstration of the mathematical problem of creating numbers from unity. But it is not the concept of unity that the abacus is designed to display; rather (as Richer makes quite clear from the division of the table into 27 digits of three 9s) it is the absence of a concept of zero that it is designed to overcome. Moreover the natural reading of Richer is that Gerbert's primary interest in the abacus was its advantage in multiplying or dividing high numbers (Richer, p. 64, ll. 5–8). Therefore I think we have to see Gerbert, like Abbo of Fleury, as having both a Platonist interest and one of calculation in arithmetic.

(*in infinitum omnes formas numeri multiplicis explicabit*)'. So far as I can see, practically all the glosses are of this character, except for one on nature and *integritas rerum* on I, 32 (Madrid 9088 fo. 17r), which reads, 'for death comes to men not by nature but by sin, although now it is reckoned to be in nature' (*Mors enim non per naturam sed per vicium accessit hominibus, sed nunc in naturam computatur*). This text was obviously in circulation, for it comes in the Tegernsee manuscript discussed above (pp. 184–5).

There is more that is Eriugenan in the glosses of the tenth and early eleventh century to the *Arithmetic* I, 32. The following is another example, which I have found in three manuscripts, and is a text which has similar ideas to those of the Bernhard and Cologne glosses on *bonitas*, but is in quite different words from either:[173]

Sunt enim duae bonitates una naturalis et vera que est deus, altera cuius participatione nos utimur quae ab illa summa nobis praevenire monstratur quia nos nihil praeter peccatum habemus. Ergo nostra bonitas finita est dum ad finem omnium rerum pervenerit quod est deus et sub scientiam cadit. Nam dei bonitas sicut deus infinita est et sub scientiam non cadit sicut nec deus.

There are two goods. One is natural and true which is God. The other, in whose use we participate, obviously comes to us from Him, because we have nothing in us except sin. Therefore our good is finite, until it comes to the end of all things which is God, and it falls within knowledge. For the goodness of God is infinite, as is God, and does not fall within knowledge, as God does not.

One of the three manuscripts which have the *Sunt duae bonitates* is the eleventh-century (first half) Brussels 5444, which has a catena of glosses to the *Arithmetic* on fo. 1v. One of these is Platonist in a completely different way from that on the same passage in the Cologne manuscript which was discussed and cited above (pp. 149–50). The passage is about how a number can, *nomine et vocabulo*, have even parts. The comment in the Brussels manuscript, which I have not encountered elsewhere, considers the significance of the words *nomen* and *vocabulum*:

Nomen quodammodo ad corporales, vocabulum ad incorporales. Ideo hic utrumque ponit quia et numeri corporibus iunguntur unde et nominantur, et incorporales sunt natura unde vocantur.

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[173] Brussels 5444, fo. 1v; Basel A III 19, fo. 23v; Milan C128 inf. fo. 15r.

Nomen as to corporeal things, *vocabulum* as to incorporeal. Therefore he uses both words here, because numbers are joined to bodies and hence named, and they are incorporeal by nature and hence so called.

We are surely close, here, to the thought-world of Tegernsee and Froumund (see p. 185), and to the gloss in the Munich manuscript which begins: 'Boethius says all incorporeal things are immutable, just as unity is immutable in numbers.'[174]

One of the other three manuscripts, Milan C128 inf., has an interlined note on the *Timaeus* where it is mentioned at II, 32 (fo. 27r), referring the reader to the book *De Contemplatione Anime*, and glossing the meaning of '*Timaeus*' in a way similar to that of Verdun Ms. 24 (see p. 188). In this Milan manuscript, where on II, 41 the Ripoll manuscript has its gloss on the ten fluids of the body, there is an interlined comment picking up the reference in the text to Pythagorean tens and the ten *praedicamenta* of Aristotle:

Ut sicut de cathegorie ita essent x. medietates, id est omnem locutionem in x. categoriis.

As with the categories, so there are ten medieties [or 'proportions'], that is, all speech [falls into] ten categories.

There is an obvious reference here to dialectic and Aristotle's *Ten Categories*, showing an element of cross-referencing to other liberal arts which can be found in other glosses on the *Arithmetic*, but which is barely present in the Cologne glosses. There is no sign of the provenance of this manuscript, but it could conceivably be Bobbio, where Gerbert of Aurillac was abbot (980–3). It is tenth-century rather than later, I should say, and its mixture of arithmetical, liberal arts, and Platonist interests would fit Gerbert well. So, with his interest in organ-playing, would the drawing of an organ—with ten pipes, be it noted—and with a man pumping his bellows into the wind-box, which comes after the *Arithmetic* and before the *Music* at fo. 46v.[175]

[174] White, 'Boethius in the Medieval Quadrivium', text p. 198, n. 87.
[175] Gerbert of Aurillac, *Briefsammlung*, p. 101, ll. 14–15; p. 119, ll. 15–16; and for organ-playing in particular, p. 121, ll. 18–19. The illustration in the Milan ms. is discussed by Williams, *The Organ in Western Culture*, 181, where it is described as 'organologically inexpert', and it is illustrated in Seebass, *Musikdarstellung*, pl. 43 (and see ibid. 179). For possible connections to Bobbio and Gerbert, see Williams, *The Organ*, 284–5.

6.6. CONCLUSION

The history of thought is rightly treated largely as the history of thinkers, and in the tenth and early eleventh centuries there were few nameable thinkers. The whole development of empire under the Saxons, for instance, was accompanied by virtually no theorizing. Art and ceremony, gesture and rituals, were its primary modes of expression. Discussion of Bruno of Cologne's own contribution to royal and imperial thinking has centred largely on possible deductions about a ceremonial object, the so-called Reichskrone, or Imperial Crown, in Vienna (above pp. 45–6). One notices how quickly John Marenbon, in his very fine book on early medieval philosophy, passes from Remigius of Auxerre in the late ninth century to Abbo of Fleury and Gerbert of Aurillac in the late tenth, and thence to Adalbold of Utrecht in the early eleventh. Within that rapid transition, however, Marenbon devotes a perceptive paragraph to tenth-century readers trying to understand Plato's difficult *Timaeus.*[176]

It would be absurd to claim a high intellectual standard for the glosses in Cologne Ms. 186; that will have been apparent from our discussion of them. Indeed the relatively low standard of the glosses may be regarded as a compelling reason for thinking that they were acquired for actual study at Cologne. It is doubtful whether anyone would have much wanted to use it after the acquisition of the clearer and more elegant Cologne Ms. 185, certainly not after the glosses had been written into that manuscript in the mid-eleventh century. Whatever use it endured is likely to have been early.

In my survey of several other *Arithmetic* manuscripts with glosses, we have seen, even in those whose arithmetical interest predominates, that a Platonist streak constantly surfaces. What distinguishes the Cologne glosses is their integrity and consistent sense of purpose in elucidating their Platonist text. No displays of irrelevant knowledge, no flying off at every attractive tangent, no highfaluting intellectual descants for them. And in their purpose, provided we recognize (as has been said) that Platonism may serve to articulate various kinds of holistic views of the world and cosmos, we may have one clue to why Ruotger, and surely Bruno, attached importance to the liberal arts for the sake of rule. If

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[176] Marenbon, *Early Medieval Philosophy*, 84–5.

the whole creation worked according to universally coherent principles, anyone who ruled and was yet ignorant of these was an innocent abroad.

Platonist arithmetic may never have entirely lost its intellectualist or mystical appeal, but as having educational value, let alone any practical significance, it is alien to our times and climate of thought. Its death-knell was in the end sounded by real arithmetical calculation, by treatises on the abacus, by the twelfth-century translators of Euclid, by the transactions of the English Exchequer in the twelfth century, by the credit notes and accountancy of thirteenth-century Italian bankers, and finally by the introduction into the fourteenth-century West of Arabic numerals. After that it can have been little more than a refined state of intellectual sensibility. In the tenth century, however, it was a way forward.

7

Cologne and Martianus Capella

7.1. EARLY MEDIEVAL INTEREST IN MARTIANUS

There is more of similar interest to Boethius' *Arithmetic* in the tenth-century Cologne copy of Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Mercury and Philology* (Ms. 193), particularly of interest along the Platonist lines of the unity of creation and human ethics. As the ninth-century Irish scholar Martin of Laon remarked, wisdom was a unity drawn from the unity of God.[1] Martianus Capella was an African contemporary of Augustine of Hippo, but probably a pagan. His work is in nine books, the last seven of which form a treatise on each of the seven liberal arts in turn, while the first two are an allegory. The allegory is that of a betrothal, and then a marriage at the court of Jupiter in the skies, between wisdom and reason in the female person of Philology on the one hand, and eloquence of language in the person of Mercury on the other.[2] The seven liberal arts are like seven bridesmaids, each showing what they can contribute to Philology's marriage. Manuscripts of this

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[1] I cannot recover my reference to this exact citation but it must come from Martin's copy of Origen on Numbers where Origen discusses a passage of Exodus on which Martin commented in the margins, Laon Ms. 298, fo. 86v–87r. My notes on this ms. seem to have failed me, but for a fine discussion see Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 115–16. Concerning Cologne Ms. 193, Marc-Aeilko Aris of Munich University is preparing an edition of its glosses, and Sinéad O'Sullivan of Queen's University Belfast, is preparing an edition of the glosses to Books I and II in the 'Martin of Laon' tradition.

[2] Tenth-century manuscripts of Martianus' work frequently have keynote introductions, based in one form or another on the opening of Remigius of Auxerre's commentary (*Remigii Autissidorensis*, p. 66), which makes this allegory clear. Cologne Ms. 193, fo. 1v (like Paris BN lat. 8669, fo. 1r, and Leiden Voss Lat F48, fo. 2r) have Remigius' explanation of the allegory in weak form, mixed with some Isidore of Seville on Mercury. But Paris lat. 8670, fo. 1r, with the 'Martin of Laon' glosses, though omitting the statement of Remigius that Philology represents wisdom and reason, while Mercury is a similitude for eloquent speech, heads for the Ciceronian moral: eloquence without wisdom and reason can be harmful and is rarely advantageous; wisdom without eloquence always profits and is never an obstacle. But when the two come together, Mercury and Philology are allied, and both can readily approach to the seven liberal arts.

work circulated widely, with glosses, in the ninth- and tenth-century West. Unlike Boethius' *Arithmetic*, it was a book that had already been intensively worked over by glossators in the Carolingian period.[3] The Cologne manuscript, surely at Cologne not later than the 970s, was written in the first half of the tenth century, at a western centre, such as Liège or Laon.[4]

As the intensive glossing in the ninth century would suggest, the study of Martianus was nothing recondite in the second half of the ninth and in the tenth centuries; among the educated elite it was universal. As Mariken Teeuwen has remarked, it became the basic handbook for secular science around 830 to 850.[5] The late ninth-century *Commentary* by Remigius of Auxerre, full of mythology, classical poetry, fascinating natural history, the Neoplatonism of Eriugena's earlier glosses, and even an occasional touch of the fathers, gave a great boost to Martianus studies in the Ottonian period. Martianus had been Odo of Cluny's main text when he studied under Remigius himself at Paris.[6] When Wolfgang, later to be bishop of Regensburg, was studying at Würzburg, along with a man of Swabian-Franconian family, Henry, later to be archbishop of Trier, he had one day been reading Martianus when some youths approached him to explain a difficulty about number. Since he was both kind and learned, Wolfgang not only answered their question but also opened up all the niceties (*omnem scrupulositatem*) of Martianus' meaning.[7] This story was written down a century later by a writer wanting to bring out the virtues of his subject. But it might well have originated in its essence from Wolfgang himself, and one should not overlook the neutral element (so to speak) in it, that it was taken as a matter of course that one should be studying Martianus at Würzburg in the mid-tenth century. Much of the late tenth-century Notker of St Gall on the first two books of Martianus is an almost verbatim translation of Remigius of Auxerre into Old High German.[8]

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[3] Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres*, 23–31.

[4] Liège I mention on account of its close connection with Cologne as its liberal arts school was developing in the third quarter of the 10th century, see above pp. 32, 54, 169–70; Laon also for its connections to Bruno and the fact that, as Contreni says, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 166–7, even after its heyday as a school, its ms. collection survived reasonably intact.

[5] Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres*, 23. For the same point well made, see Fried, *Der Weg in die Geschichte*, 823–4.

[6] Odo of Cluny, *Vita*, I, 19, *PL* 133, col. 52a.

[7] *Othloni Vita Sancti Wolfkangi*, c. 5, p. 528.

[8] Teeuwen, *Harmony*, 43; and see King, *Notker Latinus*.

Martianus was evidently a cultural cement amongst the educated elite of the Ottonian period. One may see this from the interest in it of Rathier of Liège, and from the way he spiced up his letters with classical allusions in general.[9] But the culture was a court culture. I have already attempted to explain how an itinerant Ottonian court is by no means incompatible with talk of a court culture. And although no direct citation of Martianus appears to have been discerned in Ruotger, unlike in the Cologne *Passio* of St Ursula of only a few years later, it is there by implication alongside Cicero and Augustine in his whole approach that eloquence should be married to reason and wisdom.[10]

To many tenth-century scholars, it seems, Martianus looked like two books of inspired lunacy followed by seven books of grinding boredom. Jean Préaux declared that in this work, 'the Carolingians discovered a veritable ancient course on the liberal arts'.[11] Well, only up to a point. Préaux himself named as many as five manuscripts before the eleventh century which contained only the first two books,[12] and from the early eleventh century if not the late tenth should be added a Regensburg manuscript (Munich, Clm 14271). The picture of surviving glosses does something to reinforce this preference for the first two books. Martianus represents it as a special concession that he carried the allegory and its bursts into poetry on into the beginning of Book III on Grammar, the first of the liberal arts. In Cologne 193, once this buoy was rounded, the glosses became spasmodic before dying out completely. The same is true of the ninth-century Bodleian Ms. Laud lat. 118. Besançon Ms. 594 has heavy glossing for Books I and II, but thereafter, though occasionally heavy in short passages, it becomes increasingly spasmodic until Book IX. Book IX, on Music, often has heavier comment than the other books on the liberal arts. Perhaps one reason was that, whereas scholars found that they could grapple with Boethius' *Arithmetic*, and so Book VI of Martianus is often sparsely glossed, Boethius' *Music* was much less accessible (the fine early eleventh-century Cologne copy of it is virtually unglossed) and hence they were more inclined to take refuge in

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[9] Rathier of Liège, *Die Briefe*, no. 11, p. 63, l. 13; and for a good example of classical 'spicing up', no. 10, pp. 49–55.

[10] Above all expressed in what Ruotger says about Rathier of Liège, c. 38, p. 40, ll. 12–16: 'propter abundantem doctrinam et eloquentiam copiosam, qua inter sapientissimos florere visus est …' Also Ruotger on how no kind of liberal studies in all Greek and Latin eloquence escaped the vivacity of Bruno's mind (*ingenii sui vivacitatem*).

[11] Préaux, 'Le Commentaire de Martin de Laon', 437.

[12] Préaux, 'Le Manuscrit d'Avranches 240', esp. 137–9.

Martianus. But this must be balanced by another reason, which is that glossing of Boethius on Music was well under way in the ninth and tenth centuries and, as Teeuwen has shown glossing of Boethius' work and Martianus Book IX stimulated and cross-fertilized each other.[13] Paris lat. 8670 and 8671 and Leiden BPL 36 are spasmodic after the first two books of Martianus, and in Leiden BPL 88 the quadrivium until Book IX gets relatively short shrift. Moreover, the latter's comments on Geometry (here Book VI, fos. 106v–33r) largely avoid the hard principles of the subject in favour of the soft ground of geographical or topographical comment, as also happens elsewhere. It is not a uniform picture, but one can hardly argue that the Carolingians and Ottonians consistently approached the last seven books of Martianus with what the old writers called address.

Quite other was it with the champagne of the first two books. The introductions tell us that Martianus was born in Carthage and studied first philosophy and afterwards poetry, partly in Rome and partly elsewhere in Italy.[14] The poetry, into which Martianus burst most frequently in the first two books, captivated our scholars. The allegory was stiff with allusions to Greek, to Greek places, and to Greek mythology. Here are two examples, both from Book II. In the first, where Martianus apostrophizes Philology, he is saying that it was no mean feat to reach the celestial regions, for:

Around the sphere of the earth itself, air, set in motion by the heat above and the exhalations and moisture below, striking the souls with a certain turbulence as they come out of the bodies, does not allow them to fly forth easily. Hence the poet in his sagacity alludes to the Pyriphlegethonian region; and tossed in this everlasting uproar, the wicked souls which Vedius has condemned, are dashed.[15]

The other example is where Calliope, muse of epic poetry, sings in support of Philology and her marriage: 'Always a friend to the favouring

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[13] Boethius' *Music* was glossed in the highest Carolingian circles such as Corbie or the circle of Eriugena, but as Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, 79, says of the situation at Corbie, 'Boethius *De Musica* contains a full gloss on a difficult text'. For the development of music glossing during the 9th and 10th centuries in general, see Bernhard and Bower, *Glossa Maior*, vol. i, pp. xii–xviii, xxxix–xliv; and Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres*, 121–7.

[14] As in Cologne 193, fo. 1v. For excellent discussions of Martianus in general, Shanzer, *A Philosophical and Literary Commentary*, 1–28, and latterly Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres*, 9–21, with useful reference to earlier literature.

[15] Martianus Capella, 48–9 (Dick, 165–6). Willis's edition retains the useful divisions of Dick. Tr. Stahl and Johnson, 54.

Muses, for you Magnesian rivers and the fountain of the Gorgonian horse have poured your drink, for you the Aonid peak, green with garlands, puts forth its leaves, while Cirrha prepares violets, etc.'[16]

Not surprisingly, the interpretation of the allegory and its detail appears to have been the achievement of two brilliant ninth-century Irishmen who worked on the continent, probably both of them at Laon, John Scotus Eriugena and Martin of Laon. To make headway with commenting on Martianus it was necessary to have, as well as a considerable knowledge of Latin classical literature and no doubt of Carolingian glossaries, at least an entrée into Greek language and culture. The encyclopedic Isidore of Seville did not go nearly far enough for scholars of this calibre. In the glosses to Cologne MS. 193 there are frequent references to Greek terms. The Irish colony at Laon clearly had this entrée. At Laon to this day reposes a Greek–Latin glossary copied there in the ninth century. This is a well-known manuscript (Laon Ms. 444), but when I actually saw it I had not quite anticipated the scale of its achievement, for it contains the Latin meaning of upward of 17,000 Greek words.[17] Carlotta Dionisotti has traced the previous history of this compilation in the West, beginning in Italy, perhaps Byzantine Italy, observing that it may not be much use for Greek poetry, but is 'not at all bad for prose', including the Bible and patristic authors.[18] She has also given a critique of the elementary Greek grammar at fos. 300r to 306r of the same manuscript, with its serious limitations, by representing it as a helpful first step.[19] With Berschin as my guide I venture to doubt whether such a knowledge of Greek as this could be found again, north of the Alps, until the thirteenth century.[20] And the oft-propounded argument that it was only the continental Irish and not the insular Irish who had a knowledge of classical culture second to none in the early Middle Ages, is one that is wearing increasingly thin.[21]

The Cologne Martianus Ms. 193 came to Cologne with most of its glosses from some western centre. I have said that it was surely

[16] Ibid. 34 (Dick 119) (the opening of Calliope's hymn), Stahl and Johnson, 41.
[17] Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*, 169; Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 56–8, 69, 105.
[18] Dionisotti, 'Greek Grammars and Dictionaries', 11. [19] Ibid. 21–4.
[20] Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*. This is my conclusion from following him through his chs. 8 to 12.
[21] O'Croinin, 'The Irish as Mediators of Antique Culture', esp. 45, and also showing that the Irish used both Martianus and Boethius' *Arithmetic* in the 7th century, p. 44.

in Cologne at latest by the 970s; for as Wilhelm Levison showed in 1929, it was the favourite reading of the author of the first *Passio* of St Ursula, who composed the work in Cologne and dedicated it to Archbishop Gero (969–76), interlarding it with many rare words taken from Martianus.[22] Indeed, the early part of the *Passio*, in its fabulous character, its tale about the betrothal of a beautiful and intelligent British princess to a prince who was the son of a tyrant, Ursula's demand for ten virgins to act as female supporters, to each of whom would be assigned a thousand further virgins, as the same number would be assigned to Ursula herself (in the end all rather foolhardy virgins), has itself something of the atmosphere as well as of the language of the *De Nuptiis*.[23] Levison further remarked that the mention of a Martianus in a list of Cologne book loans dating from 1013 must be a reference to Ms. 193.[24] Cologne possibly already had a copy of the *De Nuptiis* when Ms. 193 arrived (Ms. Harley 2685), but with scarcely any glosses, so that once again, as with Boethius' *Arithmetic* (Ms. 186), the glosses already in Ms. 193 appear an important reason for acquiring it. Levison wrote that 'perhaps' the author of the Ursula *Passio* used Ms. 193. Even on his showing I would call this a probability. What makes it a near certainty is my own further discoveries: not only the glosses added at Cologne in the tenth century,[25] but also the relation of some of these glosses to the early or mid-tenth-century manuscript of Remigius' *Commentary* on Martianus (Cologne Ms. 194, fos. 1–56), which must have been at Cologne by the third quarter of the tenth century (see below, pp. 216–17). Although it was not necessary to know Greek in order to understand and appreciate the glosses which came to Cologne with Ms. 193, some existing sense of things Greek such as we know was present in Bruno's Cologne would surely help to explain the Cologne

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[22] Levison, *Das Werden der Ursula-Legende*, 63–6, 78.

[23] e.g. the marriage of Ursula's parents after her father's consultation with his own senate (*super senatus proprii consultu*) at the beginning of the first *Passio*, ibid. 145, and Pallas' advice in Martianus' *De Nuptiis* that Mercury could not marry unless by a council of gods (*nisi superi senatus consultu*) his wife ceased to be a mortal, Dick 40, Martianus, bk. I, p. 17, l. 9. Again, when Ursula sought escape from her suitor, she spent almost the whole night in prayer like a sleepy priest (*more nictantis antistis*), Levison, *Ursula-Legende*, p. 147, l. 17; the *Passio* uses the same phrase as Martianus, when he tells the poet not to bumble on like a sleepy priest (*ritu nictantis antistis*) but announce his theme, which as in Ursula's case is marriage, Martianus, Dick 2, bk. I, p. 2, l. 9. Compare also the function of the virgins with whom Ursula is provided and of the virgins, the seven liberal arts, who support Philologia.

[24] Levison, *Das Werden der Ursula-Legende*, 78, n. 5.

[25] In addition there are apparently 10th-cent. Cologne pen trials at fo. 1r of Ms. 193.

interest in acquiring them.[26] Besides the Greek scholarship of Bishop Israel the Breton, a teacher of Bruno, Berschin, again, has shown that Cologne received, though probably a little later than Bruno's time, a copy of the St Gall Psalterium Quadripartitum which included the Greek Septuagint in Latin script.[27] Dionisotti gives an example of tenth-century Cologne interest in Greek, whereby a scholar thought to turn a Greek grammatical word-list into a Greek grammar (Harl. Ms. 2688).[28] The incompetence of execution here highlights all the more the interest with which the work was conceived.

We may label the glosses which came to Cologne with Cologne 193 as 'Martin of Laon', but we are on much less good ground in attaching this label than in the case of Scotus Eriugena. When the Burgundian, Remigius of Auxerre, produced his large-scale commentary on Martianus at the end of the ninth century, he cited Eriugena several times by name. He used 'Martin of Laon' also, indeed being generally closer to him than to Eriugena in method; but he never cited him directly. We do not have an authentic original text of Eriugena, but we can at least see a recognizable corpus of glosses with an author, excerpted and corrupted as it clearly was from one manuscript to another.[29] We can even see something of a coherent Platonist or Neoplatonist philosophical approach and an interest in the physical construction of the universe and its music,[30] which contrasts not totally, but in emphasis, with the grammatical, etymological, historical, geographical, and mythological preoccupations, in other words with the encyclopedic approach of 'Martin'.[31] For Martin of Laon's authorship of a corpus of glosses, however, there is no direct evidence at all; it is all deduction, principally

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[26] See above, pp. 56–9, 156–7, 166–8.

[27] Berschin, 'Salomons III Psalterium Quadrupartitum'.

[28] Dionisotti, 'Greek Grammars and Dictionaries', 16–17.

[29] Schrimpf, 'Zur Frage der Authentizität'. His method is a comparison of explicit citations in Remigius of Auxerre with the two principal manuscripts containing the Eriugena glosses.

[30] For the Platonist interest in Eriugena's commentary, see Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres*, 35–6.

[31] Préaux, 'Le Commentaire de Martin de Laon', 441. See the fine study of Jeauneau, *Quatre thèmes érigéniens*, 19–20. We ought to recognize a development of approach by Eriugena in the two main versions of his glosses, more the grammarian in the Oxford version, but influenced by the predestination controversy and the attack on him by Prudentius of Troyes in the Paris ms., see Liebeschütz, 'The Place of the Martianus *Glossae* in the Development of Eriugena's Thought', esp. 52–3. It is a paradox, though understandable, that Remigius, whose approach was nearer to 'Martin' than to Eriugena, should have cited Eriugena several times but 'Martin's' glosses not once.

the deduction of Jean Préaux; and more than one scholar has cast serious doubt on Préaux's arguments.[32] I stick to the appellation 'Martin of Laon' rather than following Teeuwen's fine book in calling them the 'Anonymous Corpus of Glosses', partly because (even if it is incorrect) the glosses have a certain encyclopedic character which may be associated with Martin of Laon, and partly because, entitled 'Anonymous', they could be confused with other anonymous commentaries.

Préaux's deductions began from the undeniable fact that there was a pre-Remigian body of glosses (what he called a commentary) on Martianus, most fully attested in the ninth-century manuscript, Leiden BPL 88, which was not Eriugena, not the anonymous commentary, so-called, of two Cambridge manuscripts (Corpus 153, 330), and not Remigius of Auxerre. From the early tenth century Remigius is increasingly likely to intrude into these glosses, as he does in Paris lat. 8669 with its 'Martin' introduction and other matter. And as Claudio Leonardi has pointed out, glosses of Eriugena and 'Martin of Laon' can sometimes mix in the same manuscript.[33] In certain points, particularly the interpretations of the muses,[34] this early 'Martin of Laon' material exactly corresponds with those parts of Laon Ms. 444 (none other than that which contains the Greek–Latin glossary) which Préaux argued were composed by Martin of Laon, who is called *didascalos* at fo. 297v of the manuscript, and who (as Préaux also argued) directed the copying of the whole great book. There was, moreover (remaining with Préaux), the fact that Martin of Laon, whom the Laon annals said came from Ireland and became a Laon master, and to whom they gave the dates 819–75, seemed precisely the right kind of person to have been responsible for such glosses.[35] Préaux's corpus of glosses had previously been attributed to another Irishman called Dunchad, identifiable in, for instance, Leiden BPL 87, a satellite manuscript of BPL 88, whose provenance was the monastery of Egmond in Holland, to which it had been given by Archbishop Egbert of Trier (977–93). This is starting to look, incidentally, as if

[32] e.g. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 113–14, in the midst of a fine discussion on Martin of Laon, pp. 94–134; Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin*, 118–19; and Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres*, who summarizes recent developments, pp. 26–31.

[33] Leonardi, 'Glose eriugeniane', esp. 174, 180–2.

[34] On Préaux's comparison of the treatment of the muses in Laon 444 and Leiden 88, see 'Le Commentaire de Martin de Laon', 445–54.

[35] Ibid. 442–44. Préaux considered Leiden BPL 88 to be the best source for this corpus (except that bk IX is Eriugena), ibid. 439.

Martianus ran really deep in Ottonian culture. Préaux effectively put paid to 'Dunchad', except as someone known to have commented on Book III of Martianus at the monastery of St Remi, Rheims.[36] That released the credit of Dunchad for transfer to the account of Martin of Laon.

It is a sadness that Préaux died before fulfilling his ambition to produce an edition of Martin of Laon's 'commentary';[37] such an edition would conceivably have been as near as one could come to a demonstration, by a fine scholar, of the art of the impossible. John Marenbon has warned, apropos of glosses on Aristotle's *Ten Categories* (but the warning is equally valid for 'Martin of Laon'), against the temptation, 'faced with a group of manuscripts containing different, overlapping selections of glosses to the same text, to treat the material in each manuscript as an imperfect witness to a putative, perfect original'.[38] That is not to deny that some individual master originally put together a number of glosses on Martianus which subsequently had a wide circulation as a corpus, nor to deny that that master could have been Martin of Laon.[39] But it was not a corpus like that of the glosses to Boethius' *Arithmetic* which I have discussed, nothing like so stable as an entity. One has the impression that behind each manuscript with the 'Martin of Laon' brand of glosses, during the ninth and early tenth centuries, there were masters with powerful personalities, selecting, altering the wording, and occasionally composing, as suited their own teaching purposes.[40] Perhaps that is also in the nature of the case with glosses which, as we have said, were more encyclopedic in character than those of Eriugena.

[36] Ibid. 439–41. Cora Lutz fell for 'Dunchad' in her edition of what proved to be Eriugenan glosses, see *Dunchad*.

[37] That he had this ambition for Books I and II is shown by Stahl and Johnson, *Martianus Capella*, 64, n. 43.

[38] Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin*, 117.

[39] Hence obviously the value of editing the 'Martin of Laon' glosses, particularly if one does not treat them, as they have survived, as the unified composition *in toto* of one master.

[40] This impression is based partly on the same ideas expressed in various words in different manuscripts, e.g. see pp. 226–7; partly on the omission or inclusion of glosses, apparently according to the dictates of a master, e.g. p. 221; partly on the masterful tone, especially of some unusual glosses, e.g. Besançon Ms. 594, on the teaching about purgatory by the old man Phasius, *re* Martianus, bk. ii, p. 44 (Dick 142), fo. 12r; and on *disciplina*, fo. 16r; and partly even on the relish with which some mss. commenting on 'Quod ex ferulae flore', comment on the *ferula* as an instrument with which to beat boys (e.g. Leiden, BPL 88, fo. 35r: 'descriptio flagella quo puerorum dorsa ceduntur'), while others comment philologically on *ferela* as derived *ex flore*, quoting Pliny (e.g. BPL 36, fo. 23v).

It cannot be denied, however, that the manuscripts of Martianus labelled 'Martin of Laon' do share a considerable corpus of glosses. I have seen this most clearly in comparing Leiden BPL 88, Leiden BPL 36 (glosses western and early tenth-century, though the text is ninth-century and Lorsch), and Cologne 193; but I have also seen enough, in for instance Oxford Laud. lat. 118, and Besançon Ms. 594, to know that my generalization could be more widely substantiated. A full collation of this sort still needs to be undertaken, so far as I am aware, whether the result would or would not be a reconstruction of 'the commentary of Martin of Laon'. It would be a fascinating task. The encyclopedic character of the glosses was no doubt important for their wide appeal in the ninth and tenth centuries, and one can still find them of great interest today. Perhaps I may give an example of one of these more generally found glosses from the 'Martin of Laon' corpus. It takes up Martianus' reference to the Pyriphlegethonian region in Book II of the *De Nuptiis*:

Pyriphlegetonta is a river of fire encircling the whole of the infernal region, flowing from the circle of Mars, figuratively signifying the turbid and corporeal nature of this air below, which is densened by fire drawn from above, and by water and air. In this infernal region pagans think that sinful souls are damned, [while] poets say that the fiery Phlegeton flows from the circle of Mars and is the river in which the wicked souls of the living are terrified [or, according to some readings, 'held'] in this world.[41]

One already notices here the strong moralizing streak, by which ancient pagan cosmological myth, and Christian concepts of hell, are made to flow together to frighten the wicked, like the River Phlegeton itself.

Martianus' first two books were rich in allusions to myths and fables, some of them as unseemly in themselves as certain passages in the Bible were felt to be which had been allegorized in order to make them suitable for Christian meditation. The tenth-century idea was that these fables could be seen as an eloquent or poetic way of dressing up eternal moral truths.[42] Fables needed the *moralia* to be brought out

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[41] Cologne Ms. 193, fo. 25r: 'Pirflegetonta est igneus fluvius totum infernum ambiens de circulo martis manans, figurate significans turbidam corpulentamque huius infimi aeris naturam que concreta est igne de superioribus tracto, et aqua ex aero. In quo pagani putant peccatrices animas damnari, poetae dicunt quod ex circulo martis igneus flegeton progreditur, id est fluvius in quo terrentur anime male viventes in hoc saeculo.'

[42] As expressed e.g. by the opening of Eriugena's glosses: 'Martianus in isto libro mixtim veritatem cum fabulis dixit', Jeauneau, *Quatre thèmes érigéniens*, p. 101, ll. 1–2. The influence of Macrobius is seen here, see below, pp. 211–12.

or elucidated, therefore, just as the imagery of the Book of Job had needed similar treatment in Gregory the Great's opinion. In fact the way these fables were handled in the tenth century—and it was very much the Cologne way, as we shall soon see—was perfectly Gregorian. The fantasies of myths and fables had no value in themselves; their value lay in the universal truths which they hid.[43] In the Preface to Book I of the sixth-century Fulgentius' *Mythologies*, of which Cologne apparently had a copy in the tenth century,[44] Calliope warns Fulgentius to be serious in his handling of the fables, promising him his place as a heavenly being amongst the stars if he were so, 'not like Nero with his verse eulogies, but like Plato with his deep thoughts'. She continues:

Do not expect from myths and fables those devices which are the ornament of poetry, the source of lament in tragedy, the spouting of oratory, the loud laughter of satire, or the jest of comedy, but those by which the bitter crew of Carneades [Athenian second-century BC moral philosophers], the golden eloquence of Plato, and the syllogistic brevity of Aristotle are distilled.[45]

Here, as an example, is a gloss found in at least seven of the 'Martin of Laon' manuscripts, including Cologne 193 (fo. 16v), commenting on Martianus' phrase in Book II, 'the fountain of the Gorgonian horse', which I cited earlier, where Calliope's advice was heeded and a 'moral' was drawn. The gloss does little more than repeat *in toto* the relevant passage from Fulgentius' *Mythologies*:[46]

This touches a fable. King Forcus is said to have had three Gorgonean daughters, Stenno, Eurialis, and Medusa, who were extremely rich, hence *gorgones* like Georgi. On the death of their father, Medusa succeeded to his kingdom, Perseus, king of Asia, killed her with the help of Minerva, and from his blood came forth the horse, Pegasus, who, striking the ground with his foot produced

[43] Whitbread, *Fulgentius*, 15–17, for the moralism about fables in Fulgentius. For a good example of fables with the minimum of moralism, more the raw material, so to speak, see the section in the 9th-cent. Laon Ms. 468, 'ratio fabularum de musis, fatis, de diis, et deabus', fos. 5v–8v. It starts with the names of the nine muses, the three fates, the three Arpie, three goddesses, the three Gorgones, three sirens, etc. Names of and facts about the Gorgones at fo. 5v. See the facsimile, Contreni, *Codex Laudunensis 468*. The reader is instructed to read Isidore, but Isidore is substantially different on the Gorgones from what is said here. Laon Ms. 468 is an autograph of Martin of Laon.

[44] Harley Ms. 2685, see Clark, 'The Library of Graevius', 370; and Leonardi, *I Codici di Marziano Capella*, no. 101.

[45] Fulgentius, *Mitologiarum*, 14–15; tr. Whitbread, *Fulgentius*, 47.

[46] Fulgentius, *Mitologiarum*, 32–3. The text is also in Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres*, 273–4. She does not use Cologne Ms. 93 for her edition, but the variants are not significant for our purposes.

a fountain … dedicated to poets and muses. Hence Martianus' reference to the fountain of the Gorgonean horse. Now the truth in this fable must be considered [*Hoc fabulosum, veritas tamen est inquirenda*—for *veritas*, Paris lat. 8669 (fo. 13r) interestingly uses the word *theologia*]—Gorgo means terror, Stenno debility, Eurialis widespread darkness, Medusa oblivion. All these things create terror in men, and all of them Perseus killed with the help of Minerva. Perseus in Greek means *virtus* in Latin and *virtus* conquers all terrors with the help of wisdom. From his blood the horse Pegasus came forth; Pegasus means fame, and *virtus* in conquering all things draws fame to itself. Poets drink from [the fountain] because they proclaim the praise of *virtus*, seeing her victorious.

Such matters were of concern at Cologne in the tenth century, as we see from Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*. 'He revived the forgotten seven liberal arts', says Ruotger of Bruno; and if Cologne Ms. 193 was acquired at Cologne in Bruno's time, as is likely, no greater colour could have been given to Ruotger's statement by any single act than by this acquisition. He continues: 'whatever the historians, orators, poets, and philosophers proclaimed that was new and important, he investigated with the help of teachers.'[47] Later Ruotger adds, in a sentence which probably owes something to a gloss in the Cologne copy of Augustine's *City of God*, and must owe something to Fulgentius' strictures on the 'loud laughter of satire and the jesting of comedy': 'The scurrilities and mimicries which in comedies and tragedies caused some persons to shake with laughter, he always read seriously, putting a low estimate on the material but a high one on the authority in the composition of the words (*auctoritatem in verborum compositionibus*).'[48] The last phrase certainly signifies that Bruno attached importance to the style. But 'authority' would be an unexpected word if it meant this alone; Hrotsvita of Gandersheim, Bruno's contemporary to whom we shall have to return later, never uses it in the sense of the authority of a style of writing. It seems that it also refers to the *moral* authority behind the literal meaning, to the kind of moralization, for instance, of the Gorgones in which Fulgentius engages.[49]

Just as Rubens in a later age, therefore, with the help of Valerius Maximus' *Exempla*, could find a suitable classical story to depict any

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[47] Ruotger, c. 5, p. 7, ll. 15–17.   [48] Ibid., c. 8, p. 9, ll. 3–7.

[49] To give an analogy to the deriving of moralizations from classical sources, Sedulius Scotus, of whom Bruno and Ruotger are both likely to have been aware (for his *Liber De Rectoribus Christianis*, see Scharer, *Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, esp. 88–95, 100–1, and 'The Writing of History', 193–202), in his *Collectaneum* took a large number of moral aphorisms from Terence, see *Sedulii Scotti Collectaneum*, XXII, 28–71, pp. 149–52.

royal virtue as required, and thus he enlarged the repertoire of ruler ideology,[50] so it seems that Bruno, by studying the ancient historians and poets, could enlarge the repertoire of eloquence with which the eternal moral truths of the world were put forward. Ruotger insists time and again that it was not only Bruno's grasp of truth but also his teaching of it with such eloquence that gave effect to his rule as archbishop of Cologne and duke of Lotharingia.[51] Of course that does not necessarily mean that Bruno was forever spicing his sermons and addresses (none of which—alas!—survives) with references to Proserpina, the Nine Muses, the Gorgones, and the like. But even just to *know* the ways in which his points could be elaborated or adorned can add to the eloquence with which a speaker makes them. It is rather like a popular lecturer who does not display his erudition too openly, but whose audience sense it beneath his words, and like what they sense. It was nothing new with Ruotger to attribute eloquence as a virtue to a bishop. Augustine of Hippo, who regarded it as an equally useful instrument for teaching truth or falsehood, advocated it for the service of truth, and Gaulish epitaphs of the fifth and sixth centuries treat it as a virtue exclusively in the case of bishops.[52] What was more original to Ruotger, or rather to Cologne generally in Ruotger's time, was the expanded meaning which the liberal arts could give to episcopal eloquence. Yet in the final analysis one must always remember that reason took precedence over eloquence, Philologia over Mercury. Remigius of Auxerre, in the much-quoted opening of his *Commentary*, remarked: 'As Cicero says, eloquence, that is richness of speech, without reason and wisdom sometimes does harm and is rarely helpful; whereas wisdom without eloquence always helps and never harms.'[53] As Préaux has observed, Philology is the more important of the two heroes in the *De Nuptiis*, because she is privy

[50] McGrath, *Rubens: Subjects from History*, i. 71, 76–9, 85. I have in mind principally one of her Oxford Slade Lectures, 1989–90, but these seem not yet to have been published as a book.

[51] See above, pp. 53–4.

[52] For Augustine, see above, p. 79; on the Gaulish epitaphs, Foley, *Images of Sanctity*, 91, following Martin Heinzelmann.

[53] 'Ut autem Cicero dicit, eloquentia, id est sermonis copia sine ratione et sapientia nocet aliquando, raro aut numquam prodest; sapientia vero sine eloquentia prodest semper, numquam obest' (*Remigii Autissidorensis*, p. 66, ll. 23–6). Eriugena says something similar in his *Periphyseon*: 'What use is that eloquence (*velocitas*) which the pure contemplation of truth puts to flight? And what harm does the lack of eloquence (*tarditas*) do to which the desired face of truth shows itself?, (*PL* 122, col. 572c, cited in Jeauneau, *Quatre thèmes érigéniens*, 79).

to all the secrets of wisdom and a devotee of Apollo who plays the cosmic lyre.[54]

To imply, as has been done, that the myths and fables alluded to in Martianus could be seen by tenth-century men and women as an eloquent or poetic way of dressing up, or perhaps better, of undressing, eternal moral truths, may seem close to over-egging the pudding. Let us go further, then, and say that such fables were seen as representing *cosmic* truths. The proof is the Cope of the emperor Henry II at Bamberg, dating from the early eleventh century. Stitched in gold on a ground of sky-blue, this consummate work of embroidery represents, in medallions, Christ in majesty ruling the angels, the heavens, and the stars. Two of the medallions depict Pegasus, and Perseus with Gorgo's head. Round the edge of the cope, in capital letters, is the legend DESCRIPTIO TOCIUS ORBIS. In other words, the fable of Perseus and Pegasus which figures, as we have seen just above, in the gloss to Martianus, was regarded as part of a description of the universe.[55]

7.2. THE COLOGNE GLOSSES IN COLOGNE MS. 193 OF MARTIANUS

As I have said, this Martianus manuscript was not written at Cologne but somewhere to the West, in Lotharingia or northern France. The bulk of the marginalia are in the same western hand as the text, and that includes the note about the Gorgonians. Once the manuscript reached Cologne, however, it was taken in hand by a masterful tenth-century Cologne scholar, who used his authority over the manuscript, in further marginalia,[56] to press home elsewhere the kind of point made in the Gorgonian gloss and the kind of point about eloquence made in Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*. The phrase 'authority over the manuscript' may strike a strange note, but it should not be imagined that when a church acquired a new and finely produced manuscript, even if it lacked ornament, it was viewed as other than a precious object. In the tenth century the very fact of writing, regardless of whether the text was sacred or not, could impart a quality of magic to its vehicle (see

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[54] Préaux, 'Jean Scot et Martin de Laon', 163.

[55] Messerer, *Der Bamberger Domschatz*, 54–7.

[56] These must be the glosses referred to as unidentified by Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres*, 46, 48, in the cases of Cologne 193 and Leiden 36.

p. 245). It was not for all and sundry to suppose that they had the right to pour out their thoughts pell-mell onto the margins of a page. We have seen (p. 187) that the corrector of a manuscript could think his job as important as that of the scribe. Our Cologne scholar, who had apparent authority over Ms. 193, had a strong personality, to judge by his bold writing; he placed his comments, as we shall see shortly, with an assumption of total control over the page; he had freedom to write over erasures, erasures presumably of his own ordering, and even to break into the actual text;[57] and he expressed what he had to say with masterful simplicity. This scholar puts one in mind, by analogy, of Malcolm Parkes's fine discussion of St Boniface's handwriting and his authority as a marginal glossator, as to both style and matter, in Fulda manuscripts.[58]

It may look as if I am trying to hint that this scholar was Ruotger, or even Bruno himself. The period of the writing would be alright for either. But quite apart from the fact that this would be sheer fantasy without any shred of evidence to support it, it would unduly belittle Cologne in the third quarter of the tenth century to assume that there were no considerable scholars there other than Bruno or Ruotger, even if we cannot now name them.

It may be asked how anyone can be so confident that the extra marginalia or glosses, all obviously written by one and the same hand, to which I am now referring are of Cologne and of the tenth century. First of all, their difference from the bulk of the glosses written wherever the manuscript is to be originally localized stands out very clearly; and I have had the informal opinion of several knowledgeable palaeographers that these additions look like a tenth-century Cologne hand (as do some pen trials in the front of the book). There is, however, another argument for their being Cologne which requires no more ability in palaeography than is necessary to see their difference from the rest. If the book was clearly made somewhere else, and is virtually certain to have been in

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[57] e.g. at Ms. 193, fo. 20r he has corrected the text over an erasure to 'Quippe illae cantes', and in the margin has written, 'Cantes sunt deae ornamentorum' (Remigius, 172), and above *gratiam* in the text he has interlined *facundiam*. He also wrote over erasures at fos. 31r, l. 1, and 35r, l. 12, and his glossarial interlineations are numerous. There is a feature of this hand (see Pl. 6) which might appear to bring it close to Bruno and his circle, namely the *d*s with ascenders that curve back on themselves, a feature very common in chancery documents of Otto I and Otto II (probably deriving from the papal chancery), e.g. *Otto der Grosse: Magdeburg und Europa*, Katalog II, 10, p. 26; II, 24, p. 48; IV, 4, p. 167; IV, 26, p. 351; V, 37, p. 383. Less common otherwise.

[58] Parkes, 'The Handwriting of St Boniface'.

Cologne at the latest in the 970s, and has never been known to be anywhere else since then, it stands to reason that any writing in it which is not of the scriptorium of its origin must be Cologne writing. It may be added, I think without circularity, from the independent testimony of Ruotger and the first *Passio* of St Ursula, that these glosses fit well to the known cultural context of Cologne in the third quarter of the tenth century.

These Cologne glosses in Ms. 193 are not many or long, but they are deliberate enough to show up a certain direction of interest. Most pointed are two glosses on the poem at the beginning of Book III (on Grammar), actually not in the margin but in the space left at the end of Book II on the previous verso opposite, displayed as if they were not glosses but part of the text. The first (Cologne Ms. 193, fo. 31v) is to the large observation in Martianus' poem that fables are needed to clothe the naked truth, remembering that utility cannot clothe the naked truth (*memorans frigente vero nil posse comere usum*); the muse regards it as a vice in a poet to make unrefracted statements of fact (*infracta certa*). One is put in mind of Lytton Strachey's description of Monsignor Talbot, Pio Nono's secretary, as one who 'could make innuendoes as naturally as an ordinary man makes statements of fact'.[59] The gloss reads:

Si enim veritas sola sine intermixione fabularum semper manet, usus poetarum non observatur.

     [And then immediately following, a gloss on *infracta certa*:]
id est non fracta, hoc est in fabulas non versa.

If truth remain always alone without intermixture of fables, the usage of the poets is not observed. [Truth] is, or statements of fact are, *non fracta*, i.e. not broken up into [or 'refracted through'] fables.

The second gloss (also fo. 31v) is on the *lasciva dans lepori*, literally giving sportiveness to the hare, that is, adding a light touch by telling fictitious stories to clothe the naked truth:

Lepus quasi levi pes quia velox animal et annuatim sexum mutat. Ideo per illud eloquentia figuratur, que velox est ut non servat genus.

The hare (*lepus*) from *levi pes* because it is a speedy animal [so far Isidore of Seville] which changes its sex annually. Thus eloquence is figured by it, which is rapid (*velox*), *et non servat genus* (? Does not keep to one type).[60]

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[59] Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (London, 1920 edn.), 60.
[60] *Velocitas* could be used as a synonym for *eloquentia* in the early Middle Ages, e.g. see Jeauneau, *Quatre thèmes érigéniens*, 79, n. 197 (Eriugena).

I am not sure of the meaning of this last phrase, but think from Ruotger, who refers to Bruno's having every kind of eloquence (*omne eloquentiae genus*), that *genus* cannot be being used in a technical logical sense, but must have to do with the descriptions of the various kinds of eloquence, as expounded for instance in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*. There is in fact a pun on the word *genus*; eloquence is not all of one sort (*genus*), just as the hare does not stick to one gender (*genus*).[61] Thus, according to Macrobius, Cicero is supreme for amplitude, Sallust for brevity, Fronto for dryness, Pliny the Younger and Symmachus for luxuriant fertility; but only in Vergil does one find all four types (*genera*).[62] In other words, eloquence is not only of one type.

The doctrine of these tenth-century Cologne glosses evidently takes up a theme from Macrobius' *Commentary* on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*. We shall see that Cologne had a copy of Macrobius by *c*.1000, when the text of Cicero was written there and the whole work was bound with Boethius' *Arithmetic* (Cologne Ms. 186). But *c*.1000 is a *terminus ad quem*; its handwriting, quite different from that of the *Arithmetic*, is German *c*.900 (see above, pp. 146–7). Macrobius says that philosophy neither discounts all fables nor accepts all. Fables that merely gratify the ear are to be avoided and relegated to children's nurseries. Those which draw readers' attention to certain kinds of virtue can be useful. Even here, those where setting and plot are fictitious, such as in the fables of Aesop, should be set aside. But those which rest on a solid foundation of truth, which is treated in a fictitious style (e.g. the stories of Hesiod and Orpheus), may be approved by the philosopher, *provided* that the subject matter itself is not unseemly (e.g. gods caught in adultery, or Saturn cutting off the privy parts of his father, Caelus).[63] One may doubt whether Cologne wanted to be even as restrictive as Macrobius is in the use of the fabulous.

In Cologne Ms. 186 beside this passage is a *nota* sign and a note of the contents at this point (fo. 75v): 'types and divisions of fables' (*Genera et divisiones fabularum*). This is not written in the text hand and is most likely to have been written at Cologne before the Boethius and Macrobius texts were bound together, or at the latest around that time (*c*.1000); probably before, since there is no sign of this hand in the margins of the *Arithmetic*. Then a little further on (fo. 76r) there is another *nota* sign and, in the same Cologne hand as the previous

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[61] Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, V. i. 5, p. 240.   [62] Ibid. V. i. 6–8, p. 241, ll. 3–10.
[63] Macrobius, *Commentarii*, I. ii. 9–12, pp. 5–6.

note of contents: 'concerning gods and why fables may be spoken of them' (*De diis quare fabulosa ferantur*). This is against a passage which says that prudent men turn to fables because they know that a naked exposition of herself is inimical to nature, who had covered herself to avoid the contemplation of crude men,[64] that is, the poetic eloquence of fables may be necessary to present moral truth generally and effectively. Nature herself *wanted* wise men to expound her secrets (*arcana sua*) through what was fabulous (*per fabulosa*). This is the pure doctrine of the Cologne gloss on truth in the Martianus manuscript (see above).

The texts of all the tenth-century Cologne glosses which were added to those already present in Ms. 193, and which look of any significance, are given in an appendix at the end of this chapter, together with the same or comparable texts in other manuscripts. They are virtually all to Book II or the early part of Book III of Martianus' work. There is already an extraordinary fact here. The glosses in the text hand which came with the manuscript (from wherever it came), dense as they are, on Book II in Ms. 193, show very little interest in Book I. Did the Cologne glossator think that he would set about to remedy this lack of interest in Book I? Absolutely the reverse. There is not one addition to Book I, nineteen to Book II, and six to the early part of Book III. In other words, Cologne was interested to follow up the already existing interests of the original glossator, and this suggests, once again, that they acquired the manuscript, at least in part, for the sake of its glosses.

There are twenty-five principal additions to the Cologne Ms. 193 made by one and the same distinctively Cologne hand. Of these, I have found nine in only one other manuscript at all (with the exception of one gloss and with two half-exceptions that I deal with immediately below), Leiden BPL 36. This manuscript, whose glosses can again be loosely labelled 'Martin of Laon', was identified by Bischoff as having a late ninth-century text written at the monastery of Lorsch.[65] Its glosses were added somewhere in the west in the tenth century, and they include those on truth without intermixture of fables, and on the hare. That is to say, the hand that wrote the nine 'Cologne' glosses in Leiden 36 is the same as the hand of all the 'Martin of Laon' material. Hence there must have been some exemplar behind Leiden 36 which already had these glosses. The provenance of Leiden 36 is as yet unidentified,[66]

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[64] Macrobius, *Commentarii*, I. ii. 17–19, p. 7.   [65] Bischoff, *Lorsch*, 54, 106–7.
[66] The book was bought in Paris in 1576 and given by Peter Scriverius to the Leiden Library in 1606. The provenance cannot be traced further back. Ibid. 54.

and unlike Cologne 193, there is no sign of where it was for several centuries after the text was written at Lorsch. The glosses in it could have been written by a visitor to Lorsch; or the manuscript could have been taken elsewhere to have them written in; or its ownership could have changed and its glosses could have been written in it at a new home in the west. Whichever was the case, given the rarity of the added glosses (and I say so after seeing many Martianus manuscripts),[67] one may propose the hypothesis that Cologne was led to this material through Lorsch. For the links between Bruno of Cologne and Lorsch were exceptionally close. Ruotger claims that Bruno reformed many monasteries, which subsequently received their ancient privileges and immunities from the king. 'One of these was Lorsch, a noble place of royal munificence, which to this day retains in memory of so great a man its prerogatives, liberties, and monuments of religion.'[68] We have independent evidence that Bruno was for a time abbot of Lorsch and championed its rights at the court of Otto I.[69] Lorsch had a close association with Otto I himself; it was in that monastery that he had placed his queen, Edith, for safe-keeping during the rebellions of 939.[70] I have just said that Cologne may well have been led to its added glosses which are also in Leiden 36 through Lorsch. One must probably rule out that the Cologne scholar was using Leiden 36 itself. When there are significant variations of text between the two, these are obviously not mistakes or misreadings from the original, but deliberate choices to express the point differently, made by qualified scholars and thinking scribes.

Thus the textual relation of Cologne 193 to Leiden 36, as to the nine additions in Cologne 193 which both manuscripts share, may be expressed in a simple diagram, as:

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[67] Apart from those listed in the Index of Manuscripts below, Michelle Lucey kindly checked St Petersburg, Publ. Library Class. Lat. F.v.10 and Vatican Reg. 1987 (Leonardi, *I Codici di Marziano Capella*, nos. 92, 210), and ascertained that neither contained these glosses in any form.

[68] Ruotger, c. 10, p. 10, ll. 15–17.

[69] Flodoard, 947, on the Synod of Verdun, see Jacobsen, *Flodoard von Reims*, 46, n. 3, and Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 180–3. Compare Ruotger, c. 10, p. 10, ll. 11–15, on how Bruno reserved for himself nothing of their privileges and immunities in the monasteries which he had reformed (unless by their wish), this written immediately before giving Lorsch as an example, and *DO* I 176 (956) for Lorsch.

[70] Regino of Prüm, *Continuation*, 161. Lorsch also contributed a large contingent (50) to the military levy of 981, Wehlt, *Reichsabtei und König*, 88. See also Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, i. 37.

A
╱ ╲
╱   ╲
36   193
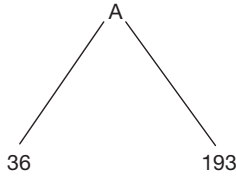
Because of the rarity of these glosses, amongst many surviving manu-
scripts, it seems unlikely that there were many, if any, manuscripts
between A and 36 or 193. There may have been others, however, which
contained just I, 5, and 6 (of the nine according to the numbering in
the appendix at the end of this chapter); Paris lat. 8671, as is seen in the
appendix, has these. Furthermore, Paris lat. 8669 looks as if it may have
had before it I, 5 which it (or a predecessor) chose to express in another
way. This point of contrast, however, must be drawn between Cologne
193 and Paris lat. 8671, whose provenance is unknown but whose text
and glosses are tenth-century western, and whose glosses generally are
not 'Martin of Laon'. In Cologne 193 the two glosses which these
manuscripts share are displayed on the page as if they were positively
part of the text (pls. 6, 7). In Paris lat. 8671 they are squeezed in tiny
writing into the insufficient margin which separates the two columns of
the poem, *Rursum camena parvo*, which opens Book III. In other words,
they are given much more emphasis in the Cologne manuscript.

When I said that these Cologne additions—and now one may say
particularly those which it shares with Leiden BPL 36—have a certain
direction, I did not mean only the two which have just been discussed,
striking as these are. In Book III there are two grammatical glosses next
to each other, one on sounds and letters and the other on nature and
usage in speech (Glosses I, 7 and 8). Both look like standard pieces
of grammatical theory, though I have not been able to trace them
in any of the standard early medieval grammars. Varro in *De Lingua
Latina* has the contrast between *natura verborum* and *usus loquendi*;[71]
perhaps this reflects something that was known in our period, but Varro
himself was virtually unknown until the Renaissance.[72] The answers
to such tenth-century problems, however, are generally less buried in
the recherché and are in fact simpler than one might at first think.
The last paragraph of Isidore of Seville's section on grammar in the

[71] Varro, X, 74 (Loeb edn., vol. ii, p. 588).
[72] Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, 430–1.

Etymologies is devoted to the kinds of history, and his last sentence is about fables. 'Fables', he says as he dismisses them contemptuously, 'neither occurred nor are possible, because they are contrary to nature (*quia contra naturam sunt*).'[73] Is it not an answer to this, along the same lines as glosses I, 5 and 6, justifying the use of fables, to say that *no* speech is according to nature but according to usage? Is it not equally an answer to Isidore to say, as I, 9 does, attaching its comment tenuously to a mention of the two historical kinds of *iunctura*,[74] 'not according to truth, but according to *auctoritatem* and *usum*'? This latter brings in the very word used by Ruotger to justify Bruno's reading of the comedies and tragedies; he paid little attention to the material, and most to the *auctoritatem in verborum compositionibus*.[75]

At least two other of the added glosses shared with Leiden BPL 36 have a Platonist interest in them. Calcidius writes, in his commentary on the Timaeus, of demons which harm men (see gloss I, 2). There are many, he says, who think, from the teaching of Plato that demons are souls liberated from bodies, the aetherial demons of praiseworthy men, who harm the wicked, and that the same souls will resume their earthly bodies after a thousand years. But, says Calcidius, in fact Plato will have none of this.[76] Gloss II, 8 is close in interest to this; Calcidius certainly writes of demons, at least, and perhaps of angels by implication, as animals.[77] Gloss I, 3 reflects the *Timaeus* itself when it comments, rather tangentially, on the double aspect of Venus, whose hair crawled with serpents but who was pleasant to meet: 'like the end and the beginning, the end of the murkiness of the air here below, the beginning one of pure aether.' Plato wrote, apropos of the constant transformation of the elements, aether and air: 'so again with air, there is the brightest variety which we call aether, and the muddiest which we call mist and darkness.'[78]

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[73] Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, i, 44, 5.
[74] Martianus, p. 70, ll. 16–17, 22–4 (Dick 265–6).   [75] Ruotger, c. 8, p. 9, l. 6.
[76] *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, 176–7.
[77] Ibid. 164–5, 175–6, and esp. p. 175, l. 16.
[78] My citation is taken from sec. 58 of the *Timaeus* (tr. H. D. P. Lee, p. 81), beyond the point in the text which was supposed to have been available (according to Waszink) to the early Middle Ages. But the gloss in Cologne 193 and Leiden 36 is so close to what the *Timaeus* says as to make me wonder about this. In any case the gloss would be almost deducible from what Plato says about air in the part that was certainly available ('aer item crassior factus in nubes nebulasque concrescit', *Timaeus*, p. 47, l. 3) together with what Calcidius says in his *Commentary* about how the elements are not changeable or subject to contraries in their *essentia*, but only in their *qualitas* (ibid., p. 320, esp. ll. 17–18).

Besides the nine glosses added to Cologne 193 which I have found only otherwise in Leiden 36 (with the two exceptions also in Paris lat. 8671), there are fourteen others lifted directly from Remigius of Auxerre's *Commentary* on Martianus. These are largely, as one would expect, of an encyclopedic character. There is no overlap at all between the glosses shared by Cologne 193 and Leiden 36, and those taken in Cologne 193 from Remigius. With two exceptions—one which seems to represent a snatch of Eriugena (III, 1),[79] illustrating Leonardi's point that the Martianus commentators are not sealed off from each other, and the other which could have been written off the top of his head by anyone interested in the importance of rhetoric (III, 2)—every added gloss is either shared with Leiden 36, or comes from Remigius. And every Remigian gloss is taken from the commentary on Book II, or in one case, the *penula* a very fine garment made of silk (II, 14), from near the beginning of Book III. The key factor here is what part of Remigius' commentary Cologne possessed in the mid-tenth century. As I have mentioned, Books III–IX were copied at Cologne *c*.1000 (Cologne Ms. 194, fos. 57–155). These were added to Books I and II, which had been written in the west at least half-a-century earlier (Cologne Ms. 194, fos. 1–56). Obviously this earlier part of the manuscript was at Cologne at the latest by *c*.1000. But the use of this part, and only this part, by our Cologne scholar/glossator, would suggest that it was there before that time, and would also help to substantiate that he was writing before *c*.1000.

Now the reader may think that I have already momentarily overlooked that the last of these Remigian glosses comes from near the beginning of Book III. That fact, however, reinforces my point almost dramatically. For although the Cologne scribes of *c*.1000 in Ms. 194 began at the start of Book III, the earlier part of the manuscript—and this is not always noted—goes on into Book III, including the *penula* passage.[80] Presumably the reason for this highly unusual phenomenon was that Martianus carried on the allegorical interest of the first two books into Book III, before getting down to the brass tacks of the liberal arts

[79] Although Remigius of Auxerre, I, 203, deals with decani and *doniferi* (or *doriferi*), *Johannis Scotti Annotationes in Martianum* (Paris lat. 12960) is closer to our gloss, see ibid., p. 73, l. 9.

[80] Cologne Ms. 194, fos. 45v–56v have the first part of Remigius Book III, in the same early 10th-cent. hand as Books I and II, Book III beginning again in the Cologne hand of *c*.1000 at fo. 57r. The *penula* passage is fo. 46v, l. 20.

disciplines,[81] and that the scribe of the early part of Ms. 194 wanted to follow him there.

In case we seem to have been concentrating too much on the issue of fables in describing tenth-century Cologne culture, it should be stressed that these are only one instance of a wider and older problem, the whole relation of profane/classical literature to Christian scholarship. The tenth century did not much fight its intellectual battles in the open with literary broadsides; it was much more inclined to fight them through art, symbol, ceremony, and—now I am inclined to add—glosses.[82] Nonetheless one can see from floating pieces of evidence that this one was fought at that time with intensity. In the first place much of the most respected Christian literature that had been handed down was categorically against the position taken up by Bruno and the Cologne glosses, which were certainly no truisms. There were Bede's and Alcuin's warnings against the telling of heroic tales (Bede used the word *fabulae*) by monks.[83] There was Isidore of Seville's blanket condemnation, in his *Sentences* as in his *Etymologies*: the Christian is forbidden to read the figments of the poets, because through the amusement of inane fables they excite the mind to libidinous passions.[84] And there was a sermon of Caesarius of Arles, which, referring to the plagues of Egypt, opined that the plague of frogs 'may figuratively signify the verses of poets who give to this world stories of deception in a sort of lifeless affected rhythm like the croakings of the frogs'.[85] Very different was all this from the acceptance by Augustine of pagan culture as a morally neutral source,[86] or even from Gregory the Great, amidst his general disdain of secular culture, who thought the demons knew that by learning secular letters, Christians could be aided in spiritual knowledge.[87]

Odo of Cluny was pulled to and fro by this dilemma when he was at St Martin of Tours in his younger days. He fell in love, it seems, with Vergil, but 'there was shown him in a vision a certain vessel, most beautiful indeed outside, but full of serpents within. … He understood by the serpents the teaching of the poets, by the vessel in

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[81] Martianus, 58–9, the poem *Rursum camena parvo* (Dick 221–2). Tr. Stahl and Johnson, 64.

[82] e.g. Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale*, esp. chs. 2 and 3; Leyser, 'Ritual, Ceremony and Gesture'; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, e.g. i. 64–5; 135–7, 194–5.

[83] *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, Bede's *Life*, c. 27, p. 246; *Alcuini Epistolae*, no. 124, p. 183.

[84] Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, i, 44, 5; Isidore, *Sententiarum*, iii, 13, 1, *PL* 83, col. 685a.

[85] Caesarius, *Sermones*, no. 99, p. 404.   [86] Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, ch. 23.

[87] Cited by Markus, *Pope Gregory the Great*, 38–9.

which they were contained the book of Vergil; but the way which he had entered so eagerly he understood to be Christ.'[88] This vision did not stop him from going to Paris, where he studied Martianus Capella with, for his teacher (says his biographer), none other than Remigius of Auxerre.[89]

We do not have only Ruotger's word that Bruno studied the liberal arts and read the comedians. We know it from the opposition too. Thietmar of Merseburg tells us a story about a cleric called Poppo, presumably of the prominent Popponid kindred, who was a clerk of Dodo, an important chaplain of Otto I, as well as being apparently a royal chaplain in his own right (*is, cum imperatori diu fideliter serviret*). So this is very much a story about the Ottonian royal circle, and it apparently relates to a time when Bruno was still alive. Poppo had a vision during the last days of his life, when he was already seriously ill—he himself insisted that it was a waking vision rather than a dream in his sleep—which is the perfect example of dream and vision in early medieval politics. He was transported to a high mountain where he saw a great city with beautiful buildings. He then toiled up a lofty tower, at the top of which he merited the sight of Christ sitting with all his saints. There Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, was arraigned by the supreme judge, that is, Christ, for his inane practice of philosophy, but, defended by St Paul, he was again enthroned (*iterum inthronizatur*). Then Poppo himself was similarly charged, but, supported by saints, he heard a voice say: 'after three days you will come to me and take possession of the seat which I now show you.' He just had time to explain everything to the emperor before he died.[90] Bruno's practice of philosophy will at least have *included* in Thietmar's mind the study of such material as Fulgentius' *Mythologies* and Martianus glosses; for Macrobius, in writing of fables, mentions the kinds of fable which would or would not be acceptable to the philosophers;[91] and Thietmar was not innocent of Macrobius, citing him once directly and favourably in connection with auguries of the empress Theophanu's death.[92]

Since Poppo was accused of philosophy himself, it is obvious which side he was on amidst the gossip about Bruno and philosophy in the royal circle. But his vision shows that there were backbiters too; indeed

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[88] Odo of Cluny, *Vita*, I, 12, *PL* 133, col. 49a.   [89] Ibid. I, 19, *PL* 133, col. 52a.

[90] Thietmar of Merseburg, II, 16, pp. 56–8. *Re* this being a waking vision rather than a dream, p. 58, l. 9: 'non esse somnium sed veram affirmans visionem.'

[91] Macrobius, *Commentarii*, I, 2, p. 6, l. 2; p. 6, ll. 10–12.

[92] Thietmar of Merseburg, IV, 15, p. 148.

the vision narrative, at the time it circulated in royal circles, might almost be taken as a deliberate attempt to help Otto I vindicate his younger brother against his many detractors, exactly what Ruotger tried to do in his *Vita Brunonis*. Whether the efforts of Poppo and Ruotger were entirely independent of each other or not depends on whether the identification is rightly made between Folcmar, Bruno's successor as archbishop for whom Ruotger wrote, described by Ruotger as *protus et iconomus* at Cologne before his election, and the Poppo described in Bruno's will in exactly the same words.[93] If it is, Archbishop Folcmar and the Poppo of the vision may well have been related. In that case one would not quite be able to leave kinship allegiances even out of the ideological conflicts of the Ottonian empire.[94]

Another scholar of a like mind to Bruno in royal circles was Hrotsvita, a nun in the royal nunnery of Gandersheim. She modelled her plays, famously to us but notoriously to some people in the Ottonian empire, on the comedies of Terence, comedies containing just the kind of *scurrilia* which made others, but not Bruno when he read them, shake with endless laughter. Peter Dronke has advanced a hypothesis of great force that when Hrotsvita prefaced her plays with an *epistola ad quosdam sapientes huius libri fautores* (a letter to certain wise persons, favourers of this book)—so there were 'unwise' persons who did not favour it!—'Bruno must have been a leading figure among those wise favourers. Hrotswitha is overjoyed, that is, to have found favour, not in some monastery or other (as has generally been alleged), but at the court itself.'[95] When Hrotsvita produced her book of poetic legends, mostly about martyrdoms, she wrote in her Preface that when she began her work she did not know that the things she had resolved to work on were

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[93] Ruotger, c. 46, pp. 49–50, esp. p. 49, l. 36; and c. 49, p. 52, ll. 11–12. See Oediger, 151. The Popponids of whom we know in the 10th century, were a rather clerical bunch, see Thietmar of Merseburg, index, p. 569. But in fact they were, or were of, the Babenberger family, see Beumann, *Die Ottonen*, 23–5, and Pohl and Vacha, *Die Welt der Babenberger*, 43. It may be significant, therefore, that Folcmar was clearly a chaplain and confidante of Bruno from the beginning of Bruno's pontificate/dukedom, if Easter 954 is the correct dating for the incident of Hugh the Great's proposed crowning, given the involvement of Conrad the Red in the rebellion of 953–4, for the Babenberger and the Conradiner were great rivals, Beumann, 27, Pohl and Vacha, 43–4. Another 10th-century example of a cleric called both Folcmar and Poppo was Poppo, bishop of Utrecht (976–91), a church closely connected to Cologne. He had been a court chaplain and chancellor, see Thietmar of Merseburg, IV, 1, p. 130, l. 31, and p. 131, n. 8.

[94] For kin and conflict in general, Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, chs. 1–4.

[95] Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages*, 57. For Sedulius Scotus' use of Terence to draw morals, see above, n. 49 of this chapter.

held up to doubt, adding: 'when I came to know it, I refused to undo the work, since what seems falsity may perhaps prove truth (*quia quod videtur falsitas, forsan probabitur esse veritas*).'[96] This is a version of the doctrine of the Cologne glosses in Ms. 193. If one may propose another hypothesis to put up alongside that of Dronke, mine would be that this saying of Hrotsvita seems most readily explicable if one assumes her familiarity with talk concerning truth without intermixture of fables not observing the usage of the poets, talk in the circle of Bruno at Cologne which found expression in Martianus glosses. The plays and legends are generally considered to have been composed before Hrotsvita's *Gesta Ottonis* (*c*.965), and so in Bruno's time as archbishop of Cologne.[97] Of course, Hrotsvita in the Preface of her plays warns against the dangers of reading Terence; those who profess to read the pagan authors for their mellifluous style, she writes, nonetheless 'become tainted by coming to know the impious subject matter', and she claims to have kept at arm's length 'the baleful delights of the pagans'. But as Dronke neatly puts it, 'she says little of what she really means and means almost nothing of what she says'.[98]

The din of battle over these issues of profane culture echoes more than once in Martianus glosses, which one might have thought the very fields of peace and calm in early medieval scholarship. One 'Martin of Laon' gloss in particular illustrates this. The gloss comments on a distressing episode for Philology, of a kind that can happen before weddings. The following is Martianus' text in translation:[99]

After the maiden had with travail brought forth from deep inside herself [a euphemism, of course] all that store of literary reproduction, worn out and pale with exhaustion, she asked help from Immortality, who had witnessed such a great effort. The latter said, 'Drink this so that you may be borne up and rise to heaven reinvigorated.'

The gloss reads:

Omnia quae vomuit Philologia ad significationem mundanorum studiorum posita sunt. Humana enim studia aliquando fallunt, quia in hac vita artium veritas operari [*recte* 'aperiri' as in Laud 118, fo. 13v] non potest. Ideoque

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[96] *Hrotsvit*, ed. Berschin, p. 1, ll. 15–16.
[97] See ibid., pp. viii–ix; Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages*, 75.
[98] Dronke, *Women Writers*, 69, and more generally, 56–70.
[99] Martianus, 43 (Dick 139); tr. Stahl and Johnson, 48. References to the gloss come in the text immediately below. For this gloss, see now Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres*, 283–4.

inflantur quasi quodam superbie tumore [118 and Besançon 594 have humore] illi qui illis utuntur. Per illud vero sorbillandum, id est poculum quod Philologiae dederat, veritas artium quae solis immortalibus et veritatem contemplantibus manifestabitur apertissime significat [118 'significatur'].

All the things which Philology vomited up are posited to signify earthly studies. Human studies sometimes err, because in this life the truth of the [liberal] arts cannot be realized [or 'opened up']. Therefore those who use them are inflated as if with the swelling of pride. Through the sipping of the drink which [Immortality] gave to Philology, the truth of the [liberal] arts, which will only be manifested to immortals and those contemplating the truth, is obviously signified.

One would think this a startling backtracking on everything that commenting on Martianus was supposed to involve. In effect it despairs of the usefulness of the liberal arts. To say that, like Hrotsvita in her prefaces, the glossator does not really mean it but is only guarding himself against the opposing view of the Christian purists where profane literature is concerned, itself acknowledges that there is an opposing view which needed guarding against. This gloss is in most of the manuscripts with the hard core of 'Martin of Laon' glosses in them, if one may speak that way without implying that there would necessarily be found a fully formed fruit to go round that core. It is in Leiden BPL 88, fo. 25v, in Leiden BPL 87, fo. 21v, in Leiden Voss. lat. F 48, fo. 14v, in Oxford Laud lat. 118, fo. 13v, and Besançon 594, fo. 12r (the readings in the last two of which slightly give the impression of belonging to an older and better recension). It is lacking, however, in Leiden BPL 36 and Cologne Ms. 193. It is also lacking in Paris lat. 8669 and 8671, not that these are by any means hard-core 'Martin of Laon', but they do have versions of the *Si veritas sola* gloss (Gloss I, 5). One can almost formulate a rule that if a manuscript has the gloss *Omnia que vomuit Philologia*, it will not have *Si veritas sola*, and vice versa; it will not have the two extreme statements of opposite positions sitting unresolved together. There is an implication here that the provision of these glosses to a text was anything but the mindless activity of copying dead wood from some exemplar that one might sometimes suppose it. And, given the Cologne additions, there is an implication about the deliberateness of choice made at Cologne in the acquisition of Ms. 193 and its glosses, before the further glosses were added there.

The battle seems to be carried on even into the brief marginalia and interlineations which accompany the poem at the beginning of Book III (besides *Si enim veritas* and *lepus*, Appendix, Glosses I, 5, 6). It is quite a picture of defence of fables by Leiden 36 and Cologne 193 against the snipings of Leiden 88, for instance, and others. Here are a few examples:

(i) *Fictis*

Leiden BPL 36 (= 36)	*fabulis*, i.e. fables
Cologne Ms. 193 (= 193)	(for *amicta fictis*, wrapped up in fictions) *anapestus poetarum*, i.e. a metrical foot of poets (seeming by implication to accept the fictions and simply to explain the scansion)
Leiden BPL 88 (= 88)	*non veris figmentis*, i.e. non-true figments

(ii) *Infracta*

36	*immutilata vera*, i.e. to say the unaltered truth
193	*non fracta*, i.e. not refracted (through poetry or fables)
88	*in fabulas versa* (margin), i.e. turned into fables; and interlined: *mendacia dubia vel ambigua*, i.e. dubious or ambiguous falsehoods

(iii) *Lasciva*

36	*fabulas*. Adds in the margin: *per lascivias res venustat paginam quando per fabulas veritatem demonstrat* (written in another hand from but contemporary with the main gloss hand), i.e. through licence one graces the page when one shows up the truth through fables
193	*falsitatem* (Cologne hand) *facundie*, i.e. the falsity of eloquence
88	(baldly) *falsa*, i.e. false things

(iv) Mythos

36	*Graece fabula*, *inde liber mitologiarum*, i.e. the Greek for fabula, whence the Book of Mythologies (apparently indicating Fulgentius' *Liber Mitologiarum* as a source for fables)
193	*fabulas*
88	seems to have no comment on this word

(v) *Ad haec iocante rictu*, i.e. ' "but", I [Martianus] cried, "in the previous book notice is given that the myths have been put away and that the precepts in the volumes which follow are a work of those Arts which tell

that which is the truth." But with a laugh she [the Muse] joked at this (*ad haec iocante rictu*) and said, "let us tell no lies, and yet let the Arts be clothed. Surely you will not give the band of sisters [i.e. the seven liberal arts] naked to the bridal couple." '[100]

36	*Vox camenae*, *irrisoria vox*, i.e. the voice of poetry, a scornful voice	
193	*id est contra hec dicta*, i.e. against what has just been said, and, *id est dissoluto risu, scilicet respondit satira*, i.e. dissolved in laughter, namely satire responds (all this in the Cologne hand of the gloss additions)	
88	*nec risu ludente, id est serio, sobrie, sine ludo sequimur*, i.e. we follow (the Arts), not with play and laughter but seriously, soberly and without sportiveness	

Although the gloss in Leiden 88 is interlined above *ad haec iocante rictu*, it seems rather to refer to the previous words, on putting away myths and dealing with the Arts which tell the truth in what follows. It appears to be hostile to the behaviour, and laughter, of the Muse. On the other hand, in Leiden 36 the surface neutrality of the gloss would appear to approve of the Muse's laughter. The gloss in Cologne 193, which is one of those added at Cologne in the tenth century and thus has particular interest, is the least clear of the three in meaning. But the reason why it is unclear is possibly the most interesting point about it. What Ruotger says about Bruno, not like others creasing themselves with laughter (*concrepantes risu*) when they read the comedies, but always reading them seriously (*semper serio*),[101] looks exactly a defence against the kind of disapproving observation made in Leiden 88. As if Cologne 193 were saying, in line with Ruotger and at Cologne about the same time, that of course uncontrolled laughter is wrong; one has to understand, however, that the Muse's laughter is not literal but a satirical image against the literal-minded words of Martianus.

7.3. CONCLUSION

In the tenth century Martianus meant different things to different people. At St Emmeram, Regensburg, an early eleventh-century manuscript

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[100] Martianus, p. 59, ll. 1–9 (Dick 222); tr. Stahl and Johnson, 64.
[101] Ruotger, c. 8, p. 9, ll. 4–5.

(Clm 14271) shows that to a great extent the commentary of Remigius of Auxerre was dominant, but Remigius used selectively and thoughtfully. Here there is nothing on the Gorgonian fountain or on truth and fable. At that great centre of Pseudo-Dionysian study,[102] however, someone picked up the phrase of Martianus in Book II concerning 'the brightness of Jove's planet, whose circle rang with Phrygian sound',[103] in order to dilate in the margin on the difference between celestial and terrestrial music, a favourite theme of Eriugena and his follower Remigius (fo. 10va):

In hoc differt musica celestis a terrestri, quia in quantum sunt breviores fistule sine corde in terrestri, tranum acutiorem sonitum reddunt; et quantum sunt longiores tantum graviorem. In caelesti vero musica, quantum sunt angustiores circuli planetarum tantum sunt e contrario graviores ut est in circulo lune; quantum autem longiores vel vastiores, tantum acutiores ut in circulo Saturni.

In this celestial music differs from terrestrial, that the shorter the pipes *sine corde*, the higher pitched their sound in terrestrial music, and the longer they are the deeper their sound. But in celestial music, the nearer the circles of the planets are to each other, the deeper their sound, as is the case in the circle of the moon; but the longer and more vast the distances, the higher pitched as in the circle of Saturn.

This is clearly Remigius, but rearranged and simplified as an exposition for clarity's sake.[104] It finds no place, of course, in Cologne 193.

Nonetheless, the Cologne interest in fables and their role in representing moral truth, such as is found in tenth-century Cologne, persisted into the Twelfth-Century Renaissance, as Peter Dronke has shown in a discussion of William of Conches. It was no merely passing concern. Whereas Aquinas was against the teaching of divine matters in a poetic and fabulous way (*poetice et fabulariter*), William of Conches took a different view.[105] He actually argued against the conclusions of Macrobius who said that only some kinds of fable, such as had overt moral point, were suitable for expressing the truth. Even if the matter of a fable were base, William maintained, for instance in containing adulteries, it could still be beautiful for what it meant. Literally it might belong to *turpia*, but metaphorically to *honesta*.[106] Fulgentius' *Mythologies*, used by the Martianus glossators, had plenty of examples that would fit this. William

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[102] e.g., see Cohen, *The Uta Codex*, pp. 81–4.
[103] Martianus, 53–4 (Dick 196); tr. Stahl and Johnson, 59.
[104] *Remigii Autissiodorensis Commentum*, I, 202.
[105] Dronke, *Fabula*, 3, n. 1.   [106] Ibid. 16–17, 25–8.

also addressed himself to Macrobius' distinction between nature and her covering (*integumentum*), the fabulous covering. If one took the Bible, he thought, one could see that the *integumentum* could be almost the *veritas* itself, because in certain vital aspects of metaphysics and doctrine our only hope of knowledge was by *imago* where one could not know directly. An *integumentum* was where *veritas* could be perceived beneath it.[107] William of Conches, as well as showing that the whole issue was a live one over centuries, may help us to see the grounds on which a tenth-century scholar might think Macrobius actually too restrictive in his allowed uses of fables. Dronke has said that how original William of Conches was needs to be established with a full survey of manuscripts of Macrobius' *Commentum*.[108] We may whole-heartedly agree with this while also allowing glosses in Martianus manuscripts their look-in.

The highly charged debate, as one can discern it to have been, about fables in the tenth century was not only about fables as such or their use by the educated elite. If it had been so, one may doubt if it would have been so charged. The tenth century was an age of high symbolism, and Martianus Capella was a symbol. The debate was about the whole way in which the cosmos and cosmic morality should be understood. On the side of Bruno and Ruotger, the writers Prudentius, Boethius, and Martianus all provided means to expand and articulate a ruler ethic, to help those who ruled to graft profane learning and eloquence onto their sacral character.

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[107] Ibid. esp. 25, 28–30, 47–55.   [108] Ibid. 5, n. 2.

Texts of Principal Glosses to Martianus Capella Added to Cologne Ms. 193 at Cologne in the Tenth Century

I. GLOSSES IN COLOGNE 193 AND LEIDEN 36, NOT IN REMIGIUS OF AUXERRE

Page references are to the 1983 edition of *Martianus Capella*, ed. James Willis (Leipzig).

1. Martianus, p. 48, ll. 9–10, Dick 162; 193, 25r; 36, 19r

Coniunctio corporis vel congestio anime

2. Martianus, p. 48, l.16, Dick 164; 193, 25r; 36, 193

Species demonum qui in similitudinem aquilae nocent hominibus

3. Martianus, p. 51, ll. 10–11, Dick 181; 193, 27r; 36, 20r

Aliter, Monstrum diabolicum, et est proprie nital voluptas manendi in concupiscentia carnis

Ambifarium que mitale, quasi metos telos, id est finis et principium, finis caliginum aeris interioris, principium puri aetheris

4. Martianus, p. 52, l. 20, Dick 190; 193, 27v; 36, 20v

Te enim lux noctis est illuminando lunam et stellas, cerulum enim est nigrum cum viride

5. Martianus, p. 58, ll. 12–16, Dick 221; 193, 31v; 36, 22v

193. Si enim veritas sola sine intermixione fabularum semper manet, usus poetarum non observatur.
id est non fracta, hoc est in fabulas non versa.

36. Si enim veritas sola sine intermixione fabularum semper dicatur, usus poetarum non observabitur. Poetalem quippe fabulae veritatem ostendunt.

8671, 17v. Si enim veritas sola sine intermixtione fabularum semper dicatur usus poetarum non observabitur. Rethorum: quia usus rethorum per fabulas veritatem ostendere

8669, 20r. Si enim veritas sine aliqua fictione dicatur, dicitur hanc non esse pulchra(m).

6. Martianus, p. 58, l. 17, Dick 221; 193, 31v; 36, 23r

193. Lepus quasi levi pes quia velox est animal, et annuatim sexum mutat. Ideo per illud eloquentia figuratur, que velox est et non servat genus

36. Lepus dicitur quasi levi pes quod velox animal est, et annuatim sexum mutat. Eloquentia per illum figuratur, que velox est et genus non servat.

8671. Quia velox animal lepus est et unoquoque anno sexum mutat. Ideo etc. *as in 193.*

7. Martianus, p. 62, l. 15, Dick 231; 193, 34r; 36, 24r

Tria sunt quibus omnis collocutio disputatioque perficitur: res, intellectus, voces. Res sunt quas animi ratione percipimus intellectuque discernimus; intellectus quibus res ipsas addiscimus; voces quibus id quod intellectu capimus significamus. Preter hec tria est quiddam quod significat voces. Hae sunt litterae.

8. Martianus, p. 62, 1. 18, Dick 231; 193, 34r; 36, 24v

Nulla oratio secundum naturam sit sed secundum usum, quia quicquid naturale est, non est mutabile.[1] Plato dicit omnen locutionem constare secundum naturam, aristoteles secundum placitum.

[1] *From here 36 has only* Natura est ut formetur nomen et verbum, usus est narratio.

9. Martianus, p. 70, ll. 16–17, Dick 265; 193, 39v; 36, 27v

Non secundum veritatem sed secundum auctoritatem[1] et usum

[1] *36 omits* et usum

II. GLOSSES IN COLOGNE 193 AND REMIGIUS OF AUXERRE, NOT IN LEIDEN 36

Remig. = *Remigii Autissiodorensis Commentum in Martianum Capellam*, ed. Cora E. Lutz, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1962, 1965). I have omitted a few other tiny

snatches of Remigius in the Cologne hand, a few small interlinings by it, and a few notes of subject matter in the margins of Book III.

1. Martianus, p. 33, l. 10, Dick 116; 193, 16r; Remig. i. 158

Quidam codices habent geminata, id est aucta vel duplicata decore orientis solis

2. Martianus, p. 33, l. 13, Dick 116; 193, 16r; Remig. i. 158

Nam egredientes a caulis ad pastum cum impetu quatiunt ipsas caulas

3. Martianus, p. 34, l. 20, Dick 119; 193, 17r; Remig. i. 162

Coraula proprie qui cornu canit sicut [*193 has* sive] bubulcus

4. Martianus, p. 36, l. 17, Dick 122; 193, 17v; Remig. i. 165

Vertigines circulorum celestium quibus limmata id est semitonia constant

5. Martianus, p. 37, l. 20, Dick 124; 193, 18r; Remig. i. 166

Quid aruspices in aris Sabaeorum cognoscunt, tu praevertis sapientia

6. Martianus, p. 42, l. 13, Dick 136; 193, 20v; Remig. i. 174

Carbasus est genus lini mollissimi

7. Martianus, p. 45, ll. 7–10, Dick 149; 193, 22v; Remig. i. 181

A fluoribus seminum quia liberat feminas a partu

8. Martianus, p. 46, ll. 22–5, Dick 153; 193, 23r; Remig. i. 181

Plato angelos et demones animalia vocat

9. Martianus, p. 50, l. 21, Dick 176; 193, 26v; Remig. i. 193

Testudo est genus animalis durissimo corio protectum

10. Martianus, p. 52, ll. 8–9, Dick 186; 193, 27v; Remig. i. 198

Stelle enim frigide solis calore temperantur

11. Martianus, p. 52, l. 9, Dick 186; 193, 27v; Remig. i. 198

Continens a velocitate quando eas retro gradas facit

12. Martianus, p. 52, l. 11, Dick 187; 193, 27v; Remig. i. 198

In ordine enim planetarum quartum locum tenet sol, sive circum annum dicit

13. Martianus, p. 55, ll. 15–16, Dick 205; 193, 29v; Remig. i. 205

APAX Pater, DIS filius, EPICHINA super omnia praeterita et futura

14. Martianus, p. 60, l. 3, Dick 223; 193, 32v; Remig. ii. 2

Penula est vestis subtilissima de serico facta

III. GLOSSES IN COLOGNE 193 WHICH ARE NEITHER IN LEIDEN 36 OR REMIGIUS OF AUXERRE

1. Martianus, p. 54, l. 21, Dick 200; 193, 29r

Decanis qui et doniferi dicuntur qui aliis ferunt dona

2. Martianus, p. 59, ll. 27–8, Dick 223; 193, 32v

Nil prodest grammatica sine facundia verborum

Conclusion to Chapters 3–7: Ruler Ethic

In the introduction it was stated that this book was about the intellectual culture of rule under the Ottonians as represented at Cologne, and that it attempted to place in an intellectual context an important segment of tenth-century politics. That segment is the rule of Bruno of Cologne, as archbishop, as duke of Lotharingia, and as an intimate associate in the kingly rule of his elder brother, Otto I. It may seem, however, that in the last five chapters the issue of the intellectual culture of rule has been rather overlaid with detailed considerations about annotations and their relationships to each other; rather in the way that in a murder trial detailed arguments about medical evidence could sometimes partially obscure the fact for days on end that someone was on trial for their life, or nowadays for a hefty prison sentence. Hence it may be no bad idea to bring ourselves back, briefly but directly, to the subject of rule and its intellectual underpinning. For the Ottonian period was one in which, as I have said, there was minimal theorizing in writing about rule, much less, for instance, than under the Carolingians. Hence we have to find the Ottonian ideology, or notions, of rule in more elliptical forms of expression, such as art, ceremony, symbolic communication—and glosses to some of what were then regarded as the great works of the Latin West.

It is of the essence to remember that works such as the *Letters* and *Pastoral Care* of Pope Gregory the Great, Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, Boethius' *Arithmetic* like his *Consolation of Philosophy*, and Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Mercury and Philology* were works of fundamental importance in the Ottonian court culture (for the meaningfulness of speaking about an Ottonian court culture, notwithstanding that the court was itinerant, see above in Chapter 1, pp. 57–8). They had been so under the Carolingians and were so again under the Ottonians. Martianus Capella's allegory, for instance, especially in Book

II, which was of such particular interest in tenth-century Cologne, was about a wedding in the *court* of the gods, between eloquence and 'philology', with the latter's seven bridesmaids the seven liberal arts. Although it was generally agreed, from Cicero and Augustine, followed by standard prefaces to glosses on Martianus, that wisdom (the province of Philology and of her bridesmaids) was more important than eloquence, eloquence was still vital for the teacher. Since the time of Charlemagne, if not of his father Pepin III, it had been a commonplace of the clerical construct of rule that the ruler was a teacher of his people, even if churchmen conveyed his teaching by proxy. The eloquence of Bruno, both as archbishop and as duke, is stressed by Ruotger, and Ruotger's observation that Otto I was a good judge of the kind of issues discussed in Bruno's 'seminars' suggests that he envisaged some kind of teaching role for Otto himself.

The need for eloquence in those who ruled, very much in bishops, raised contentious issues about the usefulness or otherwise of classical imagery, myths, and fables to support it. These issues were fought out in early medieval glosses to Martianus. They were fought out also within Otto I's court, to judge by Thietmar's obviously court story about the vision of one Poppo concerning Bruno's arraignment before Christ for indulging in 'inane philosophy'. It may have been the case that even before he became archbishop, while he was still much on the royal itinerary, Bruno had made himself unpopular with some of the court intellectuals or chaplains on this account.

If we move back in the order of our chapters from Martianus to Boethius' *Arithmetic*, it is clear that this book was established within the court culture of the ninth and tenth centuries, like Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* which was the subject of one of the English King Alfred's translations. The handsome copy of the *Arithmetic*, made for the Carolingian Charles the Bald, with its fine frontispiece illustrating the quadrivium in female personifications, showing arithmetic as the teacher of the other three disciplines, survives as Bamberg Ms Class. 5. It must have come down with the Ottonian collection of books, which Otto III's successor Henry II gave to Bamberg Cathedral after he had founded it in 1007. Otto III had asked Gerbert of Aurillac to instruct him in the subject of arithmetic. We have seen how Gerbert's answer, with its cosmic understanding of the importance of the subject for rule, fitted very well to the sense of the

glosses on the book present at tenth-century Cologne. The usefulness of liberal arts study, and of arithmetic in particular, so I have argued, must have seemed to Bruno and to Ruotger to lie not in the arts of calculation, nor even in the training of the mind, so much as in the knowledge of a Platonist, universal order of creation, an understanding of which was indispensable in some quasi-sacramental sense for rulers.

If we move back one step more in the order of our chapters to Prudentius, whether Prudentius may be considered part of Ottonian court culture or not depends perhaps on whether the *Psychomachia*, a central work for Bruno himself, is court culture. It surely is. Peace is to the *Psychomachia* the greatest virtue—peace or concord; to Ruotger it was the food to other virtues. This was the peace, Augustinian and Gregorian, for which Bruno struggled in his rule of Lotharingia, according to Ruotger. Peace and stability are emphasized in our glosses to the *Psychomachia*. So is an ecclesiological interpretation, and as Ruotger saw Bruno's struggles for peace in the light of countering dissension in the church, that is relevant also for Ruotger's perception of Bruno's rule as duke of Lotharingia. The zeal with which the glosses interpret Prudentius' military language shows that we are here very much located in the higher culture of the Ottonian warrior aristocracy.

If the Prudentius glosses are mainly relevant to Bruno's rule as duke of Lotharingia, the annotations at Cologne to Pope Gregory the Great's *Letters* are mainly so to his rule as an archbishop. Ruotger wanted to show that the Gregorian, pastoral approach was by no means incompatible in the one man with the taking up of arms to fight for peace. Moreover, below the *Letters* in Ruotger's probable interpretation of Bruno is the bedrock of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. Although this influential book was perceived in the early Middle Ages as primarily a guide to episcopal rule, as seen from Alcuin's advice to Eanbald II of York or King Alfred's circulating it to his churchmen, in one of its central ideas—that rule was principally a matter of discerning how different sorts of people should be variously treated—it was also regarded as setting out a philosophy for all rule. One sees this kind of discernment, which could equally be derived from what the Rule of St Benedict says about the rule of an abbot (Gregory and Benedict are of one sixth-century Italian culture), already in several of the late ninth-century tales about Charlemagne in Notker of St Gall's *Deeds of Charlemagne*. It is very doubtful that Ruotger knew this work,

but Notker and he may be considered heirs to the same Gregorian tradition.

Hence I would submit that it is reasonable to propose that the ruler ethic which is laid out in Ruotger was also articulated and is expanded in a more diffused way in a number of the glosses and annotations in tenth-century Cologne.

8

Edition of the Glosses to Boethius' *De Arithmetica* in Cologne Ms. 186

8.1. THE MANUSCRIPT IN COLOGNE BY *C*.1000

I have already argued that the glosses to Boethius' *Arithmetic* in Cologne Ms. 186 were written into the manuscript later indeed than the ninth-century western hand of the text, but still well within the tenth century (pp. 147–8). That is suggested by the old forms of some of the letters such as the *N* at the beginnings of words with its low descender in front and low cross-bar, and by the radical lack of word separation even when the scribe had oceans of space in the margins or gave it to himself by resorting to the foot of the page. No palaeographer to whom I have shown photographs of this script has thought that it could be later than the tenth century. I have also said that the gloss hand is not anything like a known Cologne hand, and hence there seems no question of the glosses having been written into the manuscript *after* it came to Cologne. This conclusion might conceivably be mistaken, for two reasons. First, there is very little to go on by way of tenth-century Cologne script before the end of the tenth century. But if it is an otherwise unknown Cologne hand from earlier in the century, while that may destroy my point that the manuscript came to Cologne (or to Bruno) with the glosses already in it, it would make my more important point that the glosses were of real interest at Cologne in the mid-tenth century. Second, it could be that a scribe from elsewhere wrote the glosses into the manuscript at Cologne when the manuscript was already there. Such things certainly happened. That would make the same point. All in all, however, it seems to me likeliest that the manuscript came to Cologne with its glosses already in it, and was indeed acquired primarily for the sake of the glosses (see pp. 148–9). All the glosses appear to be written in one hand, except for *Est autem* (no. 52) and *Profundissimam* (no. 53), which are written in different hands from the others and from each other,

but they are still undoubtedly tenth-century. The glosses therefore fall within a date to have commanded the interest of Bruno, or at the very least to have met an interest soon afterwards which he himself had initially stimulated by his zeal for the study of the liberal arts.

Boethius' *Arithmetic* is bound, in Cologne Ms. 186, with Macrobius' *Commentary* on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, itself a text of interest in connection with Martianus Capella. The text of the Macrobius, according to Bischoff, is German of the late ninth or early tenth century, and so is to be originally localized somewhere quite different from the ninth-century, western, Boethius text.[1] The Macrobius has some distinctively Cologne marginalia of the tenth-century (see above, pp. 211–12). At the top of the last folio of its last quire (Cologne Ms. 186, fo. 120r), written in an early medieval hand, are the words *scae colon*, i.e. *sanctae coloniae*, proof that the Macrobius was at Cologne in the early Middle Ages.

A close look at the quiring of Cologne Ms. 186 (see Table 8.1), and the links in it between the Boethius and Macrobius texts, will now prove that the two were bound together *c*.1000, and that therefore the Boethius *Arithmetic* must have been in Cologne, with its glosses, wherever it came from, by *c*.1000. It should be emphasized that this latter date is a *terminus ad quem*, which means that it could have been in Cologne earlier.

The quiring of the *Arithmetic* is entirely regular, eight folios or four bifolia for each quire until the last (fos. 65–70), which has only three bifolia, the ninth-century scribe rightly anticipating that no more would be needed to complete his text. The text in fact ends on fo. 69v. After just one bifolium (fos. 71–2), to which we shall come in a moment, the quiring of the Macrobius *Commentary* on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* is again entirely regular. Thus we have fos. 1–70 from a western scriptorium of the ninth century which produced the Boethius, and what are now fos. 73–120 of Cologne Ms. 186 from the late ninth- or early tenth-century German scriptorium which produced the Macrobius *Commentary*, and in-between the bifolium, fos. 71–2. The text of the Macrobius begins not on fo. 73r but on fo. 75r, for the German scriptorium evidently intended to use the two folios, now 73 and 74, to copy the Cicero text on which Macrobius wrote his *Commentary*; but they never got round to doing so. Two folios would have sufficed for Cicero's text in the small and dainty hand of the German scriptorium where the

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[1] Bischoff, *Katalog*, i. 404.

Table 8.1. Quiring of Cologne Ms. 186

(a) Quires of Cologne Ms. 186

1–8	fos. 1–64	8 × 8
9	fos. 65–70	1 × 6
10	fos. 71–72	1 × 2
11	fos. 73–80	1 × 8
12	fos. 81–88	1 × 8
13–16	fos. 89–120	4 × 8

Fo. 70v, at foot, is marked as quire VIIII (i.e. 9). No quire numbers are given at fos. 72v or 80v. Fo 88v is marked as ij, i.e. 2.

(b) Folios straddling quires 9, 10, and 11

69v	End of Boethius' *Arithmetic*
70r	Arithmetical note in Cologne hand, late 10th century
70v–71r	Tables of *c*.1000 connected to Boethius' *Arithmetic*
71v	Beginning of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*
74r	End of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*
74v	Scarcely begun drawing of the world
75r	Beginning of Macrobius' text

Macrobius was written. They were not enough, however, for the good and firm but larger Cologne hand of the late tenth century or *c*.1000 which finally copied the Cicero in front of the Macrobius to which it belonged. Hence the need for the extra bifolium (fos. 71–2) in front of fo. 73, this scribe's Cicero text spreading over fos. 71v (not 71r) to 74r.

The reason why the Cicero text begins on fo. 71v and not 71r (71 being the first folio of the new bifolium) can only be that when this text was written, the arithmetical tables which occupy the opening of fos. 70v and 71r were already written, or at least planned. The tables occupy the last side of the last quire of Boethius' *Arithmetic* and the first side of the bifolium introduced to make up the composite manuscript of

the Boethius and Macrobius which we have today. These tables are not a regular accompaniment to the Boethius text;[2] but they were obviously placed where they are in relation to the *Arithmetic* and not to the Cicero and Macrobius texts; and their whole appearance, colour of ink, and so on also suggests that they are of the same date as the Cicero text which begins on the next leaf, fo. 71v. Hence the bifolium (fos. 71–2) links the Boethius and the Cicero/Macrobius texts, and wherever and whenever the Cicero was written, both the Boethius and the Macrobius texts must already have been present. The bifolium is obviously linked to the Macrobius text, but there is something else besides the arithmetical tables on fos. 70v and 71r which also link it to the Boethius text. As I have said, the Boethius text ends on fo. 69v, leaving one last folio of its last quire, fo. 70, originally unoccupied. The back of this folio (fo. 70v) got one half of the arithmetical tables which we have just discussed. On fo. 70r, however, is written an arithmetical text of seventeen lines beginning, *Si vis scire in natura numero quotam summam eligeris*, one of those popular Gerbert-like arithmetical conjuring tricks of the late tenth century.[3] The hand of this text is the same as that of the Cicero text on fos. 71v–74r (the quill but not the hand seems to change on its eighth line) (Pl. 4), or it is a hand so similar as to be clearly from the same scriptorium. Again, therefore, wherever and whenever the bifolium fos. 71–2 was written, the Boethius must have been there by that time.

As to the question where the bifolium was written, the answer can hardly be other than at Cologne, because the Macrobius has been at Cologne since the early Middle Ages, as has been said; and where the Macrobius was when the bifolium was written which links the Macrobius and the Boethius, there the Boethius also was. Besides which, there is no evidence that these two texts, which originated from widely different places, have ever been anywhere else but Cologne as a composite volume.

As to when the bifolium (and the rest of Cicero's text on fos. 73r–74r) was written, the answer must be *c*.1000. For the hand bears a notable similarity to those of Cologne Ms. 194, fos. 57–155, in the *ct* and *st*

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[2] I have not studied these tables, but they may relate to the multiplication tables found in mss. of Victorius of Aquitaine's *Calculus* or of Abbo of Fleury's *Commentary* of the early 980s on it, see *Abbo of Fleury*, ed. Alison Peden, pp. xlv–xlvii and 4–37.

[3] Such as in Gerbert of Aurillac's *Regulae Multiplicationis* or *Regulae Divisionis* of *c*.980, several items beginning *si multiplicaveris* or *si volueris dividere, Gerberti Opera Mathematica*, 6–22. There may be something also of Abbo of Fleury's exercise of generating multiples and resolving them again, *Abbo of Fleury*, ed. Alison Peden, pp. xxix, 85. See also White, 'Boethius in the Medieval Quadrivium', on the *Saltus Gerberti*, 170.

ligatures, for instance, the bowls of the *g*s, the abbreviations not least of *qua* as in *quasi* or *qualitatis*, and above all in the general style, or ductus, with its rather four-square appearance. If anything it seems a somewhat earlier hand than those of Cologne Ms. 194, for it has not quite the regularity of the latter, and Ms. 194 uses certain ligatures—of *ma* and *ni*—which would be characteristic of the Heribert-period manuscripts in the first two decades of the eleventh century but are not yet present in Ms. 186. Ms. 186 also makes more use of the ampersand symbol for *et*, particularly when these are the last two letters of a word. Cologne Ms. 194 contains the text of Remigius of Auxerre's *Commentary* on Martianus. Remigius' commentary on the first two books and well into the third were written in this manuscript (fos. 1–56) in the first half of the tenth century. I have shown strong reason to believe (see above pp. 216–17) that these folios of the manuscript were already at Cologne in the second half of the tenth century. Fos. 57–155, being the commentary on the last seven books and beginning again at the start of Book III, were written a good half-century after the first fifty-six folios, and if the first fifty-six folios were already at Cologne when fos. 57–155 were written, these latter folios must have been written at Cologne to complete the text of Remigius. At least three hands copied fos. 57–155,[4] but they are all in a similar style of writing to each other, and by general acceptance this latter part of Ms. 194 dates from the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries, or *c*.1000.[5] There are also analogies of both Ms. 186 (fos. 71v–74r) and Ms. 194 (fos. 57–155) with the style of writing in the Cologne Jerome commentary (Ms. 53, 985–99) and in the Psalter (Ms. 45), which Hoffmann regards as Cologne and dates 993–6.[6]

We therefore have a train of argument which goes: (i) wherever and whenever the text of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* was written on fos. 71v to 74r of Cologne Ms. 186, there in the same scriptorium the Boethius *Arithmetic* (now in the same manuscript) with its glosses must already have been present; (ii) that scriptorium must have been at Cologne, primarily because of the analogy between the style of writing of Cologne Ms. 186, fos. 71v–74r and that of Cologne Ms. 194, fos. 57–155,

[4] Cologne Ms. 194, fos. 57–155: Hand I, fos. 57r–90v, l. 19; Hand II, fos. 90v, l. 19–128v; Hand III, fos. 129r–155v, l. 24.

[5] e.g. Levison, *Das Werden der Ursula-Legende*, 78, n. 5; Jeffré, 'Handschriftliche Zeugnisse', 166. See plates 5, 8 of this book.

[6] Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, 466; and for analysis of Cologne Ms. 45 with illustrations of pages of this ms. and of Cologne Ms. 53, see Kottje, 'Schreibstätten und Bibliotheken', 155–63.

which can confidently be ascribed to Cologne, *c*.1000. Again it must
be emphasized that *c*.1000 is a *terminus ad quem*, and that if Boethius'
Arithmetic was at Cologne *c*.1000, there would be nothing to prevent it
having been present at Cologne in the third quarter of the tenth century.

Before the glosses were added to Cologne Ms. 185, perhaps half-a-
century after the text was written, a corrector was at work around 1000
in its margins. This corrector helps us to another argument that Ms.
186 was already at Cologne by *c*.1000. The text of Cologne 185 was a
good one, and the corrector had only three corrections to make, all of
omissions due to homoeoteleuton. They are as follows:

fo. 17r   ∴ *et a se ipso et ab alieno vocabulo*
               denominatas
fo. 17v   ∴ *hos communis numerorum mensura*
               metitur nisi forte unitas
fo. 61v   ⌢ *facias vel si duo semel*

Despite the different incorporation marks, I feel confident that all
three are in the same hand as each other. It is not easy to be certain
of such things when one lacks so many palaeographical elements and
has such small samples to go on; but I judge by colour of ink and
general appearance. Moreover, to make corrections in the margin of
one manuscript is so specialized an activity that there is a reasonable
supposition that the hand is one and the same if it looks similar from
one entry to another. It is not as if we were engaged in the much
more difficult business of comparing hands of marginalia in various
manuscripts. The hand of these corrections is certainly not the same
as, and is certainly earlier than, that of the gloss text. Each time, the
correction is set exactly against the relevant line. The corrector had not
to avoid glosses; they were not yet there. The conclusion suggests itself
that when Ms. 185 arrived in Cologne from elsewhere, it was corrected
by a doubtless Cologne hand from the text of Ms. 186, which was
already there. Every one of the omissions is in the text of Ms. 186.

The reader may wonder why I say that the corrector's hand is
doubtless Cologne. The answer is not only that it looks like it to
someone who has seen much Cologne script, but also because if a
manuscript seems paleographically to originate elsewhere, and there is
no evidence of its having ever been at any other location than Cologne,
and the marginalia are in a different hand from the text, it is, if not
proof, then a reasonable supposition that the marginalia were written at
its final resting place— Cologne.

If Ms. 83 was at Cologne during the tenth century, as it could well have been, one may wonder whether our corrector may not have been using this manuscript (where a quite distinct corrector was at work during the tenth century),[7] rather than Cologne 186 to correct and supply the omissions of Cologne 185. One may be quite sure that it was Cologne 186 rather than Cologne 83 which was used for the corrections. Although the two corrections at fos. 17r and 17v are in the text of 83 as well as of 186, the third at fo. 61v is not. Scribes often made a pig's ear of this section of text because of its multiple opportunities for homoeoteleuton. The point will be clear if we give the full text as it is in Friedlein's edition, and compare it with all the Cologne manuscripts, including Harley 3595. The words in square brackets in what follows are those which are supplied as marginal corrections.

Friedlein	*Namque si unum semel facias*
Cologne 186	*Namque si unum semel facias*
Cologne 185	*Namque si unum semel* [*facias*]
Cologne 83	*Namque si unum semel* —
BL Harley 3595	*Namque si unum semel* [*facias*]

Friedlein	*vel si semel unum semel, vel si duo semel*
186	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *vel si duo semel*
185	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - [*vel si duo semel*]
83	- - - - - - - - -
3595	[*vel*—*semel unum semel*]

Friedlein	*vel si tres semel*
186	*vel si tres semel*
185	*vel si tres semel*
3595	*vel si tres semel*

It will be immediately apparent from setting the text out in this form that the words in the margin at Ms. 185, fo. 61v, *facias vel si duo semel*, can only have been supplied, at Cologne, from the text of Ms. 186.

There is yet further evidence for the use of Ms. 186 rather than Ms. 83 by the corrector of Ms. 185. In the margin of 185, fo. 2r is the

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[7] e.g. Ms. 83, fos. 25v, 26r, 64r, 69r, 70v. This hand, or one like it, has also made corrections to Cassiodorus on *Orthography*, bound with the Boethius, e.g. at fos. 75r, 75v, 76r. There was another writer in the margin, who wrote opposite a passage of *Arithmetic*, II, 1, on superparticulars, with how much justification for his self-confidence I cannot judge, 'Hic erravit Boetius'! (fo. 33r).

word *difficultates*, which is not a correction, but glosses the phrase in the Preface, *subtilium fugas*. The same word is interlined above the same phrase, I think by the same hand, but in any case an early hand, in 186, fo. 1v, line 15. There is nothing of this in Ms. 83, fo. 2v, lines 6–7. Another piece of evidence may also be of significance. Just one of the corpus of glosses in 186 is found in a certainly earlier hand than all the rest of Ms. 185 (fo. 56r), and I am once again fairly sure that this is the hand of the same corrector. It is the one beginning *actu et opere* (no. 67). Why this one alone comes earlier than the others I do not know, but in Ms. 186 it is in the hand of the main glossator. Only Ms. 186 could have been used at Cologne for this early-bird gloss in Ms. 185.

All this amounts to less than proof by itself, but to another fairly strong indication that Cologne 186 was in Cologne by *c*.1000 at the latest, and in any case well before the mid-eleventh-century glosses were added to Ms. 185.

Twice the tables are turned and what looks to me like the hand of the same corrector has supplied omissions from the text of Ms. 186 in its margins. These are tiny omissions, even compared with those of Ms. 185, namely:

fo. 2r   ·/ *facilitatem*
fo. 68r   : *medii fuerint*,

but they suggest that the corrector was collating two books, in Lupus of Ferrières's method of a century-and-a-half previously,[8] used by many scholars since, for both the corrections of Ms. 186 are in the text Ms. 185.

We have seen that the period of Archbishop Heribert (999–1021) was one of new copying of liberal arts texts, on the whole rather advanced texts such as Calcidius and Boethius on *Music*. It would make sense if the copying and/or study of more basic texts, such as Remigius on Martianus, Boethius on *Arithmetic* and Macrobius on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, should have helped to lay foundations for this just previously.[9]

[8] Lupus of Ferrières' first letter provides a good example of his method. He asks Einhard to lend him Cicero's *De Inventione*. He already has a copy, but full of misreadings (*in plerisque mendosum*), and he wants Einhard's copy to collate with it, Lupus of Ferrières, *Correspondance*, I, 9. Lupus' autograph copy of Cicero's *De Oratore* shows that his talk about collating manuscripts was not mere talk, see Beeson, *Lupus of Ferrières*, 21–7. See also Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 92–3.

[9] I gratefully follow Autenrieth, 'Probleme der Lokalisierung und Datierung', that judgement of the cultural context needs to inform palaeographical judgment of date and localization.

8.2. TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE GLOSSES

Sigla of Manuscripts Used for the Edition of Glosses to Boethius' *De Arithmetica* in Cologne Ms. 186

A   Paris lat. 6639
B   Paris lat. 7184
C   Bamberg Class 6
D   Vienna 50
E   Cologne 186
F   Cologne 185
G   Paris lat. 17858
H   London, BL Harley 3595
J   Milan Ambrosiana, C. 128, inf.
K   Basel Univ. Bibl. AN III, 19

Stemma of the Gloss Texts
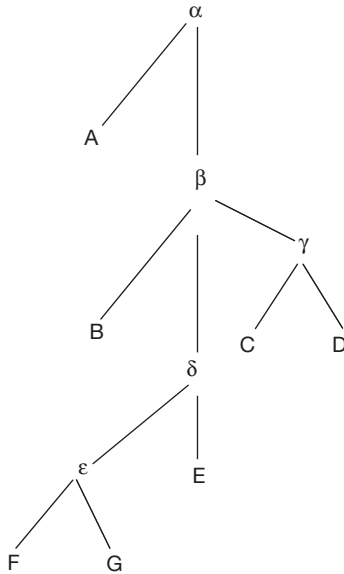
The evidence of these glosses, speaking paleographically, is concentrated in the period *c*.950–*c*.1050, with Vienna Ms. 50 perhaps a little later than 1050. We may be fairly confident, therefore, that the corpus was composed in the tenth century rather than earlier. The fact that during that time it survives in at least seven manuscript versions, in full or nearly in full, and that the small selections of glosses in H, J, and K are largely different from each other, suggests a considerable circulation in its time, as do deductions about non-surviving manuscripts drawn from the textual tradition. That there is scarcely any evidence of it after *c*.1050 suggests that by the second half of the eleventh century it was felt to have outlived its usefulness. But Boethius' *Arithmetic* itself did not cease to be of interest to scholars when our glosses so ceased, and hence these glosses contributed to the current of learning and wisdom that would flow into the Twelfth Century Renaissance.

It is very probable that the corpus was composed at Lyon. Lyon was a particularly notable centre of liberal arts study in the tenth century, as the *Miracles of St Aigulf* and the *Life of Maiolus*, abbot of Cluny, independently testify.[10] The earliest manuscript, not palaeographically but as judged by its place in the textual tradition, is A. This is said mainly on the grounds that it alone lacks several important and interesting glosses, particularly nos. 1, 2, 6, 52, and all the glosses on I, 32, nos. 53–60, which one has to suppose would have interested any tenth-century scholar who was copying the glosses and had had these in front of him. Moreover, A has several openings to glosses which it makes better sense to think of as dropped rather than adopted subsequently (especially notes to nos. 9, 34, 35). Yet A has readings or corruptions of its own, not reproduced in any other manuscripts (e.g. nos. 24, 72, 75, 113, 115), showing that it cannot be the archetype itself, even had the date of its script allowed, but one descendant of the archetype testifying (in its context if not its textual purity) more closely than any other manuscript to that archetype, which I call α.

Wherever the ninth-century text of A was written, its glosses were added in a considerably later hand, I would say of the late tenth century, and they were clearly written in at Lyon. For on fo. 88r, where the ninth-century scribe had left a space at the end of I, 11, the scribe of the glosses inserted the text of a *Reclamatio* concerning a church of the monastery of St Just, Lyon; and on fos. 99v–100r there is another text,

[10] Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété écclésiastique*, v (*Les Écoles*), 81. For the Carolingian tradition at Lyon, see Tafel, 'The Lyons Scriptorium', and Gibson, *Lanfranc*, 58.

at least that part of which is on fo. 100r being written in the same
hand as that of the *Reclamatio*, recording a *Privilegium* of Archbishop
Ascherius of Lyon dated 927, confirming to St Irenaeus and St Just,
Lyon, certain named churches and lands. That the *Reclamatio* is in
the same hand as that of the glosses, or at any rate one hand of them
(compare with e.g. fo. 82v), becomes clear to see after seven lines of its
text. For there was not nearly enough space to fit it in with comfort, and
so the hand gets tinier and tinier, until it is the same size as the glosses.
The *Privilegium* is likewise rather crammed in after I, 26 (fo. 99v) and
below an accompanying table (fo. 100r). I think the hand changes, in
mid-sentence, at fo. 100r, to become indubitably that of the *Reclamatio*
and glossator.

The *Reclamatio* is particularly interesting for our purposes. It is a
recitation by one Arnald, that during a (recent) vacancy of the see of
Lyon there were many troubles and depredations of church rights, but
then they had received as archbishop Borkard (or Burchard) of royal
stock, before whom Arnald had successfully claimed his right to St Just's
church of St Baldomer *de solamiaco*, which St Just had previously granted
to one Wido *soboni loco*. There were two archbishops of Lyon called
Burchard in the tenth century, one the brother (archbishop 949–56),
the other the bastard son (archbishop 979–1033) of King Conrad the
Peaceful of Burgundy.[11] The script of these documents seems to me
much more compatible in date with the second than with the first,
and the content would also fit to Burchard II's Statute of 984 for the
conservation of the temporal goods of the church of Lyon.[12] The text of
the *Reclamatio* might imply—though this is not conclusive—not only
that the case occurred early in the time of Archbishop Burchard, but
also that there had been reason to record it in the manuscript soon after
Arnald had made his *Reclamatio* and established his claim.

If I may digress for a moment, but still relevantly to one way of
viewing the *Arithmetic* in the later tenth century, which may shed light
on the attitude of Bruno and Ruotger to the liberal arts discussed

[11] Gadille, *Le Diocèse de Lyon*, 63, 68. Although the textual history of the glosses
in Cologne 186 makes it impossible that Cologne acquired their text directly from
Lyon, it may be noted that Bruno had his own connections with Lyon, having been
sent there to pacify it by Otto I in 959/60, according to the *Translatio Sancti Patrocli*
(see Bibliography). On his return he acquired for Cologne the relics of St Patroclus
from Ansigus, bishop of Troyes, using his protégé Eberacher, bishop of Liège, as an
intermediary.

[12] *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques de France: Départements*, xxx
(Paris, 1900), p. 630, no. 102, fo. 9v.

earlier, it is arresting that these charters recording the resolution of disputes should have been written into the text of Boethius at all. Francis Wormald familiarized us long ago with the idea that a gospel book should serve as an almost magical protection for charters and the agreements that they recorded, showing that in the 1140s the monks of Sherborne wrote into a gospel book the records of their dispute with the bishop of Salisbury, to stop him interfering again.[13] It might be thought from this that in the early Middle Ages the gospel text was considered to have a peculiarly potent magic in giving to such records an untouchable sacredness. But many books were thought to have a protective magical power, perhaps in part merely by being writing. To lives of the saints, or to books that saints had written, was attributed a miraculous aura—to a *Life of St Martin* by Odo of Cluny, to books written by the hand of St Columba by the monks of Iona.[14] In the sixth century, a *Life* of Nicetus of Lyon itself had been regarded as a sacred, miracle-working book.[15] Thus it seems to be, if not merely writing, texts of a certain kind, which lend themselves to being invested with magical/miraculous properties. I revert now, therefore, to a point made earlier about Boethius' *Arithmetic* (pp. 165–6), that this text might serve not only a holistic Platonist view of the cosmos, but also a holistic magical view. Hence it could seem that Boethius' *Arithmetic* was a particularly appropriate text to enfold the Lyon documents, where the gospels did not have a monopoly, yet where any text would not equally serve, regardless of what it was.

One must suppose that a copy of α passed on to another centre, as I would suggest north French or Lotharingian, where the glosses lacking in A were added, while a copy of α, left behind in Lyon, provided the exemplar for A, probably in the late tenth century, together with a whole other corpus of gloss material which so far as I know is distinctive of itself.

The point at which the glosses lacking in A entered the textual tradition is designated in the stemma as β. It will be seen from the variant readings, beginning with no. 1, that of the manuscripts which have the full corpus, including the glosses not in A, B has the purest text. It should be borne in mind in the study of these variants that I

[13] Francis Wormald, 'The Sherbourne Cartulary', 108–9.
[14] *Vita Odonis Cluniacensis*, II, 22, *PL* 133, cols. 72–3; *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, II, 44, pp. 450–2.
[15] Gregory of Tours, *Vitae Patrum*, Nicetus, c. 12, pp. 701–2.

have not followed one particular manuscript throughout and recorded the variants away from it in others, but have given the best text I could (with perhaps a preference for E, i.e. Cologne Ms. 186, when it was equal), and recorded variants in order to show up the relationship of the manuscripts (or the qualities of individual scribes). Thus the measure of B's purity is how relatively little it figures in the variants.

C and D share too many corruptions or variants with each other to have directly the same exemplar as B (e.g. 3, 27, 46, 57, 66); another derivative from β must be posited, which I call γ. No. 66 suggests that γ lacked at least one gloss which was present in β. I see no difference between C and D which cannot be accounted for by different readings of the same exemplar, or, as in no. 52, by D's trying to be clever. On the other hand, if the argument is accepted that the Bernhard glosses, which C and D both also have, entered first in C itself (see pp. 180–1), then the stemma would have to be modified in this way:
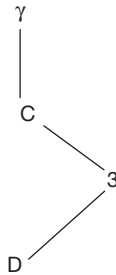
Before we reach Cologne 186, i.e. E, the point at which two major contaminations entered the text of the glosses is designated as δ. These are in nos. 56 and 71. No. 56 is near blasphemy; instead of 'evil arises from us and *is not* established by God the Creator', it has 'evil arises from us *for* it is established by God the Creator'. It was a scribal mistake easily made, where *non a*, written doubtless as *n̄a*, was seen as *nā*, with the abbreviation shifted from *n* to the *a*, making *nam*. But it was mindless to write it, and mindless to repeat it in the copying. It is in E and G, and was doubtless in F before someone later spotted the error and erased the relevant words. No. 71 is also ridiculous, if not at all blasphemous. Latitude and altitude are being compared, i.e. *altitudine latitudineque*, rendered meaninglessly in E, F, and G as *altitudine altitudineque*. There are other corruptions or peculiarities which all these share (e.g. nos. 20, 55, 69, 70), and there is a bad one which E and F share at no. 101,

where G lacks the gloss, but it looks as if *xxii* instead of *xxv* must also have been in δ. Now the sorts of scribal error made in nos. 56 and 71 are certainly the sorts of slip that anyone might make. But for three scribes to reproduce exactly the same slip in two separate cases (if not more), can only mean that the slips were already in an archetype common to them all.

We should stop here to reflect that if our stemma is so far correct, there must have been at least three manuscripts which have not survived or are still unknown, representing three different stages of the textual tradition of the glosses, which lie behind E, that is α, β, δ. And it should be remembered that although these are represented as if they were single manuscripts, any of these Greek letters could signify one or more manuscripts. Hence when Cologne acquired E in the time of Bruno or soon after, it was not actually acquiring a recherché text, but one which must already have been known at several centres.

E left no known progeny. There are various indications of this. In no. 118, for instance, the reading *disputatione* for *dispositione* was exactly the kind of slip to be repeated with gusto by scribes like those of the glosses of F and G. No such thing, however! There is also the fact that E alone of all manuscripts has not got any other body of material, or material at all, other than the glosses here edited.

F and G were clearly not derived directly from E, and they share together exactly the same body of material over and above that of E. The variants they share between themselves, but apart from E, are too many for them to be using directly the same exemplar as E's (e.g. 3, 5, 12, 35, 61, 65, 76, 78, 95, 105, 109, 112). These variants include some muffs like that at no. 109. Therefore ε must be posited as a common exemplar for F and G. F is a rogue scribe. His writing is neat, but his carelessnesses, homoeoteleuton, malapropisms, wrong numbers, are legion, and he also gives himself quite an air of authority as a glossator. To write in the margins of a fine book was to exercise an authority, and one should not overlook that some variant readings, when they do not duplicate others, may represent the personal preference of a scribe for a word order or a spelling, particularly in the case of a text like that of glosses on the *Arithmetic*, which was not a sacred text.

F, like E, left no known progeny. Both manuscripts have Cologne as their provenance, and it seems that no one came to Cologne to collate or transcribe glosses to the *Arithmetic*! Whether G, whose provenance was Notre Dame, Paris, can be accounted for only in terms of a shared

exemplar with F is doubtful. In particular, G seems to have also a model which brings it closer to α than one can say for F (e.g. nos. 5, 34, 52, 61). If that is the case it would require another modification of our stemma along the following lines:
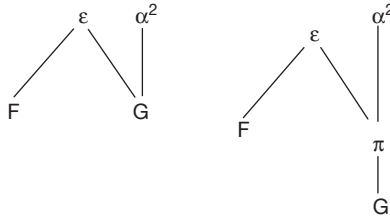
There is one possible exception to my earlier statement that E apparently left no progeny. I see no variant in the few glosses which H has taken from the corpus which is incompatible with their having been derived from E. H was a Cologne manuscript, by provenance and possibly by origin (or localization). And I see little to prevent J and K being in a tradition of α which had a life of its own, aside from the books in our stemma. It is impossible to give any provenance for K, and in truth for J, except that the latter could possibly have come from Bobbio, as I said (above p. 192).

8.3. TEXT OF THE GLOSSES TO BOETHIUS' *DE ARITHMETICA* IN COLOGNE MS. 186

(1) fo. 1v *re* p. 4, ll. 19–23   BCDE (m) F

Ieiuna oratio est sua imperfectione[1] ieiunos reddit. ut illa nichomachi quae ad evidentiam rerum istius formulis ac descriptionibus eguit.

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[1] *CD* Ieiuna oratio est quae perfectione; *E* Ieiune orationis suum perfectione; *F* Ieuna oratio est quae sua imperfectione; *only B has the text exactly as printed here.*

(2) fo. 1v *re* p. 4, l. 25   BCDE (m) F

Scilicet et non cuiuscumque minus periti sed tui vel superius iungendum ubi dicit experiare. Igitur licet etcetera. ut ibi reddatur cum tu utrarumque linguarum p(eritissimus).

(3) I, 1. fo. 2v, p. 7, l. 25   ABCDE (b) FGK

Quadrivium[1] dicit scientiam[2] iiijor disciplinarum[3] mateseos.[4]

   [1] *CDFG* Quadruvium.   [2] A dicitur scientie.
   [3] *CD have up to here*: Quadruvium vocat sectam (*recte* scientiam) quattuor disciplinarum liberalium vel doctrinalium.
   [4] *CDFG* add arithmetice geometrice (*omitted by D*) musice astronomice (*FG* astronomie)

(4) I, 1, fo. 3r, p. 7, l. 27   BCDE (m) FGK

Philosophi dicunt esse[1] intelligibilia videri[2] corporalia omnia.

          [1] *BCDK* esse dicunt   [2] *G adds another* esse

(5) I, 1, fo. 3r, p. 8, l. 6   ABCDE (b) FG

[1]Quae significant aliquid quod habetur ut grammaticus dicitur qui[2] habet grammaticam[3], et togatus quia[4] habet togam quae ex dispositione descendunt. Dispositio enim est habende rei preparatio[5].

          [1] *FG begin* Habitudines sunt   [2] *E* quia
          [3] *A* togam grammaticam; *G* gramaticam togam   [4] *CD* qui *F* quam
          [5] *A omits* preparatio

(6) I, 1 fo. 3r, p. 8, l. 15   BCDE (m) FGK

Esentiam[1] autem[2] modo ponit pro his rebus quibus in est esentia[3]. Per id quod continetur id quod continent designans.

          [1] *BF* essentiam   [2] *FK omit* autem   [3] *BF* essentia

(7) I, 1, fo. 4v, p. 11, l. 14   ABCDE (m) FGK

Pro ad se[1] , sed adversus se dixit propter dimidium et sesqualterum[2] et sesquitertium in quibus inaequalitas est relationis.[3]

   [1] *AC begin here; D has only* Pro ad se *interlined, then stops (no room in his margin here, perhaps!)*
   [2] *E* sessqualterum   [3] *E* ralationis

(8) I, 1, fo. 4v, p. 11, l. 24–p. 12, l. 3   BCDE (m) FG

Neque enim haec in subtilissimo elemento quod est ignis ex primi possunt cum hoc et crassum elementum id est aqua contemnat[1] sed a geometrica in astrologiam trahuntur.

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[1] *BDG* contempnat

(9) I, 1, fo. 4v, p. 11, l. 19   ABCE (b) FGK

[1]Emolia[2] quasi semialta. recipit enim totum[3] minus et ei[4] dimidium quae simphonia sescupla dicitur.[5] Epogduus[6] est numerus qui intra se habet minorem et insuper eius octavam partem. ut sunt octo ad novem quia in novem octo sunt et in super eius octava pars id est unum.[7] Hic numerus parit sonum[8] quem tonum musici vocant.[9]

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[1] *A alone begins before* emolia: Idem sesqualtera ut sunt iii ad ii vel vi ad iiii sive viiii ad vi hemiolia dimidius sonus hemis quasi semi vel …
[2] *GK* emiolia   [3] *E* tantum
[4] *F* tonum mirum eius (*sic*); *G* tonum minorum et eius; *K* eius
[5] *A* sescupla etiam dicitur; *BC* dicitur sescupla; *K* est sescupla
[6] *BGK* epogdous   [7] *F* unus   [8] *A adds* parit
[9] *D appears to have succumbed to pressure of space from the Bernhard glosses where it would have had this gloss.*

(10) I, 2, fo. 5r, p. 12, l. 20   BCE (i)

Coniuntio quia numerum quo constant habent sibi coniunctum numerum.[1]

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[1] *BC omit* numerum

(11) I, 2, fo. 5r *re* aequaliter p. 12, l. 22   BCDFGK

[1]sine incremento sine imminutione sine immutatione.[2]

---

[1] *BCD begin*: Sine inicio sine fine existente
[2] *G has* Id est sine additione et minutione substantie vel nature

(12) I, 2, fo. 5r, p. 12, ll. 25–6   ABCDE (m) FG

Hoc dicit quia[1] nihil ex tantum similibus componitur. ut nil[2] in eis differat et rursus nil componitur ex tam diversis ut penitus careant similitudine.

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[1] *FG* quod   [2] *ADF* nihil

(13) fo. 5r, p. 13, l. 7   ABCDE (m) FG

Ideoque potentia sunt componendi

(14) I, 2, fo. 5r, p. 13, l. 14   ABCDE (m) FG

Par enim et impar quibus numerus constat et dissimilia sunt et componi possunt[1], et reliqua[2] quia positivi i.ii.iii.iiii.v. simul et faciunt unam modulationem.

[1] *CDEFG end here*   [2] *A omits* et reliqua

(15) I, 4, fo. 5v, p. 13, ll. 22–3, *re* istorum generum contrarias passiones ABCDE (b) FG

Duo genera dicit magnitudinem et multitudinem. Magnitudo autem cum sit continua, divisionem non patitur sed sectionem. Multitudo vero dividi potest, secari non potest. Quod si aliquid secabile vel divisibile partiri volueris, nullas maiores partes in eo potes facere, quam si equaliter illud diviseris. Partito autem equaliter est quidem in singulis partibus magnitudo spatii, sed parvitas[1] numerositatis. Quod si iterum partiri volueris[2], quanto plus partitus fueris, tanto minuitur magnitudo. Crescit vero[3] multitudo.

[1] *F* pravitas!   [2] *A* volueris partiri   [3] *G* autem

(16) I, 4, fo. 5v, p. 14, l. 4   ABCDE (m) FG

Quia nihil divisum in pauciores partes potest dividi quam duas. Ordo[1] autem huius sentencie hic est. Nulla vero partio[2] minor est quam facta in gemina quantitate.

[1] *A* Hordo   [2] *ABD* partitio

(16*a*) Ibid.   ABCDE

Quod nulla divisio minus potest habere quam duas partes.

(17) I, 4, fo. 5v, p. 14, l. 10   ABCDE (m) F

Cum octo quis fuerit partitus in tres spacium hoc est magnitudo minuitur quantitas augetur.

(18) I, 4, fo. 5v, p. 14, ll. 13–14   ABCDE (m) FG

Quantitas enim quanto magis multiplicatur tanto magis adcrescit.[1]
Magnitudo vero quanto magis secatur tanto magis in singulis partibus
minoratur.

[1] *BC* accrescit

(19) I, 5, fo. 5v, p. 14, l. 20   ABCDE (m) FG

Non simul[1] recipit par numerus divisionem equalium et inequalium
parcium sed singillatim ut et per se in duo inequalia[2] possit dividi
et rursum per se in duo inequalia[3] praeter binarium qui inaequalibus
solum dividitur.

[1] *A omits* simul   [2] *AB* et qualia (*sic*); *DF* equalia; *G* in equali (*sic*)
[3] *AB*? Equalia

(20) I, 8, fo. 6v, p. 17, l. 4   ABCDE (b) FG

Contraria loca sumitatum dicit tenere pariter parem[1] et pariter imparem
speciem. Quia in numero pariter impari sola maior extremitas divi-
sionem recipit in illo vero solus minor terminus id est unus dividi nequit.

[1] *EFG omit* parem; *D omits* pariter parem et

(21) I, 9, fo. 6v, p. 17, l. 18   ABCDE (b) FG

Nomen vel vocabulum pariter paris numeri dicit non quod habet
aliqua pars eius ex quantitate numerositatis sed quod mutuat ex ratione
divisionis ut si verbi causa CXXVIII partiaris per medium dupla eius
pars. LXIIII sunt. Ipse autem numerus LXIIII quod duplus dicitur in
partitione cxxviii non habet a sua numerositate sed a duobus accipit.
Similiter et duo qui in eiusdem cxxviii numeri divisione LXIIII par[1]
esse dicuntur.[2] A quantitate duo dicuntur, sed a LXIIII ut LXIIII
par[3] esse dicantur habens denominationem sive autem ad quantitatis
summam sive ad denominationem quam accipit ex divisione[4] respicias
par numerus occurret. Unde quia in eo et quantitatis summa. et
denominatio divisionis ad parilitatem refertur pariter par dicitur.

[1] *AB* pars (*sic*), *F has* Par, *but a corrector has added 's'!*
[2] *D omits* A quantitate duo dicuntur, sed a LXIIII ut LXIIII par esse dicantur; *F ends
at* dicuntur.
[3] *AB* pars (*sic*)   [4] *G* divisioni

(22) I, 10, fo. 8v, p. 22, ll. 21–2   BCDE (i) F

Id est ut et nomen partis a pari numero trahatur et numerus eiusdem partis par inveniatur.

(23) I, 10, fo. 8v, p. 22, ll. 23–5   ABCDE (b) FG

Hic ostendit quia pariter impar numerus cum ex imparibus duplicatis procreetur propter duplicationem recipit unam sectionem. Cum autem sectus fuerit redit inimpares qui secari nequeunt.

(24) I, 10, fo. 9r, p. 23, ll. 15–17 and ll. 23–5   ACDE (b)

Ab antecedenti numero nam ab uno tres duobus differunt, quia duos plus habet. Similiter quinque[1] qui est impar duobus differt ab antecedenti impari id est a tribus.

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[1] *A* ut

(25) I, 10, fo. 9r *re* quaternarius, p. 23, l. 17   BCDE (m) FG

Quia omnes pariter impares praecedentes iiii. superantur a subsequentibus.

(26) I, 10, p. 23, l. 20 *re* binario   BCDE (m) FG

Omnis impar praecedens duobus vincitur a subsequente.

(27) I, 10, fo. 9r, p. 23, ll. 23–4   BCDE (m) FG

Quando indiscrete impares et pares naturali ordini non constituuntur.

(27*a*) I, 10, fo. 9r, p. 23, ll. 24–5   ACDE (b)

Si praecedentem pariter imparem et subsequentem nominaveris.

(28) I, 11, fo. 9v, p. 25, l. 6   ABCDE (b) FG

A prima enim extremitate quia insecabilis est pariter impari[1] concordat sed a pariter pari[2] discrepat, quisque[3] ad unum sectionem recipit. Rursus ab ultima extremitate quia plures sectiones habet pariter pari aequatur sed a pariter impari alienatur qui non recipit nisi unam sectionem.

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[1] *G* pari   [2] *CDEFG* impari   [3] *B* qui usque

(29) I, 11, fo. 10r, p. 26, l. 2   ABCDE (m) FG

Id est denominationem a pari numero trahunt et quantitatem parem habent ut xxiiii. Nam secunda eius pars xii sunt. Secunda autem a pari numero id est duo dicitur. Ipsa etiam[1] quantitas id est xii aeque par[2] est.

> [1] *CD* enim; *F* autem   [2] *F* pars

(30) I, 11, fo. 10r, p. 26, ll. 10–11   CDE (m). Added in later hand in E, K

Semel xxiiii Que quantitas par est sed denominatio inpar.

(31) I, 11, fo. 10r, p. 27, ll. 3–5   BCDE (m) FG

Sicut crescat multiplicatione reliquorum[1].

> [1] *A has at fo. 87v instead of this*, concrescat id est ternarius multiplicatione

(32) I, 11, fo. 10v, turn of pp. 27–8   ABCDE (m) FG

In latitudine quod habet ad similitudinem pariter imparium.
Id est[1] quantum habent due extremitates dimidium tantum habet una inter eas medietas[2].

> [1] *G* idem   [2] *F* una medietas inter eos

(33) I, 14, fo. 12v, p. 31, l. 15   ABCDE (m) G

[1]Ter enim terni[2] viiii faciunt secundum et compositum vii etiam[3] septies xlviiii.

> [1] *BD begin* primi et incompositi   [2] *G* terni terni (*sic*)   [3] *B* iam *D* enim

(34) I, 15, fo. 12v, p. 31, ll. 24–5   ABCDE (i) FG

[1]Habet similitudinem unum in medio[2] quo modo primus et incompositus quo impeditur ne possit in equa dividi.

> [1] *A begins* Quia imparis, *BC* Scilicet   [2] *AG* Habet primus in medio similiter

(35) I, 15, fo. 12v, p. 32, l. 2   ABCDE (b) FG

[1]Ut[2] novem habet[3] duas partium denominationes, unam a sua quanti-
tate[4], id est nonam quae pars unitas est, alteram vero tertiam ab alieno
vocabulo id est a[5] tribus.

[1] *A begins* S. partem enim invenies denominatam *and then as here*   [2] *D omits* ut
[3] *G* abet   [4] *FG* subsequente *for* sua quantitate   [5] *B omits* a

(36) I, 17, fo. 13r, p. 33, l. 23   BCDE (i) F

Per se secundi et compositi[1], se primi et incompositi.

[1] *F* incompositi

(37) I, 17, fo. 13v, p. 34, ll. 21–2, *re* ternarius xv   ABCDE (m) G

Id est[1] quoniam in xv[2] quinquies tres inveniuntur[3].

[1] *BG omit*   [2] *D omits* in xv   [3] *A reads* vel in quinquies inveniuntur

(38) I, 17, fo. 14v, p. 36, l. 24   BCDE (b) FG

Alios diversi[1] generis de his ipsis[2] loquens quorum mensurationem osten-
derat, videlicet de secundis et compositis qui ad imparibus[3] numerantur.
Nam alterius[4] generis sunt qui numerant, alterius qui numerantur.

[1] *CEG* diversis   [2] *G* ad his ipsi (*sic*)
[3] *Sic in all MSS, but F has* ab imparibus   [4] *G* alteris

(39) I, 17, fo. 14v, p. 37, l. 9   ABCE (i) FG

Sive primos et compositos[1] sive secundos et[2] compositos vel[3] impares.

[1] *C* incompositos   [2] *A lacks* et   [3] *A lacks* vel

(40) I, 18, fo. 15r, p. 37, l. 25   ABCDE (i) FG

Sive duobus primis et incompositis sive duobus secundis et compositis[1],
sive uno primo et incomposito altero secundo et composito.

[1] *F adds* id est imparibus

(41) I, 21, fo. 18r, p. 45, l. 30   ABCDE (m) FG

Sicut aequalitates unum habent vocabulum.

(42) I, 27, fo. 21v, p. 54, ll. 14–15   ABCDE (i) F

Id est triplices subtriplices secundum paritatis naturaliter factam conexionem superent[1].

> [1] *A* superant

(43) I, 27, fo. 21v, p. 54, l. 17   ABCDE (m) FG

Semper enim inter primum et tertium versum in secundo versu interpositi numeri quot[1] triplici[2] superent subtriplos ostendunt.

> [1] *AG* quod   [2] *A* tripli; *B* triplices

(44) I, 27, fo. 22r, p. 55, ll. 16–17   ABCDE (t) FG

Id est sicut dupli quantitate super se in alio ordine, positorum numerorum eosdem super se positos superant[1], ita super[2] particulares secundum[3] quantitatem eorumdem in primo ordine positorum super se positos vincunt.

> [1] *D* superantur   [2] *D omits* super   [3] *D omits* secundum

(45) I, 27, fo. 22r, p. 56, l. 1   ABCDE (m) FG

Tetragoni dicuntur[1] quia habent iiijor angulos. Nam tetra iiijor gonos latine angulus[2].

> [1] *G* qui   [2] *BCDF add* est

(46) I, 27, fo. 22v, p. 56, ll. 25 ff.   ABCDE (b) FG

Sensus huius sentencie hic est. Preposuit enim superius formam diversorum numerorum. Que cum sit quadra in iiijor cornibus[1] tres habet unitates. In principio[2] cornu primam habet unitatem id es 1. In secundo

> [1] *CD* ordinibus   [2] *BD* primo

deorsum descendentibus angulis per tetragonos tertiam unitatem id est C. Duo vero cornua alia extrinsecus[3] posita secundam habent unitatem id est x. Et quot[4] reddunt prima et tertia unitas per se multiplicate, hoc reddit et secunda si per se fuerit multiplicata. Semel enim centum C sunt et decies deni eandem summam faciunt.

[3] *A* altrinsecus   [4] *D* quod

(47) I, 28, fo. 22v, p. 58, ll. 4–5   ABE (m) FJ

Ut ii, et iiii.[1] habet enim maior minorem intra se et eius duas partes et ideo duplus est.

[1] *J begins here with* At si iiii et ii, viii contra iiii, vel vi contra iii, habet …

(48) I, 28, fo. 23v, p. 60, l. 6   BCE (m) FGJ

Superbi partiens habet intra se totum minorem numerum et duas eius partes[1].

[1] *F has* quia continet minorem et eius duas partes, *J* superpartiens (*sic*) dicitur quando maior numerus habet minorem in se et eius duas partes ut v ad iii.

(49) I, 28, fo. 23v, p. 60, ll. 10–18   ABCDE (m and b) FG

Super quinqui partiens sextas super sexi partiens septimas super septi partiens octavas et cetera. Super partientis numeri id est super quinqui partiens super sexi partiens super septi partiens et cetera[1]. Quae sicut uno semper crescunt, sic earum radices una multiplicatione augentur, super quinqui partientis enim radices, id est vi et xi quincuplicantur, et alii super[2] quinqui partientes eadem multiplicatione oriuntur. Rursus radices super sexi partientes[3], id est vii et xiii sexuplicantur[4]. Radices vero super septi[5] partientis[6] id est viiii et xv septiplicantur et cetera ad hunc[7] modum.

[1] *DEG* subsequentem *ABCD have up to here as a separate gloss applying generally to p. 60, ll. 10–12. A then begins again*, Et cetere species scilicet …
[2] *F omits*   [3] *A* partientis   [4] *CDF* sescuplicantur
[5] *F omits*   [6] *G* partientes   [7] *G* hec

(50) I, 29, fo. 24v, p. 62, l. 5   ABCDE (b)

[1]Qui quintam[2] ut quinque ad undecim duplex sex quintus qui sexta ut vi ad xiii duplex sesqui sextus etc. etc.[3]

> [1] *A begins* ut scilicet   [2] *A* sicut   [3] *B omits second* etc.

(51) I, 29, fo. 25r, p. 63, ll. 5–6   ABCDE (i) FG

Senarii quadruplus xxiiii septenarii[1] xxviii[2] octonarii xxxii novenarii xxxvi denarii xl.

> [1] *C repeats* quadruplus *here and before each further roman numeral*
> [2] *F* xxviiii (*sic*)

(52) I, 31, fo. 25v, p. 65, l. 11   BCDE (b)FGK

Est autem in his quoque subaudiendum quod et in superpartientibus, ut cum dicimus duplex superbipartiens subaudiamus tertias. Similiter reliquos proferentes. Duplex super tri partiens quartas. Duplex super quadripartiens quintas et cetera[1]. Item triplex superbipartiens tertias. Triplex super[2] tripartiens quartas. Triplex super quadripartiens quintas, et reliquas. Habentque et haec germana convenientiaque nomina ut is qui dicitur duplex superbipartiens idem dicatur duplex superbitertius. Et qui dicitur duplex super[3] tripartiens dicatur duplex super tri quartus[4]. Et qui dicitur duplex super quadripartiens is sit et duplex super[5] quadriquintus. Et reliqui ad hunc modum.

> [1] *F* reliqua   [2] *CDEF all add another* super
> [3] *EF omit* super
> [4] *D has instead of* tri quartus, quadri partiens (*trying to be clever!*)
> [5] *F omits* super

(53) I, 32, fo. 26r, p. 66, l. 5   BCDE (m) FG

Profundissimam disciplinam eam dicit quam in subsequentibus[1] ostendit videlicet quia omnis inequalitas ab equalitate procedit et in ea rursus resolvitur.

> [1] *DEG* subsequentem, *but in E corrected to* subsequentibus

(54) I, 32, fo. 26r, p. 66, l. 5   BCDE (m) FG

Qui quoniam a finita substantia unitatis discesserunt[1] variabilis infinitaeque substantiae nominantur.

> [1] *D* recesserunt

(55) I, 32, fo. 26r, p. 66, ll. 8–9   BCDE (m) FG

Bonitatem equitati comparat que principaliter in unitate consistit, quippe que nulla variatione mutatur, numquam esse desinit, numquam potest esse quod non fuit. Est autem et in participibus eiusdem substantie, id est in imparibus qui cuncti secundum unitatis speciem[1] naturamque formati sunt.

[1] *EF add* e *(as if a separate word) here*

(56) I, 32, fo. 26r, p. 66, l. 11   BCDE (m) FG

Ambrosius: Malitia ex nobis orta non a[1] creatore Deo condita, morum levitate generatur. Nullam creature habens prerogativam nec auctoritatem substantiae naturalis sed mutabilitatis vitium et errorem prolapsionis.

[1] *BCD* non a; *EG* nam; *F* ex nobis orta nam *erased*

(57) I, 32, fo. 26r, p. 66, ll. 17–22   BCDE (m) FG

Quod inequalitati assimilat quae inequalitas ad dualitatem principaliter pertinet. Hic enim numerus primus ab uno descendens[1] alter factus est sed et omnes pares quoniam binarii numeri formae sunt. Hi secundum eius naturam ab eiusdem substantiae natura discessisse[2] dicuntur[3].

[1] *BCD* decedens   [2] *CD* decessisse
[3] *G adds* Ordinatur inchoatur ne omnes possit excedere naturam quam si excederet deleret

(58) I, 32, fo. 26r, p. 67, ll. 1–2   BCDE (m) FG

Preceptum dicit[1] quod in subsequentibus positis descriptionibus ostendit[2].

[1] *G* est   [2] *F adds* Nam recapitulat

(59) I, 32, fo. 27v, p. 70, l. 3   BCDE (m) FG

Ex sesqui quarto super quadripartiens. Ex sesquiquinto super quinque[1] partiens, et reliqua.

[1] *BC* quinqui

(60) I, 32, fo. 28r, p. 71, l. 24   BCDE (m) FG

Hic considerandum quoniam sicut ex recte positis sesqualteris nascuntur duplici[1] sesqualteri, ita ex duplis sesqualteris tripli sesqualteri.[2] Et ex eis quadrupi sesqualteri et ita semper ex praecedentibus subsequentes. Ex duplis autem sesquitertiis oriuntur tripli sesquitertii. Ex illis vero quadrupli sesquitertii et ceteri ad hunc modum. Similis[3] quoque formatio erit in multiplicibus superpartientibus ita[4] ut de duplis superbitertiis fiant triplici[5] superbitertii et ex eis quadrupli superbi tertii, et ceteri similiter.

[1] *B* duplices   [2] *F omits* Et ex eis quadrupi sesqualteri
[3] *F* semel (sic); *G* similiter   [4] *D* etiam   [5] *D* tripli

(61) II, 2, fo. 31r, p. 80, l. 4   BCDE (m) FGH

Hoc est in carminibus dei verbum aliter inquisitio dei celsitudinis[1].

[1] *FG add* vel consonantia dei verbi. *A has a variant on this*: id est carmina verbi dei vel investigatio magnitudinis dei. *B has this as well as the above gloss; so has G, adding*, vel musicalis

(62) II, 2, fo. 32v, p. 82, l. 29   ABCDE (m) FGJ

Id est quincuplis sescuplis septuplis octuplis nonuplis decuplis et cetera[1].

[1] *A omits* et cetera

(63) II, 2, fo. 32v, p. 83, ll. 7 ff.   ABCDE (m) FGHJ

Hanc procreationem[1] superius ostensam recole[2] ubi omnes superparticulares ex conversis multiplicibus docuit formari[3].

[1] *CD* rationem   [2] *A* recole superius ostensam   [3] *G* procraeari

(64) II, 6, fo. 36r, p. 91, l. 4   BE (m)

Quintus ebdagonus[1] sextus ogdogonus (*sic*) id est qui vii vel viii angulorum terminis dilatantur.

[1] *B* eptagonus

(65) II, 6, fo. 36v, p. 92, ll. 6–10   ABCDE (b) FGJ

Unaquaque enim numeralis[1] figura quae actu[2] et opere viget sive triangulus sive quadratus[3] vel pentagonus vel[4] quislibet, tot unitates in sui prima[5] positione habebit, in quot triangulos ipsa figura secari possit[6]. Sed et[7] ipsi numeri figurarum a[8] triangularibus numeris componuntur et in ipsos[9] resolvuntur.

[1] *FGJ* naturalis   [2] *FG place* viget *here*   [3] *FG* quadrangulus
[4] *FG* sive   [5] *F* prona (*sic*)   [6] *A* possunt; *G* potest
[7] *FG* add ei   [8] *FG omit* a   [9] *F omits* in, *G has* ipsa *for* in ipsos

(66) II, 19, fo. 41r, p. 104, l. 10   ABE (m) FGJ

[1]Id est in quartis vel quintis ceterisque[2] triangulis tetragonis pentagonis exagonis et reliquis[3].

[1] *A begins* In aliis   [2] *J* ceterumque   [3] *A* cetera

(67) II, 22, fo. 42r, p. 106, l. 15   ABDE (m) F

actu et opere nam vi et potestate prima piramis[1] est unitas.

[1] *A begins* Prima pyramis id est; *BF* pyramis

(68) II, 25, fo. 43v, p. 111, l. 14   ABCDE (m) FGJ

Cubus[1] est figura quae longitudine et latitudine et altitudine continetur in solidum.

[1] *ABC* Cybus; *F* Cibus

(69) II, 25, fo. 44v, p. 113, ll. 16–17   ABCE (m) FG

Hic autem[1] numerus minorem quantitatem habet in longitudine, mediam in latitudine, maximam[2] in altitudine.

[1] *A omits* autem   [2] *EFG* maximum (*sic*)

(70) II, 25, fo. 44v, p. 114, l. 6   E (m) FG (1st part only)

Scalonus spenis[1] est quod dicitur latine cuneus.
Scalenos vel speniscon vel cuneus.

[1] *G* sphenis

(71) II, 25, fo. 45r, p. 114, l. 21–p. 115, l. 1   ABCDE (b) FG

Hic de parallelepipedis incipit dicere. Fit autem haec forma cum numerus in se multiplicatus rursus per subsequentem multiplicatur, ut est bis duo ter vel ter tres quater vel quater iiijor quinquies et usque in infinitum. Quae habet quidem commune cum cybo quod longitudinem et latitudinem habet aequales cum scaleno vero quia altitudinem his super gredientem[1] effert. Interdum autem longitudine et altitudine par est, latitudine vero distat. Interdum altitudine latitudineque[2] concordat sola longitudine[3] discrepat. Pertinent autem ad hanc speciem laterculi et asseres quos in subsequentibus commemorabit.

[1] *A* egredientem
[2] *A* latitudine altitudineque; *D* altitudine et latitudine; *EFG* altitudine altitudineque
[3] *F omits* concordat sola longitudine

(72) II, 27, fo. 45r, p. 116, ll. 18–22   ABCDE (m) FG

Parte altera longior[1] qui propterea sic dicitur quia ille numerus qui multiplicat unitate vincit eum qui multiplicatur. Nam unitas proprie alteritatem facit.

[1] *A omits* qui propterea sic; *G* longiores, *and then omits the rest.*

(73) II, 28, fo. 46r, p. 118, ll. 19–20   ABCDE (m) FG

Ut semel unum semel unum est. Una enim multiplicatio solam planitudinem reddit. secunda mox speram conficit quae[1] in profunditate consistit.

[1] *CDEF* quem

(74) II, 31, fo. 47v, p. 123, ll. 12–13   ABCDE (i) FG

[1]Quae est in imparibus numeris unde et aequilateri semper inveniuntur.

[1] *A begins* binario

(75) II, 31, fo. 48r, p. 123, l. 25   BCDE (i) FG

Id est ex immutabilibus mutabilibusque[1] substantiis.

[1] *A* mutabilibus immutabilibusque

(76) II, 32, fo. 48v, p. 126, ll. 4–5   E (i) FG (late 10th-cent. Cologne addition)

Ut unitas non dividitur non componitur ab ipsa omnis numerus[1] deus inseparabilis, incompositus a quo est principium omnium rerum[2].

[1] *F starts here (interlined)*   [2] *FG* rerum omnium principium

(77) II, 33, fo. 49v, p. 127, ll. 25–6   ABCDE (m) FG

Differencias vocat numeros quibus tetragoni a parte[1] altera longioribus distant.

[1] *F* pate (*sic*)

(78) II, 33, fo. 50r, p. 128, l. 19   E (i) FG (late 10th-cent. Cologne addition)

Duo contra unum dupli sunt similiter[1] quattuor contra duo.

[1] *FG omit* dupli sunt similiter; *both have* et *instead.*

(79) II, 36, fo. 52r, p. 133, l. 1   E (i) G (late 10th-cent. Cologne addition)

quia unitas insecabilis similiter impares sunt unitatis[1]

[1] *G omits* sunt unitatis

(80) II, 37, fo. 53r, p. 134, ll. 24–5   ABCDE (t) FGH

Possumus a toto hic ab unitate intellegere quae unitas cum sit prima horum differentia ipsa quidem precedentem[1] quadratum id est unum complectitur et ipsa[2] sola differentia non geminata invenitur. Sed et illud quod sequitur per sequentes partes, non inconvenienter[3] accipere, per geminatas[4] differentias.

[1] *H* precedente   [2] *D* ipse quidem   [3] *F* inconvenientem
[4] *A* geminas

(81) II, 37, fo. 53r, p. 134, l. 25   ABCDE (b) FG

Unitates differentiarum augmenta quibus adcrescunt[1] appellat. quia secundum naturalis numeri dispositionem semper subsequentes in unitate superant precedentes[2].

[1] *BCDF* accrescunt   [2] *G* superant precedentes in unitate

(82) II, 40, fo. 54r, p. 137, l. 13   ABCDE (m) FG

Eam[1] quantitatem inter numeros differentiam dicit qua[2] inter se numeris comparatis maior minorem superat.

[1] *D* autem   [2] *A* qui; *F* quia

(83) II, 41, fo. 54v, p. 139, l. 2   ABCDE (b) FGH

Quid hic medietates appellet subdendo manifestat cum dicit. post quas proportionum habitudines. ubi manifestum est nihil eum[1] aliud dixisse medietates nisi proportionum habitudines[2]. Quas[3] ideo medietates nominat, quia sicut medietas semper relativa est ad aliud medium, sic hae semper ad alias proportionum habitudines referuntur, vel ideo quia datis aliquando duobus terminis immobiliterque manentibus medietates quaedam[4] interseri possunt quarum una extremitatibus suis comparata arithmeticam alia geometricam tertia armonicam habitudinem reddat ut sunt x et xl quibus si viginti v interserantur arithmetica. si xx geometrica. si xvi armonica integerrime speculatio perpenditur. ut rectum propriumque sicut idem ait medietatis nomen sit quod manentibus extremitatibus huc atque illuc medietas ipsa ferri permotarique videatur.

[1] *F* cum   [2] *A* abitudines   [3] *F* quasi (sic)
[4] *ABCDH* quaedam; *EFG* quidam

(84) II, 41, fo. 54v, p. 139, ll. 7–8   ABCDE (m) FGH

Septimam inter iiii primam octavam inter iiii secundam nonam inter iiii tertiam decimam inter iiii quartam.

(85) II, 41, fo. 54v, p. 139, l. 10   ABCDE (m) FG

Priores quinque habitudines dicit multiplicem super particularem. super partientem. multiplicem super particularem multiplicem super partientem. quibus[1] alie quinque addita[2] sub propositione[3] aptantur.

[1] *D* quabus   [2] *A omits* addita   [3] *AB* praepositione

(86) II, 43, fo. 55r, p. 140, l. 29   ABCDE (b) FG

Ideo in tribus terminis continuam proportionalitatem dicit. quia ille qui est in medio ad utramque proportionem respicit. dum ad precedentem dux. ad sequentem comes existit.

(87) II, 43, fo. 55r, p. 141, ll. 3–7   ABCDE (m) FG

Disiuncta medietas est quotiens[1] iiii terminis constitutis primus ad ultimum[2] et medii ad se habent speculationem.

<div style="text-align:center">

[1] *B* quoties   [2] *A adds* sunt *expunged here.*

</div>

(88) II, 43, fo. 55r, p. 141, ll. 12–14   ABCDE (m) F

Equales hic non quantitate sed ordine intellege

(89) II, 43, fo. 56r, p. 142, l. 13   ABCDE (m) FGH

Sicut est inter ii et iiii et viii.[1] in quibus aequalitas duple proportionis evenit. Non tamen eisdem differentiis.

<div style="text-align:center">

[1] *H omits* et viii

</div>

(90) II, 43, fo. 56v, p. 143, l. 16   ABCDE (m) FG

Id est per medium terminum in se multiplicatum.

(91) II, 44, fo. 59r, p. 148, l. 14   ABCDE (m) FGH

Binas proportiones duplas dicit. id est duplam duplam sesqualteram[1] sesqualteram, sesquitertiam sesquitertiam[2] et ceteras[3] ad hunc modum.

<div style="text-align:center">

[1] *H has* et cetera *here and omits the rest.*   [2] *G omits this* sesquitertiam
[3] *G adds* usque

</div>

(92) II, 47, fo. 60v, p. 152, ll. 2–7   ABCDE (b) FG

Sensus huius sentencie hic est: in armonica medietate ubi tres termini constituuntur qua[1] proportionem habet primus ad ultimum terminum eandem habent proportionem ipsorum terminorum differencie ad se relate.

<div style="text-align:center">

[1] *F* quia

</div>

(93) II, 47, fo. 61r, p. 152, ll. 28–9   ABCDE (m) FG

Ut est i. ii. iii. hic enim minores termini sunt i. et[1] ii. qui habent magnam proportionem id est duplam. Maiores vero termini sunt ii. et iii. qui habent minorem proportionem id est sesqualteram.

<div style="text-align:center">

[1] *A* ad

</div>

(94) II, 47, fo. 61r, p. 153, l. 6   ABCDE (m) G

Medietatem arithmeticam scilicet

(95) II, 48, fo. 63r, p. 156, ll. 20–1   ABCDE (m) FG

Duplicem dispositionem dicit quae[1] habet[2] in principio[3] tres et in fine
sex et sex ad tres duplus est.

> [1] *F* quia   [2] *FG omit* habet   [3] *G adds* est

(96) II, 48, fo. 63r, p. 156, ll. 24–6   ABE (m) FG

Triplicem dispositionem vocat quae[1] habet primum terminum duos et
ultimum sex. sex autem ad duos[2] triplus est.

> [1] *A omits from* habet *to* ad   [2] *F* duo (*sic*)

(97) II, 48, fo. 63v, p. 157, ll. 12–13   ABCDE (m) FG

Id est iiii. sex enim a[1] quattuor[2] in duobus differentiis[3] et ipsi sex ad[4]
duo tripli[5] sunt.

> [1] *CD* ad   [2] *B* quatuor   [3] *C* differunt
> [4] *G* a   [5] *F* triplis (*sic*)

(98) II, 48, fo. 63v, p. 158, l. 3   ABCDE (m) FG

Id est i.[1] iiii si quidem ad iii unum habent in differentiam.

> [1] *A adds* ad; *G omits* i

(99) II, 49, fo. 64r, p. 159, l. 11   ABCDE (m) FGH

Extremitates dicit vi et xii quae per medium terminum id est octonarium
multiplicate CXLIIII reddunt. Si autem una extremitas aliam multipli-
caverit. et sexies duodeni vel duodecies seni producti fuerint[1] lxxii fient.
quorum dupli[2] Cxliiii sunt[3].

> [1] *C omits* lxxii fient   [2] *A* duplici   [3] *G* fiunt

(100) II, 49, fo. 64r, p. 159, ll. 18–19   ABCDE (b) FGH

Ex duplici nasci dicitur[1] quia[2] quae duplex in arithmetica vocatur[3] eadem in armonia[4] diapason[5] nominatur[6]. Qualiter diapason et diapente tripli[7] optineat rationem ipse superius ostendit cum dicit, et quoniam triplus duas continet consonantias, diapente scilicet[8] et diapason. in huius triplicis positione in differentiis eundem rursus triplum reperiemus[9]. ut sunt ii. iii. et vi[10]. Sunt igitur vi ad iii diapason. iii vero ad ii. diapente. vi autem a tribus in iii. tres vero a duobus in i. Qui ternarius rursus triplus est ad i. In hac igitur dispositione vi. viii. et xii. xii[11] ad vi diapason est. Rursus xii. ad viii diapente. Tripla autem hoc solum modo in differentiis constat.

  [1] *G* dicit   [2] *H* qui   [3] *H* videtur
  [4] *H* armonica   [5] *G* dyapason
  [6] *H* dicitur. *A up to here one gloss; continues as another gloss, on p. 159, l. 20, on the other side of page, fo. 145v.*
  [7] *D* triplici et diapente   [8] *H omits* scilicet
  [9] *B inserts second* p*,* repperimus; *DG* repperiemus   [10] *FG* iiii
  [11] *F omits* ad vi diapason est. Rursus xii

(101) II, 50, fo. 65r, p. 161, ll. 12–22   ABCDE (i and m) FH

Maiores termini sunt xxv[1] et xl[2]. Proportio vero eorum dicitur super tripartiens[3] quintas. [4] Numerus ex multiplicatis[5] extremitatibus est decies quadrageni. Hoc est cccc[6].

  [1] *EF* xxii   [2] *E up to here interlined, thereafter in margin.*
  [3] *F* tripartias
  [4] *A omits* Numerus ex multiplicatis extremitatibus, *but adds* id *before* est
  [5] *D* explicatis (*sic*)
  [6] *G appears to lack this gloss at fo. 35r, though some glosses hereafter are very faded.*

(102) Ibid.   BCDE (m)F

Scilicet in huius modi dispositione non reperies alienum id est tribus quintis.

(103) II, 50, fo. 65r, p. 161, l. 15   BCDE (i) FG

Multiplicata medietas vicies quinquies viceni et quini dcxxv reddit.

(104) II, 50, fo. 65r, p. 161, ll. 15–16   BCDE (i) F

Differenciae id est xv quindecies ccxxv faciunt.

(105) II, 50, fo. 65r, p. 161, ll. 16–19   ABCDE (m) FG

In hac dispositione x.[1] xxv et xl medius terminus minorem tota et dimidia ipsius[2] minoris numeri quantitate terminum transit. Ipse vero a maiore alia, id est ipsius maioris ter[3] octava parte relinquitur.

[1] *B* x *erased*   [2] *F* ipsi   [3] *F* maior est; *G omits* ter

(106) II, 50, fo. 65r, p. 161, ll. 27–8   ABCDE (m) G

Multiplicatis per se decies quadrageni cccc sunt[1]. medietas quoque id est xx per se multiplicata eandem summam reddit.

[1] *D omits* sunt

(107) II, 50, fo. 65r, p. 162, ll. 9–10   ABCDE (m) FG

In hac dispositione x. xvi[1] et xl maior[2] terminus tribus suis quintis partibus, id est ter[3] octo qui sunt xxiiii.[4] medium superat. et idem medius minorem in tribus quintis. id est ter duobus qui sunt vi ipsius maioris[5] vincit.

[1] *F* xvii   [2] *F repeats* maior   [3] *F omits* ter
[4] *F* iiii   [5] *A* minoris; *G* maiori

(108) II, 50, fo. 65r, p. 162, ll. 11–12   ABCDE (b) FG

Medius autem terminus id est xvi tota et dimidia sua quantitate[1] superatur a maiore et tribus octavis suis[2] partibus, id est vi superat minorem.

[1] *D* quantitate sua   [2] *C repeats* suis

(109) II, 50, fo. 65r, p. 162, ll. 13–14   ABCDE (b) FG

Extremitates vero[1] id est x et xl qui sunt L si per medietatem concrescant[2], id est sedecies multiplicentur. dccc[3] reddunt. Multiplicate autem per se, cccc faciunt. Nam[4] decies quadrageni hanc summam restituunt[5].

[1] *A begins here*   [2] *D* concrescat (*sic*)   [3] *FG* dcccc (*sic*)
[4] *F omits* Nam   [5] *D* restitunt (*sic*). *G has this gloss and the previous gloss as one.*

(110) II, 50, fo. 65v, p. 162, l. 22   ABCDE (m) FG

Hic omnes proprietates arithmetice medietatis necnon geometricae atque armonicae considerande sunt.

(111) II, 50, fo. 65v, p. 162, ll. 29–30   ABCDE (b) FG

Differentia inter v. et viiij quaternarius[1] est. Inter novem vero et xlv tricesimus sextus. Quam autem proportionem habet[2] maximus terminus ad parvissimum[3], id est nonuplam[4]. Eandem habet maior differentia ad minorem.

> [1] *G* quarternarium; *also?* Tricesimum sextum
> [2] *E* abet *with h added above the line*
> [3] *F* parvissima (*sic*)   [4] *F* nopulam (*sic*)

(112) II, 51, fo. 66r, p. 165, ll. 1–2   ABCDE (b) FG

Hec medietas in hoc ab[1] armonica medietate discrepat quia in minoribus terminis maiorem habet[2] differentiam. in maioribus minorem[3] cum illa in minoribus minorem in maioribus maiorem[4] servet.

> [1] *F* hac *for* hoc ab   [2] *F repeats* habet
> [3] *F omits* cum illa in minoribus minorem   [4] *FG* minorem

(113) II, 54, fo. 68r, p. 169, 1.11   ABCE (m) FG

Longitudin’ latitudin’ altitudin’[1]

> [1] A *has* profunditas *for* altitudin

(114) II, 54, fo. 68r, p. 169, 1.14   BCDE (i) FG

Naturales quaestiones partes mathematiche dicit, id est arithmeticam, geometricam, musicam et astronomiam.

(115) II, 54, fo. 68r, p. 169, 1.23   ABCDE (m)

ab aequalibus per aequales equaliter, ut bis duo bis qui sunt viii in longitudine[1]

> [1] A *omits* in longitudine

(116) II, 54, fo. 68r, p. 170, 1.1   ABCDE (m)

ub ab aequalibus per aequales inequaliter sicuti bis duo ter qui sunt[1] xii.

> [1] E *repeats* qui sunt

(117) II, 54, fo. 68r, *re* p. 170, 1. 12   ABCDE (m) FG

Differentia duo denarii ad novenarium vel novenarii ad senarium iii. sunt[1] novenarius[2].

> [1] *F omits* sunt   [2] *A omits* novenarius; *G* novenarium

(118) II, 54, fo. 68r, p. 170, ll. 15 ff.   ABCDE (m) G

In hac dispositione[1] octonarius senarium in tertia ipsius senari parte.

> [1] *E* disputatione (*sic*)

(119) At end, fo. 69r, at foot of text   BCE (b) F

[*In much lighter ink, but I think main glossator's hand*]
Inter diatesseron et diapente tonum differentiam dicit, quoniam[1] si fuerint tres termini ita[2] constituti ut secundus ad primum sesquitertia habitudine referatur, ad eundem autem primum tertius sesqualtera. idem tertius ad secundum sesquioctava proportione iungetur ut sunt vi. viii. viiii. Nam viii et vi sesquitertius est novem vero[3] ad eundem senarium sesqualter viiii autem ad viii sesquioctavus id est epogdous. Qui idcirco dicitur differentia inter sesquitertium et sesqualterum quoniam sesqualter id est viiii. In octava parte sesquitertii vincit eundem[4] sesquitertium.

> [1] *EF* quo   [2] *F omits* ita   [3] *F omits* vero
> [4] *F* eudem (*sic*)

Note: In the above texts the references at the head of each are to book and chapter of Boethius, folio of Ms. 186, page and lines of Friedlein's edition, and sigla of mss. containing the gloss. The letters in brackets after E indicate whether the gloss is at the top or bottom of the page, in the margin, or interlined.

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Index of Manuscripts

II. PRUDENTIUS, *PSYCHOMACHIA*

III. BOETHIUS, *DE ARITHMETICA*

1. Manuscripts of Boethius' *De Arithmetica* used for the edition of glosses in Cologne Ms. 186 (for their sigla see list on p. 242)

2. Manuscripts of Boethius' *De Arithmetica* also used

3. Manuscripts of Boethius' *De Arithmetica* consulted but not used

IV. MARTIANUS CAPELLA, *DE NUPTIIS*

1. Manuscripts used

2. Martianus manuscripts consulted but not used

General Index