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## Problems in Editing Glosses: A Case Study of Carolingian Glosses on Martianus Capella

**Type of text and textual material** Philosophical and literary commentary:  
The oldest gloss tradition (OGT) on Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis  
Philologiae et Mercurii*

**Date** ca. 825–900

**Witnesses used in case study** Twenty manuscripts (14 + 6) from early ninth  
to tenth centuries

### **Methodological problems**

- How to organize the glosses
- Identification, variation and corruption of the lemma
- How to deal with accretion and correction

**Proposed solution** An edition of the glosses based on a categorization, using  
a tree structure to reflect the organization. An order is imposed placing  
multi-word lemmata before lemmata consisting of individual words.  
Accretion and election are signaled by recording different gloss hands

**See also** Andrée; Dinkova-Bruun; Hicks; Pontani

### *Introduction*

This paper focuses on the challenge of editing early medieval glosses on Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* ("On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury"). Martianus's Latin text, with its allegory and seven books on the liberal arts, was an important and highly influential work in the Middle Ages. A spike in scholarly interest in the Carolingian period is attested by the relatively large number of ninth-century manuscripts of *De nuptiis*, the dissemination of the work in major centres of intellectual life, the attention paid to it by notable Carolingian scholars, its use in glossaries and compilations of all kinds, and the abundance of glosses, especially, though not exclusively, on the allegorical books. The evidence of annotations attests to an early medieval fascination with the cosmological, philosophical, and pagan currents of the text. It also reveals an interest in its abstruse and difficult aspects, reflecting, in

part, a wider medieval predilection for obscurity.<sup>1</sup> In addition, glossographic and encyclopaedic interests ensured that *De nuptiis* would be quarried not only as a source of knowledge, but also for its *exotica* (e.g. rare words, neologisms, hapax legomena, and Greek words). A major desideratum, then, was a comprehensive edition of the first tradition of Carolingian commentary on *De nuptiis*, crucial for understanding the medieval reception of Martianus. I refer to this notoriously unstable and complex tradition as the oldest gloss tradition (hereafter OGT), a tradition once attributed to Dunchad<sup>2</sup> and later to the famous Carolingian scholar Martin of Laon,<sup>3</sup> but now ascribed to multiple scholars.<sup>4</sup> This tradition influenced the later Carolingian commentaries of Eriugena and Remigius. Copied and disseminated in prominent centres of learning, it spread from the Loire valley and northern France eastwards towards Lorsch and Cologne and northwards towards Flanders, the Low Countries, Wales and England.<sup>5</sup> Twenty-four manuscripts transmitting the OGT have been identified. All those with glosses on Books I–II, twenty in total (see below), were consulted for the edition.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 See Sinéad O’Sullivan, “The Sacred and the Obscure: Greek and the Carolingian Reception of Martianus Capella,” *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 22 (2012): 67–94.
- 2 The attribution to Dunchad was based on a note found in London, British Library, Royal 15. A. XXXIII which refers to a Martianus commentary by the Irish bishop Dunchad who taught at Rheims.
- 3 Jean Préaux attributed the commentary to Martin of Laon. See Jean Préaux, “Le commentaire de Martin de Laon sur l’oeuvre de Martianus Capella,” *Latomus* 12 (1953): 437–459. For a re-evaluation, see John J. Contreni, “A Note on the Attribution of a Martianus Capella Commentary to Martinus Laudunensis,” in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries: Annotated Lists and Guides*, ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller et al. (Washington, DC, 1960–), 3: 451–52.
- 4 Mariken Teeuwen, “Writing Between the Lines: Reflections of Scholarly Debate in a Carolingian Commentary Tradition,” in *Carolingian Scholarship and Martianus Capella: Ninth-Century Commentary Traditions on Martianus’ “De Nuptiis” in Context*, ed. Mariken Teeuwen and Sinéad O’Sullivan, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 12 (Turnhout, 2011), 11–34.
- 5 For the spread of the tradition to Wales and Anglo-Saxon England, see Sinéad O’Sullivan, “The Corpus Martianus Capella: Continental Gloss Traditions on *De nuptiis* in Wales and Anglo-Saxon England,” *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 62 (2011): 33–56.
- 6 Sinéad O’Sullivan (ed.), *Glossae aevi Carolini in libros I–II Martiani Capellae De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (CCCM 237: v–cxxix). Glosses are cited from this edition as follows: *Glossae*, followed by page and line number(s). The following four manuscripts were not used for the edition: Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 103, s. ix–x (only fragments survive); Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, San Marco 190,

**Table 1**

|  |                |  |
|--|----------------|--|
| Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale 594                                | <i>B</i>       | ix <sup>3/4</sup>                      |
| Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 153                                | <i>CCC 153</i> | ix <sup>2</sup> and x                  |
| Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 330, Part II                       | <i>CCC 330</i> | ix <sup>2</sup>                        |
| Cologne, Dombibliothek 193   | <i>K</i>       | x <sup>1</sup>                         |
| Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. lat. folio 48                | <i>La</i>      | ix <sup>2/4</sup>                      |
| Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 88                             | <i>Lb</i>      | ix <sup>3/4</sup>                      |
| Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 87                             | <i>Lc</i>      | ix <sup>2</sup>                        |
| Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 36                             | <i>Ld</i>      | ix <sup>ex</sup>                       |
| London, British Library, Harley 2685                                 | <i>L</i>       | ix <sup>ex</sup>                       |
| Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 191                                 | <i>Or</i>      | ix <sup>2</sup>                        |
| Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. lat. 118                             | <i>O</i>       | ix <sup>med</sup> or ix <sup>3/4</sup> |
| Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8669                   | <i>Pa</i>      | ix <sup>3/4</sup>                      |
| Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8670                   | <i>Pb</i>      | ix <sup>med</sup> or ix <sup>3/4</sup> |
| Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8671                   | <i>Pc</i>      | ix <sup>ex</sup> or x <sup>in</sup>    |
| Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12960                  | <i>Pd</i>      | ix <sup>ex</sup>                       |
| St Petersburg, The National Library of Russia, Class.<br>lat. F.V.10 | <i>R</i>       | ix <sup>ex</sup> or x <sup>in</sup>    |
| Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat.<br>1987      | <i>Va</i>      | ix <sup>3/4</sup>                      |
| Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat.<br>1535      | <i>Vb</i>      | ix <sup>2</sup>                        |
| Trier, Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars 100             | <i>T</i>       | ix <sup>2</sup>                        |
| Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf.<br>133 Gud. Lat. | <i>W</i>       | x and x/xi                             |

Similar glosses are found in all of the above twenty manuscripts, some of which are more heavily glossed than others. The OGT is extant in a first layer of annotation and can easily be recognized by study of the scribal hand(s) and placement of the glosses on the manuscript page. Often, the OGT is transmitted alongside different layers of annotation from other gloss corpora. While the layering of different sets of glosses is not difficult to identify, what sometimes complicates matters is accretion and cross-fertilization from other gloss traditions. For

s. xi (no glosses on books 1–2); Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, IV.G.68, s. ix<sup>ex</sup> and s. x (transmits glosses only on book 4); and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 8501, s. xv (a miscellany with very few glosses from the OGT). For the OGT, see also Mariken Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres: The “Ars Musica” in Ninth-Century Commentaries on Martianus Capella’s “De Nuptiis,”* *Mittel-ateinische Studien und Texte* 30 (Leiden, 2002), 60–150.

example, in the case of a small number of glosses, it is hard to tell whether a gloss is from the OGT or the Eriugenan tradition (i.e. whether what we regard as an Eriugenan gloss was originally from the OGT). This is because we find a few “Eriugenan” glosses written by the same hand(s) that transmit the OGT.<sup>7</sup>

As for editing the OGT, the tradition presents many challenges. Marginal and interlinear notes, at times abundant in the extant manuscripts, have no clear structure (e.g. whether one reads the marginal or interlinear gloss first is a matter of choice). Identification of the lemma, that is, the word or phrase in the text that is glossed, is sometimes less than obvious. Moreover, glossators omit and add material. For instance, one often finds glosses from the OGT in a first layer of annotation side-by-side with contemporary and later accretions from other gloss corpora. As already noted, the prevalence of accretion and cross-fertilization – that is, glosses from different gloss traditions mixed in with glosses from the OGT in the same layer of annotation – complicates matters. In general, the glosses in the OGT exhibit pervasive cross-fertilization and vigorous adaptation. The “original form” of any given gloss in the OGT can be problematic since the glosses are often the product of accretion, omission and correction. Examination of the archaeology of the glossed manuscripts, however, helps reveal how glosses in the OGT accumulated over time, with scribes drawing on different strands of glosses, strands which sometimes cross-fertilized.

In this paper I focus on a number of specific problems in editing glosses from the OGT. As we shall see, in many instances, the proposed methodological solutions represent choices and compromises. I shall investigate the following: (i) organization of the material; (ii) identification of the lemma; (iii) variation and corruption of the lemma; and (iv) accretion and correction. Examination of these problems should be helpful for those interested in other early-medieval gloss traditions (e.g. we sometimes find similar kinds of glosses and problems in early medieval glosses on Prudentius and Virgil).

### *Organization of the Material*

When editing glosses from the OGT, the most challenging problem was imposing an order on the material while making it possible at the same time to recover specific annotations and hands in particular manuscript witnesses. The glosses are organized in a manner that reflects both the manuscript tradition as well as its purpose and content. First, glosses are structured according to the close rela-

7 O’Sullivan (ed.), *Glossae*, xxxi–xxxii and liii–lv.

tionship among individual manuscripts, manuscripts which are grouped into specific families. Three main families are identified.<sup>8</sup> Manuscripts in a specific family can be recognized by very similar sets of glosses that share identical wording, spelling, word order, omissions, additions, errors, and corrections. And it is not only the glosses that allow us to identify a specific family, but also the *signes de renvoi* and diagrams and spelling of the Greek, as well as textual emendations, variants, corruptions, and misplacements.<sup>9</sup> Organizing glosses into specific families does result in repetition of material, a compromise deemed necessary in order to enable the reader to identify more readily the affiliations among the manuscripts. To this end also, errors, variants, and orthographical differences are preserved (see part iii).<sup>10</sup> One could, of course, have endeavoured to construct core glosses found in all three families. By doing this, however, one would lose sight of how this rather complex gloss tradition grew over time and developed within clearly defined families.

Glosses are accompanied by a list of sigla. The sigla, written in italics, do not refer to chronology, but to the present location of the manuscripts. Single letters are used when only one manuscript is found in a given place, and two letters when there is more than one manuscript. The edition is accompanied by four sets of critical apparatus: one each to the glosses and text (see part iii), a source apparatus,<sup>11</sup> and *traditio textus*.<sup>12</sup> It draws on all known extant manuscripts transmitting annotations from the OGT on books I–II of *De nuptiis* (i.e. the allegorical books). Fourteen manuscripts are used for the edition and the remaining six, often sparsely glossed, are consulted as a means of comparison and to confirm readings. Crucially, this comprehensiveness was deemed essen-

8 I call the families A, B, and C. The manuscripts in Group A are *La, B, Pa, O, Or, T, W* and *Vb*. Those in Group B are *Lb, Vá, Lc, Pb, Pd* and *R*. Those in Group C are *K, L, Ld* and *Pc*.

9 O'Sullivan (ed.), *Glossae*, cx–cxxix.

10 For example, *pungitur* and *pingitur* (Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 1.7, ed. James Willis [Leipzig, 1983]; O'Sullivan [ed.], *Glossae*, 46, 10). Moreover, orthographic normalization and editorial intervention were kept to a minimum. As far as possible, the spelling followed what appeared in the manuscripts. Abbreviations, however, were expanded.

11 In some instances, the source of a gloss is not clear. For example, in the case of a gloss dealing with one of six types of metonymy (Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis* 1.21; O'Sullivan [ed.], *Glossae*, 93, 1), I list the closest verbal parallels and not those that simply deal with this type of metonymy. As for cross-referencing, it is hoped that my edition will be made available on the Corpus Christianorum website.

12 The *traditio textus* indicates which manuscripts have glosses on a particular section of text.

tial not only to demonstrate that the glosses represent a tradition, but also for establishing particular readings, errors, corruptions, corrections, additions, and revisions in the extant manuscripts.

**Table 2**

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|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| Principal manuscripts   |                |
| Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale 594                             | <i>B</i>       |
| Cologne, Dombibliothek 193  | <i>K</i>       |
| Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. lat. folio 48             | <i>La</i>      |
| Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 88                          | <i>Lb</i>      |
| Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 87                          | <i>Lc</i>      |
| Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 36                          | <i>Ld</i>      |
| Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. lat. 118                          | <i>O</i>       |
| Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8669                | <i>Pa</i>      |
| Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8670                | <i>Pb</i>      |
| Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8671                | <i>Pc</i>      |
| St Petersburg, The National Library of Russia, Class. lat. F.V.10 | <i>R</i>       |
| Trier, Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars 100          | <i>T</i>       |
| Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1987      | <i>Va</i>      |
| Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1535      | <i>Vb</i>      |
| Manuscripts used to confirm readings                              |                |
| Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 153                             | <i>CCC 153</i> |
| Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 330, Part II                    | <i>CCC 330</i> |
| London, British Library, Harley 2685                              | <i>L</i>       |
| Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 191                              | <i>Or</i>      |
| Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12960               | <i>Pd</i>      |
| Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 133 Gud. lat. | <i>W</i>       |

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The glosses in the principal manuscripts are used for a variety of reasons: because they contain very full sets of glosses (as in *La* and *T*), are part of a family of glossed manuscripts (as in *Lb*, *Va*, *Lc*, *Pb* and *R*), or represent the addition of new material or transmit interesting mixtures (as in *O*, *Ld* and *K*). Six manuscripts are consulted to confirm readings. They are not included among the principal manuscripts for a number of reasons: because they are sparsely glossed (as in *W*), contain a highly eclectic mix (as in *CCC 153*), or their glosses are already edited (as in *Pd*).

Second, glosses are grouped into loosely defined categories in order that the reader may more readily discern similar kinds of glosses across the manuscript tradition as a whole. The categories are not set in stone, and glosses often fit into

more than one category (e.g. synonym and commentary). When this happens, I select where a gloss fits best. The aim is to group similar kinds of glosses rather than to identify clearly defined typologies. For this reason also, specific numbers are not assigned to the basic categories (given below in Table 3) as it would result, at times, in assigning several numbers to a particular annotation.

**Table 3**

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|   |
|---|
| Etymological and basic explanatory glosses            |
| Annotations supplying the subject or object of a word |
| Synonyms  |
| Grammatical, interpretative and metrical glosses      |
| Glosses identifying a person or a place               |

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A tree structure is employed to reflect this organization. The lemma, printed in small capitals, follows the order of the words in the text. It is accompanied by a number to indicate a major category and by a superscript numeral to indicate different glosses within this category. In addition, within the same category (e.g. [1]<sup>1</sup> or [1]<sup>2</sup>), different glosses are separated by a single vertical line. Different categories, on the other hand, are singled out by a double vertical line:

DITIOR [1]<sup>1</sup> s. erat *LaB* |<sup>2</sup> s. est *Ld* || [2]<sup>1</sup> locupletior *Lb<sup>2</sup>Va* || [3]<sup>1</sup> Bene dicitur ditior, quia omnes diuitiae terrae adscribuntur cuius Pluton princeps est *LaB* |<sup>2</sup> Quia mors omnia consummit (*intellege* consummat) O |<sup>3</sup> Ideo fratre ditior, quia intra terram positus per interiorem uim potestatem gignendi omnium fructuum habet *LbVa* || [4]<sup>1</sup> Orcus *T* (*De nuptiis* I.80; *Glossae*: 222–23, 25–29).

The above example illustrates how the glosses are grouped into categories. Glosses to the lemma *DITIOR* are organized as follows: the first level of glosses consists of suppletives, furnishing the verb; the second supplies a synonym; the third contains interpretative annotations; the fourth identifies the person (see table 4).

The advantage of a tree structure is rapid recognition of similar kinds of glosses. The downside is that one artificially imposes an order not present in the manuscripts. Inevitably, there will be other categories one could have included. Though any edition invariably imposes a structure of its own, the editorial measures adopted above try to avoid the problem of possible confusion owing

**Table 4**

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Etymological and basic explanatory glosses, including suppletives | s. erat <i>LaB</i>   <sup>2</sup> s. est <i>Ld</i>   |
| Annotations supplying the subject or object of a word             |  |
| Synonyms  | locupletior <i>Lb<sup>2</sup>Va</i>  |
| Grammatical, interpretative and metrical glosses                  | Bene dicitur ditior, quia omnes diuitiae terrae adscribuntur cuius Pluton princeps est <i>LaB</i>   <sup>2</sup> Quia mors omnia consummit ( <i>intellege consummat</i> ) <i>O</i>   <sup>3</sup> Ideo fratre ditior, quia intra terram positus per interiorum uim potestatem gignendi omnium fructuum habet <i>LbVa</i> |
| Glosses identifying a person or a place                           | Orcus <i>T</i>   |

to the variety of different kinds of glosses found across the manuscript tradition as a whole.

The glosses, then, are organized in two ways: by manuscript affiliation and by their purpose and content. Every effort is made to ensure that the reader can see the various kinds of glosses, as well as determine the links among glosses within a particular family of glosses and across the manuscript tradition. These editorial methods of ordering the material, though repetitious at times and somewhat cumbersome, preserve the integrity of individual manuscript witnesses and enable the reader to identify variants, corrections, and errors.

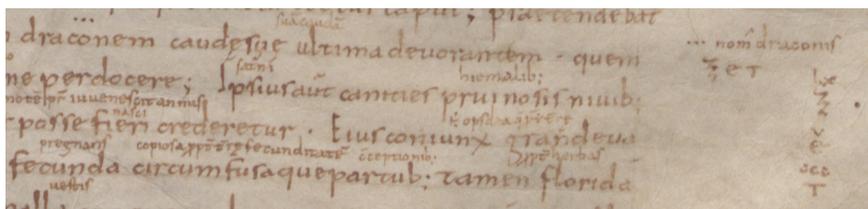
### *Identification of the Lemma*

Another editorial challenge presented by the glosses in the OGT is establishing the lemma. The lemma can be a single word, series of words, a clause, phrase, line or whole passage. On occasion, a gloss has multiple lemmata<sup>13</sup> or functions

13 For example, the following gloss annotates the words from the text “uolucrum diuersos meatus et oscinum linguas et praepetis omina pennae.” The gloss specifically highlights three phrases from the text which function as multiple lemmata: VOLUCRVM – PENNAE [1] <sup>1</sup> Tribus modis auguria auium noscebantur: cantu, uolatu et numero.

as the lemma for another gloss.<sup>14</sup> The relationship, moreover, between gloss and text is not always clearly signalled. Generally, the lemma is identified through graphic symbols known as *signes de renvoi* which link text and gloss or through placement of the marginal and interlinear glosses that were written close to or directly above their lemmata. For example, the following gloss is linked by a *signe de renvoi* to its lemma in Trier, Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars, Ms. 100, fol. 74r:

DRACONEM [1] <sup>1</sup> nomen draconis  $\Xi$ ET (*De nuptiis* I.70; *Glossae*: 206, 14, see the figure below)



The *signe de renvoi* comprises three dots which appear over the lemma *draconem* and again in the margins beside the gloss. Such methods of identification, however, incur problems. Symbols that connect glosses to individual words in the text do not clearly identify lemmata that consist of phrases, sentences, or long

Ostendit cantum cum “**oscinum linguas,**” uolatum inferens “**praepetis pennae,**” numerum inquiring “**diuersos meatus uolucrum.**” Et haec ad Apollinem pertinet, quia in die non in nocte fit (Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis* 1.10; O’Sullivan [ed.], *Glossae*, 53, 10–13). The gloss is written in the margins of Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. F. 48, fol. 3v and is tagged to the text word *diuersos*.

- 14 The following gloss is written by two scribes in Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. F. 48, fol. 6v: CYLLENIVM [1] <sup>1</sup> Cillenius filius Maiiae pelicis Iunonis quae utique mortalis fuit. Sed nato Cillenio statim eum suis uberibus applicuit ut esset immortalis. Iuno cum omnes riuales suas persecuta fuisset, ut fabulae tradunt, Maiam tamen non est persecuta (Queritur cur solam Maiam dilexerit *add. La<sup>3</sup>*) hac ratione, quia dum sol per Pliadas transitum agit, tunc siccitas aeris pluuiarum copia temperatur. Inde quaedam amicitia inter Iunonem, i. aerem, et Maiam, i. partem sideris quam sol tempore aestiuo incoante transcurrit uidetur naturaliter esse (Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis* 1.34; O’Sullivan [ed.], *Glossae*, 141, 36–43). The insertion “Queritur cur solam Maiam dilexerit” is added by a later scribe (*La<sup>3</sup>*). The original gloss functions as a kind of lemma for the addition. I indicate second and third hands by sigla and superscript numerals (e.g. *La<sup>3</sup>* and *Lb<sup>2</sup>*). For further details, see part IV (accretion and deletion).

passages. The correlation of gloss and lemma often became confused in the transmission process. Sometimes a scribe or scribes even provided different lemmata for a gloss. For example, in Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 88, fol. 6r, the following very similar glosses are tagged with different but connected words from the text, words found on the same line:

PHOEBVS [I] <sup>1</sup> Phoebus Grece, Latine crinitus dicitur, eo quod mane crines emittat oriens

AVRICOMVS [I] <sup>1</sup> Crinitus, eo quod mane crines emittat ouans (*De nuptiis* I.12; *Glossae*: 67, 33–35)

Moreover, the various layers of annotation sometimes blur the specific connexion between a gloss and its lemma. In a situation in which interlinear glosses run into one another and crowding of glosses is the norm, it is sometimes difficult to correlate lemma and gloss. And very often, the relationship between text and gloss is simply not signalled, as, for instance, when glosses were copied in the space above or below the text without *signes de renvoi*.

Additionally, the lemma could be removed from its gloss by some distance or even – as a result of scribal error, copying from an exemplar, or the pressures of space – be found on a different page from its accompanying gloss.

Scribes often did not even specify the precise lemma, or assigned a lemma to a gloss in a rather loose fashion. A gloss could be tagged with a single text word even when the lemma was a sentence or passage. For instance, in Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 88 (*Lb*), Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 87 (*Lc*), and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1987 (*Va*), the following gloss is tied by an identical *signe de renvoi* in all three manuscripts to the lemma *ammonebat*:

AMMONEBAT [I] <sup>1</sup> Describit habitum et indicium Apollinis: habitum, quia fidibus personabat, indicium, quia pestilentiam emittebat *Lb Va Lc* (*De nuptiis* I.19; *Glossae*: 90, 11–13)

However, the above gloss actually annotates a longer passage in the text, a passage that includes the word *ammonebat*:

EX QVO PESTEM FVGARI POSSE MERCVRIVS, SI VOCES PRIMAE VESTIGIIS EIVS ACCEDERENT, AMMONEBAT; SVBDENDAE TAMEN CLARIO FIDIBVS PERSON-

ANTI ATQVE INTER SERTA LAVRIGERA INFVLARVM LVBRICO IMPLEXOQVE  
CRINE REDIMITO (*De nuptiis* I.19)<sup>15</sup>

In the edition, I indicate this by taking the first and last words of the lemma and separating them with an n-dash and by placing the lemma *admonebat* with the accompanying *sigla* in parenthesis at the end of the sentence:

EX QVO – REDIMITO [1] <sup>1</sup> Describit habitum et indicium Apollinis: habitum, quia fidibus personabat,<sup>16</sup> indicium, quia pestilentiam emittebat *LbVaLcPb* (*ad admonebat LbVaLc*)

Establishing the lemma, then, is clearly not always a straightforward matter. In most cases, the lemma has to be determined through a close reading of text and gloss.

In the edition, a new line is provided for each new lemma, following the order of the words in *De nuptiis*. I try to establish the logical connection between gloss and text, by, for example, linking nouns and adjectives or participles and nouns in cases in which both elements are glossed. As with the glosses, I impose an order, placing lemmata that comprise multi-word units before those that consist of individual words – for example:

ANNVA PERAGRATIONE [1] <sup>1</sup> i. lustratione anniuersali *LaB*

ANNVA [1] <sup>1</sup> semel in anno *T* || [2] <sup>1</sup> annotina *T* (*De nuptiis* I.5, *Glossae*: 29, 10–11)

For words separated by text, an ellipsis is used to signal exclusive lemmatization:

PROCREATIONIS ... NVMEROSAE [1] <sup>1</sup> i. multiplicis progeniei *LaPaT LbVaLc LdPeK* (*De nuptiis* I.3, *Glossae*: 20, 13–14)

When the specific connexion between a multi-word lemma and its gloss is blurred or difficult to reconstruct, the individual text words are kept separate. For example, the scribe in a Vatican manuscript wrote the following glosses:

15 Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis*, I.19.

16 personabat] personet *Pb*

ARCANIS [I] <sup>1</sup> secretis (*De nuptiis* II.184; *Glossae*: 405, 5)

FLVORIBVS [I] <sup>1</sup> madoribus | <sup>2</sup> meatibus (*De nuptiis* II.184; *Glossae*: 405, 6)

If one takes the text words *arcanis fluoribus* as a multi-word unit, with adjective and noun paired, it is impossible to know whether it glosses *secretis madoribus* or *secretis meatibus*, as all of the glosses are written by the same hand.

Correlating lemma and gloss can be a challenge. This is especially the case when a gloss is placed over a portion of its lemma, as in the following example:

ADAMANTINI CACVMINIS IMPRESSIONE [I] <sup>1</sup> adamantino grafio *T* (*De nuptiis* II.110; *Glossae*: 280, 17)

The above gloss, written in the right-hand margin in Trier, Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars, Ms. 100, fol. 77v, appears near the text word *adamantini*, but is removed from the text words *cacuminis impressione*, which are on another line. The lemma spans two lines on the manuscript page, and the gloss one line.

Identification of the lemma is particularly difficult for lemmata that consist of sentences or long passages. When the lemma is an extensive passage, an n-dash between the first and last words is used to represent inclusive lemmatization. For instance, in the following case the lemma is the phrase *nescioquid inopinum intactumque*. This is represented by the first and final words separated by an n-dash:

nescioquid – intactvm [I] <sup>1</sup> Vel aliud cogitans uel quia de amore nullus alius cantasset *La<sup>3</sup>Pa* | <sup>2</sup> Quasi aliud cogitans uel nullus alius de amore cantasset *T* | <sup>3</sup> Quasi aliud cogitans uel quod nullus de amore alius cantasset *Pb* | <sup>4</sup> Quasi aliud cogitans uel quod ante nullus alius de amore cantasset *Pc* (*De nuptiis* I.2, *Glossae*: 14–15, 5–9)

Further difficulty arises when glosses accompany different lemmata in different manuscripts. In such cases, a decision is made as to which lemma the gloss best fits, and the variant is given in small capitals preceded by *ad*, as in the case below:

FLORIBVS [I] <sup>1</sup> Flores enim cum ratione nascuntur, quia fructum indicant se emittere *T Lb<sup>2</sup>VaPbR* (*ad* svbvolare *Lb<sup>2</sup>VaR*) (*De nuptiis* I.27; *Glossae*: 119, 8–10)

In the above instance, the gloss is tagged to different lemmata in different manuscripts. In three manuscripts it is linked with the text word *subvolare*, manuscripts that belong to a specific family of glossed manuscripts emanating from Corbie-Rheims. The lemma thus provides clues as to a particular family of glossed manuscripts. As such, it can be a useful guide to manuscript affiliation.

### *Variation and Corruption of the Lemma*

Textual variants and corruptions formed the bedrock of early medieval glosses on Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*. They often became the vulgate readings, and these readings, attested in many Carolingian manuscripts, were furnished with glosses by ninth- and tenth-century glossators. Sometimes, the variant or corruption was unique to a specific family of manuscripts, for example *librico* (intellege *lubrico*), found in three manuscripts emanating from Cologne-Lorsch.<sup>17</sup> A critical apparatus to the text records textual variants and informs the reader which manuscripts carry them, for example *Endelichiae* (intellege *Entelechiaie*) and *Caecaumenis* (intellege *Cecaumenes*):<sup>18</sup>

(a) VOLVIT SALTEM **ENTELECHIAE** AC SOLIS FILIAM POSTVLARE, QVOD SPECIOSA QVAM MAXIME MAGNAQVE DEORVM SIT EDVCATA CVRA (*De nuptiis* I.7)

**ENTELECHIAE**] Endelichiae *LaBPaOTVb LbVaLcPb LdPcK*, ENΔEΛIXIE T (*Glossae*: 36)

(b) NAM FLAMMA FLAGRANTIOR ET AB IPSIVS CECAVMENES EXANCLATA FOMITIBVS EX FERRI PRAEDICTA ANHELABAT VRNA, QVAE TAMEN VERTEX MVLCIBERI DICEBATVR (*De nuptiis* I.17)

**CECAVMENES**] Caecaumenis *LaBPaOT LbVa<sup>p.c.</sup> Lc Pc<sup>a.c.</sup> K*, Caecauminis *Vb Pb<sup>p.c.</sup> LdPc<sup>p.c.</sup>* (*Glossae*: 84)

17 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 36; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8671; Cologne, Dombibliothek, Ms. 193. See Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis* 1.19; O'Sullivan (ed.), *Glossae*, 91, 63.

18 Glosses are appended to Willis's edition (Leipzig, 1983), the most recent edition of books 1–2.

Textual variants and corruptions often inspired Carolingian commentary, as in the following case in which the text words *luminata* and *veris* became *lumina veris* and were glossed accordingly:

NAM ET TELLVS FLORIBVS LVMINATA, QVIPPE VERIS DEVM CONSPEXERAT  
SVBVOLARE MERCVRIVM, ET APOLLINE CONSPICATO AERIA TEMPERIES SVDIS  
TRACTIBVS RENIDEBAT (*De nuptiis* I.27)

LVMINA ... VERIS [I] <sup>1</sup> s. sunt flores illius *La* | <sup>2</sup> per flores ueris *LaB* | <sup>3</sup> per  
flores illius, i. ueris *T* | <sup>4</sup> flores illius temporis *Vb* | <sup>5</sup> per splendorem illius  
*LbVaLc* | <sup>6</sup> flores ueris lumina, s. sunt *Ld* (*Glossae*: 119, 12–14)

Sometimes the corruptions and variants suited the general interest of the glossators, as with the rendition of *climata* as *limata/limmata*, which underscored a general fascination with the *ars musica*, as illustrated by numerous Carolingian glosses on *De nuptiis*.<sup>19</sup>

QVAE AVTEM NOCTIBVS UNIVERSIS CAELVM, FRETA TARTARVMQVE DISCVTERE  
AC DEORVM OMNIVM SEDES CVRIOSAE INDAGIS PERSCVTATIONE TRANSIRE,  
QVAE TEXTVM MVNDI CIRCVLORVMQVE VOLVMINA VEL ORBICVLATA PARAL-  
LELA VEL OBLIQA, DECVSATA, POLOS, CLIMATA AXIVMQUE VERTIGINES CVM  
IPSORVM PVTO SIDERVM MVLTITVDINE NVMERARE, NISI HAEC PHILOLOGIA,  
GRACILENTA QVADAM AFFIXIONE CONSUEVIT (*De nuptiis* I.37)

LIMATA [I] <sup>1</sup> Per lim<m>ata <h>emitonia, hoc est omnia intra circulos spatia  
insinuat *LaB*

LYMATA [I] <sup>1</sup> duos coluros dicit *Pc*

LIMMATA [I] <sup>1</sup> Per limmata omnia intra circulos spatia insinuat *TVb*  
*LbVaLcPbR Ld* | <sup>2</sup> Hemicirculi qui sunt a polo ad polum *Ld* || [2] <sup>1</sup> i.  
emitonia *OTVb LbVaLcR PcK* (*Glossae*: 152, 59–64)

19 For the importance of music for Carolingian glossators of *De nuptiis*, as well as its association with concepts of cosmic harmony, see Teeuwen, *Harmony*, 190–340; Mariken Teeuwen, “L’armonia delle sfere nel nono secolo: Nuove prospettive su fonti antiche,” in *Harmonia mundi: Musica mundana e musica celeste fra Antichità e Medioevo: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Roma, 14–15 dicembre 2005)*, ed. Marta Cristiani, Cecilia Panti and Graziano Perillo, Micrologus’ Library 19 (Florence, 2007), 95–114.

Moreover, variants and corruptions frequently became standard, as in the case of *Litium* (intellege *Lyciam*), *aetherios mentis...coetus* (intellege *aetherios superum...coetus*), and *industriae* (intellege *illustri ea*). In all three cases, the variants were supplied with Carolingian glosses:

(a) ITEM EVM IN HELICONA, DELON LYCIAMQVE SECTANTVR (*De nuptiis* I.10)

LITIVM [I] <sup>1</sup> Litius dictus est Apollo et templum eius Litium, a Licho uidelicet lupo. Sicut enim oculi lupi semper ui luminis pollent ut etiam noctu candeat uideantque et illuminent, ita et sol semper lucet et inextinguibilem luminis claritatem aeternaliter fouet uel etiam dictus est Litius Apollo, quia sicut lupus deuorat pec[c]ora, ita sol humores *La* (*Glossae*: 55, 7–12)

(b) DA, PATER, AETHERIOS SVPERVM CONSCENDERE COETVS (*De nuptiis* II.193)

AETHERIOS MENTIS ... COETVS [I] <sup>1</sup> Qui in mentibus sunt et ratione utuntur *LbVaLc* (*Glossae*: 415, 2–3)

(c) ITAQVE PRO ILLVSTRI EA DIGNITATE, QVAM CONVENIRET ACCIPERE, CVNCTAMENTO LONGAE DELIBERATIONIS ALTERNAT (*De nuptiis* I.6)

INDVSTRIAE [I] <sup>1</sup> sapientiae *La LbVaLc* | <sup>2</sup> prudentiae *B LdPc* | <sup>3</sup> sollertiae *LbVa* (*Glossae*: 32, 3–4)

In the edition, textual variants are recorded and the lemma is written as it appears in the manuscripts. This means that there is often a disparity between Willis's printed text of *De nuptiis* and the lemma, as in the following examples:

(a) AN VERO QVISQVAM EST, QVI PHILOGIAE SE ASSERAT PERVIGILIA LABORATA ET LVCVBRATIONVM PERENNIVM NESCIRE PALLOREM (*De nuptiis* I.37)

ETIAM [I] <sup>1</sup> aliter uero *La*<sup>3</sup> (*Glossae*: 150, 4)

(b) NVNC ERGO MYTHOS TERMINATVR (*De nuptiis* II.220)

TERMINATAS [I] <sup>1</sup> finitas *La LbVaLcR*

TERMINATVS [I] <sup>1</sup> est *T* (*Glossae*: 440, 4–5)

When the lemma follows Willis's edition in some manuscripts, but exists as a variant in others, the variant is placed second. For example, in three manuscripts we find a variant to the text word *lubrico*, namely *librico*. The variant and its accompanying glosses are written after the annotations to *lubrico*:

EX QVO PESTEM FVGARI POSSE MERCVRIVS, SI VOCES PRIME VESTIGIIS EIVS ACCEDERENT, ADMONEBAT; SVBDENDAE TAMEN CLARIO FIDIBUS PERSONANTI ATQVE INTER SERTA LAVRIGERA INFVLARVM LVBRICO IMPLEXOQVE CRINE REDIMITO (*De nuptiis* I.19)

LVBRICO [1] <sup>1</sup> longo *LaBT* | <sup>2</sup> prolixo *LaB LbVa* | <sup>3</sup> inflexo *O* | <sup>4</sup> obtorto *Lb<sup>2</sup>Va*

LIBRICO [1] <sup>1</sup> madido *Ld* | <sup>2</sup> arboreo *PcK* (*Glossae*: 91, 61–63)

Moreover, the lemma is sometimes the source of error. For instance, a scribe in a Leiden manuscript (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 36) introduced a word break into the text word *cunctalis*, which was glossed as *cuncta lis*.<sup>20</sup> In other manuscripts it is glossed as *cunctalis*:

CVNCTALIS [1] <sup>1</sup> i. deus dubitationis *LaBOT* | <sup>2</sup> dubitationum dea *T Ld* | <sup>3</sup> deus dubitationum uel omnis controuersia *LbR* || [2] <sup>1</sup> **Cuncta lis** naturalis discordia omnium elementorum. Elementa autem sunt quattuor quae sunt nota omnibus. Qualitates uero illorum sunt caliditas, frigiditas, humiditas, siccitas. Frigiditas autem et caliditas, i. aqua et ignis contraria sunt, siccitas et humiditas, i. terra et aer. Ex his duo sunt masculi et duae feminae. Ignis enim nihil generat per se, nec aer; aqua uero et terra gignunt. Quamuis ergo contraria esse uideantur et litem habere, tamen per qualitates iunguntur. Habet enim unumquodque elementum duas qualitates, i. unam propriam, alteram aliunde per quam alteram iunguntur ut terra sicca et arida ariditas ignis. Naturalis lis omnium elementorum Grece sinpathia dicitur, i. compassibilis *Ld* (*De nuptiis* I.54; *Glossae*: 179, 5–16)

20 A similar gloss is found in Édouard Jeuneau, "Le commentaire érigénien sur Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis*, lib.I) d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford (Bodl. Libr. Auct.T.2.19, fol. 1–31)," in *Quatre thèmes érigéniens (Conférence Albert-le-Grand, 1974)*, Institut d'études médiévales (Montréal and Paris, 1978), 151, lines 12–16.

Variants, however, were not confined to the lemma. The glosses, too, reveal much variation and corruption. To this end, the apparatus to the glosses revealing variants informs the reader about which manuscripts carry that particular reading – for example:

CELEBREM [I] <sup>1</sup> famosam *LaBO LbVaLcR* (*De nuptiis* I. 68; *Glossae*: 203, 14).

FAMOSAM] formosam *La*

At all times, I endeavour in my edition to record what is found in the individual manuscripts, thus demonstrating that variation, corruption, and error very often underpinned early medieval glosses on *De nuptiis*.

### *Accretion and Correction*

Accretion and correction, pervasive in the manuscripts of the OGT, also present a challenge for the modern editor. In the OGT, new glosses were constantly being added over time. For example, the principal glossator of the Trier manuscript incorporated some Festus glosses into his annotations, which are not found elsewhere in the extant manuscripts transmitting the OGT.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, we find Old Welsh glosses being added to the OGT in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library Ms. 153, which transmits Latin marginal and interlinear glosses from the OGT together with some vernacular glosses. Glossators regularly glossed and added to their own glosses and to existing layers of annotation, sometimes working in tandem with another scribe, indicating that the OGT was not a static tradition.

To highlight this process, second and third hands are sometimes included in the edition. They are indicated by the siglum of the manuscript and superscript numerals (e.g. *Lb<sup>2</sup>* or *La<sup>3</sup>*). The additions by the third gloss hand in Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus Latinus Folio 48 (*La<sup>3</sup>*), for instance,

21 For example, in Trier, Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars, Ms. 100, fol. 78r there is the following gloss: AMBRONVM] Ambrones fuerunt gens quaedam Gallica, qui subita inundatione maris cum amisissent sedes suas rapinis et praedationibus se suosque alere coeperunt. Eos et Cymbros Theotonesque Gaius Marius deleuit. Ex quo tractum est ut turpis uitae homines Ambrones dicerentur (Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis* 2.116; O'Sullivan [ed.], *Glossae*, 291, 15–18). Cf. W.M. Lindsay (ed.), *Sexti Pompei Festi De uerborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli Epitome* (Leipzig and Stuttgart, 1997; ed. stereotypa 1913), 15, 29.

are furnished (see footnote 14). These glosses are, for the most part, not found in the closely related manuscript, Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 594. They are, however, found in another manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8669. The glosses by the third gloss hand in the Leiden manuscript are important as they provide clues to the different exemplars behind the glosses in the manuscript.<sup>22</sup>

In some cases, moreover, the additions appear to be the product of different scribes working in tandem.<sup>23</sup> For example, in Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 88, two glossators writing in a small, rounded Carolingian minuscule, contemporary or near-contemporary with the text, worked together to transmit annotations from the OGT, the second scribe (*Lb*<sup>2</sup>) often completing or adding to the glosses of the first.<sup>24</sup> In the closely related manuscripts Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1987 and Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 87, the additions of *Lb*<sup>2</sup> are included. These additions are indicated by the use of brackets together with the abbreviation *add. (addidit)* and the corresponding siglum *Lb*. The inclusions in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1987 and Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 87, are signalled by the abbreviation *incl. (incluserunt)* and the corresponding sigla *Va* and *Lc*, as in the case below:

CVNAE [I] <sup>1</sup> Crocea ut Hieremias: Qui recumbebant *in croceis amplexati sunt stercora*. Lecti infantum dicuntur cunae. (Datur quidem intelligi per cunas, quia licet in ipsis fuerit nutrita inter homines, possibilitas tamen erat transferendi inter deos *add. Lb*<sup>2</sup>, *incl. VaLc*) *Lb VaLc* (*De nuptiis* I.93; *Glossae*: 249–50, 7–11).

The formulations *addidit* and *incluserunt*, though somewhat awkward, avoid confusion between additions by a second hand and inclusions by scribes. This information can be useful for demonstrating the process of accretion. Moreover,

22 For the exemplars behind the glosses in *La*, see S. O’Sullivan, “The Stemmatic Relationship between the Manuscripts Transmitting the Oldest Gloss Tradition,” in *Carolingian Scholarship and Martianus Capella*, 35–40.

23 M. Teeuwen, “Glossing in Close Cooperation: Examples from Ninth-Century Martianus Capella Manuscripts,” in *Practice in Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. R.H. Bremmer and K. Dekker, Mediaevalia Groningana, New Series (Paris and Leuven, 2010), 91.

24 See Teeuwen, *Harmony*, 123.

when two hands are responsible for writing the same word, the section written by the second hand is noted in the critical apparatus to the gloss, and the sigla for both the first and second hands appear alongside the gloss:

LIVENTIS [I] <sup>1</sup> subnigrae *LbLb<sup>2</sup>Va* (*De nuptiis* I.14; *Glossae*: 69, 25–26).

subnigrae] sub- *Lb<sup>2</sup>*

When the addition of a second or third hand is unique (i.e. not found in other manuscripts), it is placed in brackets with the abbreviation *add.* (*addidit*) followed by the siglum of the manuscript:

VEHICVLVM [I] <sup>1</sup> Vehiculum dicit, i. uolubilitatem cogitationum, quia uicissim ueniunt cogitationes (et succedunt *add. La<sup>3</sup>*) *LaT LbVaLcPb* (*De nuptiis* I.7; *Glossae*: 44, 1–3).

CANDENTI ... ALITE [I] <sup>1</sup> fulgenti (uel cigno *add. Lb<sup>2</sup>*) *LaBVb LbVaLcR* (*De nuptiis* I.26; *Glossae*: 118, 30).

Moreover, the OGT was not only subject to accretion but also to correction. A good example is found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1987 (*Va*). We find an error in the Vatican manuscript that is also in two other manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8670 (*Pb*) and St Petersburg, The National Library of Russia, Class. lat. F.V.10 (*R*). Instead of the word *androgini*, these three manuscripts have *andromedi*. The conjunctive error, however, is corrected in *Va*:

HERMAPHRODITO [I] <sup>1</sup> Instinctu Cypridis quae uxor est Hymenei Mercurius cum esset iuuenis concubuit cum Venere. Inde natus est Hermafroditus. Hermafroditum ergo Mercurio genitum et Venere dicunt. Hermes Mercurius dicitur, Afrodite Venus uocatur. Hermafroditus autem Mercurii et Veneris filius. Venus Afrodite ideo uocatur, i. spumea, eo quod de spuma testiculorum Saturni nata fuisse perhibetur. Bene enim simul concubuisse dicuntur, quia amore sapientiae excolit se sermo. Hermafroditum dicuntur homines utriusque sexus qui Grece androgini dicuntur *Vb Lb<sup>2</sup>VaLcPbR* (*De nuptiis* I.34; *Glossae*: 143, 120–128)

ANDROGINI] andromedi *Va<sup>d.c.</sup>PbR*, androgini *Va<sup>p.c.</sup>*

Both the error (*andromedi* *Va*<sup>a.c.</sup>(*ante correctionem*)*PbR*) and the correction in *Va* (*androgini* *Va*<sup>p.c.</sup>(*post correctionem*)) are recorded in the critical apparatus to the gloss, as it is important for helping to establish the stemmatic relationship among *Va*, *Pb*, and *R*.

### Conclusion

To conclude, this paper has focused on four areas that present challenges for the modern editor of early medieval glosses on Martianus: organization of material; identification of the lemma; variation and corruption of the lemma; and accretion and correction. It suggests possible ways of dealing with the complexity of the evidence. In many respects, the choices represent compromises. At all times, attention is paid to representing what is found in the individual manuscript witnesses in the hope that the reader will be better able to understand the transmission of the OGT, subject as it was to constant transformation.

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