The Beauty of the Trinity:
Achard of St. Victor as a Forgotten Precursor of Nicholas of Cusa

Von David Albertson, Los Angeles

1 A new approach to the question of precursors

In the last century, readers of Nicholas of Cusa often hailed the German cardinal as the prophetic *Vorläufer*, forerunner or precursor, of the modern worldview. His cosmology seemed to anticipate Copernicus, his epistemology seemed to anticipate Descartes or Kant, and his interest in mathematics seemed to anticipate Leibniz.[1] Today we are more likely to describe Cusan philosophy with greater sobriety as the fruition of movements in late medieval theology and Renaissance Platonism. At most the cardinal's epochal position, as in Hans Blumenberg's well-known account, falls just short of modernity or perhaps stands in its doorway, like a philosophical Moses gazing on the seventeenth century but not admitted entry.[2] This historiographical shift was encouraged by a deeper appreciation of the multilayered influence of ancient and medieval authors studied and in several cases carefully annotated by Cusanus. The *Quel-*

---

1 Cf. e. g. ROBERT ZIMMERMANN, Der Cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus als Vorläufer Leibnitzens, in: Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 8, Vienna 1852, 306–328; RICHARD FALCKENBERG, Grundzüge der Philosophie des Nicolaus Cusanus mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Lehre vom Erkennen, Breslau 1880; DERS., Geschichte der neueren Philosophie von Nikolaus von Kues bis zur Gegenwart, Leipzig 1905; ERNST CASSIRER, Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance, Leipzig 1927; HEINRICH ROMBACH, Substanz, System, Struktur. Die Ontologie des Funktionalismus und der philosophische Hintergrund der modernen Wissenschaft, München 1965. See further JASPER HOPKINS, Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464): First Modern Philosopher? in: Midwest Studies in Philosophy 26 (2002) 13–29; and especially HANS GERHARD SENGER, Wie modern ist Cusanus? Zur Fragilität der Modernitätsthesen (Trierer Cusanus Lecture 17), Trier 2012.
2 See HANS BLUMENBERG, Die Legitimität der Neuzeit, Frankfurt a. M. 1966; ELIZABETH BRIENT, The Immanence of the Infinite. Hans Blumenberg and the Threshold to Modernity, Washington, DC 2002.

lenforschung associated with the Heidelberg edition demonstrated the centrality of Proclus and Dionysius, John Scotus Eriugena and Meister Eckhart, Thierry of Chartres and Ramon Llull.

But if Nicholas of Cusa benefited from so many august ancient and medieval influences, then we should not only move beyond the project of defining the cardinal's precise liminal position between the Middle Ages and modernity. We should also turn our assumption about the novelty of the Cusan philosophy on its head. Rather than present Cusanus as precursor of modernity, we ought to seek premodern precursors of Cusanus. By this I mean thinkers before the fifteenth century who represent partial but authentic apprehensions of the peculiar fabric of past theologies that Cusanus wove together.

This is a challenging task, not only because of the novelty of some Cusan formulae. Many of the cardinal's Platonist sources are reiterated in a kind of double or triple layering in his works, iterations that can obscure their particular contributions. For example, the henology of Proclus is repeated in Dionysius, and that of Dionysius again in Meister Eckhart. Each has a slightly different color, but Nicholas blends all three together. Eckhart could be viewed as a partial precursor of Cusan philosophy, since he already combines an Augustinian Trinitarian theology with the theophanic philosophies of Dionysius and Proclus. Another example might be Heimeric de Campo, who passed down to Cusanus, so to speak, a pre-combined mixture of Llullian philosophy, the Dionysianism of Albertus Magnus, and a deep interest in the quadrivium and particularly geometrical figures.[3] Another well-known Platonist source is the twelfth-century Parisian master, Thierry of Chartres.[4] Through still-

---

3 See Florian Hamann, Das Siegel der Ewigkeit. Universalwissenschaft und Konziliarismus bei Heymericus de Campo (Buchreihe der Cusanus-Gesellschaft 16), Münster 2006.

4 See *inter alia* Thomas P. McTighe, Thierry of Chartres and Nicholas of Cusa's Epistemology, in: Proceedings of the PMR Conference: Annual Publications of the Patristic, Medieval, and Renaissance Conference, Vol. 5, Villanova 1980, 159–176; Werner Beierwaltes, Einheit und Gleichheit. Eine Fragestellung im Platonismus von Chartres und ihre Rezeption durch Nicolaus Cusanus, in: Denken des Einen. Studien zur neuplatonischen Philosophie und ihrer Wirkungsgeschichte, hg. von ders., Frankfurt a.M. 1985, 368–84; Jean-Michel Counet, Mathématiques et Dialectique chez Nicolas de Cuse (Etudes de philosophie médiévale 80), Paris 2000; Bernard McGinn, *Unitrinum Seu Triunum*: Nicholas of Cusa's Trinitarian Mysticism, in: Mystics. Presence and Aporia, ed. by Michael Kessler and Christian Sheppard (Religion and Postmodernism),

mysterious channels Thierry transmitted an innovative Neopythagorean vocabulary to Nicholas of Cusa that profoundly shaped the very architecture of his thought. What would Cusan philosophy be without *complicatio* and *explicatio*, the triad of *unitas*, *aequalitas* and *conexio*, the four modes of being, the divine Word as *aequalitas essendi*, or God as *forma formarum*? Thierry's motto in his Genesis commentary could stand as an epigram for many of Cusanus's works: »the proofs of arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy […] lead humankind to the knowledge of the Creator.«[5]

Certainly Thierry is an essential Cusan source, but his *Wirkungsgeschichte* has some unusual features that complicate our attempts to measure his full significance. First of all, Thierry drew upon the same collection of late antique Platonist sources common to many other humanists in the first half of the twelfth century. Whatever is unique to Thierry's theology derives from his own sheer inventiveness as an interpreter, not from passing along a rare treasure, as when Heimeric passed along Llull to the younger Nicholas.[6] At the same time, Thierry's philosophy did not enjoy much of a legacy outside of its repetition by Cusanus, unlike the cases of Proclus or Dionysius, which despite Nicholas's preëminence in the fifteenth century as an interpreter of their works, were already known to the German Dominicans for nearly two centuries before him.

Thierry of Chartres's influence at Paris and Chartres may have been felt by students like Clarembald of Arras, Bernardus Silvestris or Hermann of Carinthia. It was noted at arm's length by John of Salisbury, Alan of Lille and Richard of St. Victor. But largely speaking, Thierry's influence trickled away beginning already in the decade after his death in 1157.[7] The

---

Chicago, Ill. 2003, 90–117; Cecilia Rusconi, Cusanus und Thierry von Chartres. Die Einteilung der spekulativen Wissenschaften und der Begriff *forma essendi* in ›De possest‹ und im Kommentar ›Librum hunc‹, in: Das Europäische Erbe im Denken des Nikolaus von Kues. Geistesgeschichte als Geistesgegenwart, hg. von Harald Schwaetzer und Kirstin Zeyer, Münster 2008, 285–302.

5   Thierry of Chartres, *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, n. 30, in: Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and his School, ed. Nikolaus M. Häring (Studies and texts. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies 20), Toronto 1971, 568.

6   See Gillian R. Evans, Thierry of Chartres and the Unity of Boethius' Thought, in: Studia Patristica 17 (1983), 440–445; Peter Dronke, Thierry of Chartres, in: A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy, ed. idem, Cambridge 1988, 368–370.

7   See David Albertson, Achard of St. Victor (d. 1171) and the Eclipse of the Arithmetic Model of the Trinity, in: Traditio 67 (2012), 101–144. Some passages below regarding Achard have been adapted from this article.

consolidation of early scholasticism with Peter Lombard, the episcopal condemnations of 1210, and the imminent rediscovery of Aristotle's natural philosophy all quickly rendered Thierry's extreme Platonism obsolete. Thereafter, or so it has seemed, Thierry's theological innovations were forgotten until the great wave of *De docta ignorantia* crashed ashore in 1440. The Cusan writings are often viewed as the only historical site where Thierry's ideas were preserved and developed. As Édouard Jeauneau once wrote, »if Nicholas of Cusa's *De docta ignorantia* effectively prolonged the effort of the Chartrian masters, who could dare to think that Thierry of Chartres had labored in vain?«[8]

Over the last few decades, however, French historians have uncovered a neglected reception of Thierry's thought within the twelfth century: the work of Achard of St. Victor, and in particular Achard's marvelous treatise *De unitate Dei et pluralitate creaturarum*. Achard was abbot of St. Victor in the generation after Hugh's death in 1141, and was thus a contemporary of Thierry of Chartres. Achard was born in England and then studied in Paris. He became abbot of St. Victor in 1155, was named bishop of Avranches in 1161, and died in 1171. Fifteen sermons and three letters survive, as well as two major treatises. He also wrote several lengthy *quaestiones* that have not yet been discovered. Achard's sermons are classically Victorine in their imaginative, complex scriptural meditations. The shorter, anthropological treatise, *De discretione animae, spiritus et mentis*, repeats ideas associated with Gilbert of Poitiers.[9]

Yet the longer treatise, *De unitate Dei et pluralitate creaturarum* (or simply *De unitate*), bears all the signs of Thierry of Chartres's influence.[10] It seems probable that like Clarembald of Arras, Achard studied

---

8 ÉDOUARD JEAUNEAU, Mathématiques et Trinité chez Thierry de Chartres, in: Die Metaphysik im Mittelalter. Ihr Ursprung und ihre Bedeutung. Vorträge des II. Internationalen Kongresses für mittelalterliche Philosophie, hg. von Paul Wilpert (Miscellanea Mediaevalia 2), Berlin 1963, 295.

9 On Achard's life and works, see JEAN CHÂTILLON, Théologie, spiritualité et métaphysique dans l'œuvre oratoire d'Achard de Saint Victor: Etudes d'histoire doctrinale précédées d'un essai sur la vie et l'oeuvre d'Achard (Études de philosophie médiéval 58), Paris 1969; ACHARD OF SAINT VICTOR, Works, transl. and introd. by Hugh Feiss (Cistercian Studies Series 165), Kalamazoo, Mich. 2001.

10 Strictly speaking, the two parts of the treatise have different names: *De unitate et Trinitate* (Treatise I) and *De unitate et pluralitate creaturarum* (the partially preserved Treatise II). See JEAN CHÂTILLON, Théologie (cf. note 9) 121. For this reason I will refer to the work as *De unitate* for short. I use Feiss's translations of *De unitate* and the sermons, noting modifications when necessary.

both with Thierry and with Hugh in the late 1130s and early 1140s. Given that his responsibilities as abbot began in 1155, this would mean that he most likely finished his *De unitate* around the year 1150. This would match the arc of Thierry's teaching career, who was made chancellor at Chartres in 1141 and retired to a Cistercian house in 1155. Furthermore, Richard of St. Victor knew Achard's *De unitate* when he wrote his letter *De tribus appropriatis*, and the terminus a quo of that letter is 1160–1162.[11] Achard's *De unitate* was mentioned by John of Cornwall in the late twelfth century and then by John Leland in the early sixteenth, but then was considered lost to history. In 1944, André Combes identified long extracts in Jean de Ripa, but thought they belonged to Anselm of Canterbury. But ten years later Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny discovered a manuscript of *De unitate* at St. Anthony's monastery in Padua and published a few extracts to prove its authenticity. Finally in 1987, Emmanuel Martineau transcribed the entire manuscript and made a French translation.[12]

The version of Achard's treatise that survives contains two books, although the second half of Book II is lost. When one reads it from start to finish, the sheer originality of his vision shines through. Jean Châtillon and others have hailed it as one of the most audacious and penetrating philosophical works of the mid-twelfth century.[13] In *De unitate* Achard

---

11 RICHARD DE SAINT-VICTOR, Opuscules théologiques, texte critique avec introduction, notes et tables par Jean Ribaillier (Textes philosophiques du moyen âge 15), Paris 1967, 177–178.

12 See ANDRÉ COMBES, Un inédit de saint Anselme? Le traité *De unitate divinae essentiae et pluralitate creaturarum* d'après Jean de Ripa (Études de philosophie médiévale 34), Paris 1944; MARIE-THÉRÈSE D'ALVERNY, Achard de Saint-Victor, *De Trinitate – De unitate et pluralitate creaturarum*, in: Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale 21 (1954) 299–306; ACHARD DE SAINT-VICTOR, L'Unité de Dieu et la pluralité de créatures, texte latin inédit du manuscrit de Padoue (Antoniana, Scaff. V 89) établi, traduit et présenté par Emmanuel Martineau suivi de la traduction française du traité achardien ›Du discernement entre âme, spiritus et mens‹, Saint-Lambert des Bois 1987.

13 »Une telle démarche était très audacieuse, parce qu'elle s'accordait mal avec l'orthodoxie de l'époque. À l'époque où la tendance générale de la théologie essayait de prouver l'unité et la simplicité en Dieu, – n'oublions pas les difficultés encourues par Abélard et Gilbert de la Porrée –, Achard a voulu montrer qu'il y a non seulement une pluralité en Dieu, mais en plus que cette pluralité est la vraie pluralité et qu'elle est le fondement de la pluralité des créatures.« MOHAMMAD ILKHANI, La philosophie de la création chez Achard de Saint-Victor (Collection »Ousia« 38), Brussels 1999, 107. Cf. JEAN CHÂTILLON, Théologie (cf. note 9) 277.

tries to demonstrate by reason alone – but also out of wonder before infinite beauty – the paradox of a plurality within God. He then proceeds to contemplate this divine plurality first as Trinity and then as the ground of difference in the created universe. Some have compared *De unitate* to Anselm's *Proslogion*, but the ambitious treatise also calls to mind moments of Augustine's *De ordine* or *De musica*, the *Liber de causis* or even the *Philebus*.[14] In *De unitate* Achard repeats several doctrines from Thierry of Chartres's commentaries on Genesis and Boethius. Like Thierry, Achard endorses using the quadrivium as a guide in Trinitarian theology. He cites Thierry's triad of *unitas*, *aequalitas* and *conexio* and feels comfortable modifying it further in his own book. Achard repeats one of Thierry's more unusual doctrines, his comparison of the divine Son to an eternal square. He even alludes to Thierry's *explicatio* and *complicatio* when he posits, alongside final reasons and formal reasons, another species of causation that he calls »unfolding reasons« (*rationes explicatrices*).[15]

Achard drew on Thierry's theology in ways that foreshadow Cusanus's own labors in the same textual fields. We can therefore use Achard of St. Victor's thought as a tool for reconsidering Cusanus's relation to Thierry of Chartres. When students of Cusanus lack evidence that anyone else engaged Thierry's writings before 1440, it can seem as if Nicholas simply transcribed the ideas of the Breton master into his texts, as if he were a student auditing Thierry's lectures at Paris. Of course, this is false: Cusanus altered Thierry's ideas as it suited him, sometimes quite radically, and he experimented with fresh applications within the new parameters of fifteenth-century thought. This is why comparing the two respective interpretations of Thierry of Chartres, three hundred years apart, can help us to better appreciate the specific editorial decisions made by Cusanus in *De docta ignorantia* and indeed later works. To the extent that Thierry's theological vocabulary is central to the Cusan project, we can accordingly elevate our estimation of Achard of St. Victor as a bona fide *Vorläufer* or precursor of the theology of Nicholas of Cusa.

---

14 See ibid. 123–126; Mohammad Ilkhani, La philosophie (cf. note 13) 357.

15 Achard of St. Victor, *De unitate Dei et pluralitate creaturarum* I, n. 39, ed. Achard de Saint-Victor, L'Unité de Dieu (cf. note 12) 108. Cf. idem, *De unitate Dei et pluralitate creaturarum* I, n. 42, 112; idem, *De unitate Dei et pluralitate creaturarum* II, n. 19, 192. On the relationship between *ratio explicatrix* and *explicatio* in Thierry of Chartres, see Mohammad Ilkhani, La Philosophie (cf. note 13) 295–296.

I will briefly compare Achard and Nicholas on three related topics: the beauty of God, the triad of *unitas aequalitas* and *conexio*; and the image of Christ as square.

2 Comparing two students of Thierry of Chartres's theology

2.1 Achard and Nicholas on divine beauty

In the works we possess, Thierry of Chartres rarely addressed divine beauty in itself or the theme of God as *pulchritudo*.[16] But certainly Thierry's theology of divine *aequalitas* has rich aesthetic overtones that recall the early Augustine. For example, Thierry often cites Hebrews 1:3, that the divine Son is the »figura et splendor substantiae Patris.«[17] According to Thierry, the divine Son is *figura* since through him *unitas* works in all things; he is *splendor* since through him all things are distinguished.[18] In effect, divine *aequalitas* harmonizes the One and the many in such a way as to reflect God's beauty to the world. We could draw similar conclusions about the harmonies of divine *complicatio* and *explicatio*. Umberto Eco calls Thierry's implicit theory of beauty the »aesthetics of number« or »aesthetics of proportion«, and Adolf Katzenellenbogen has traced Thierry's influence on the design of the façade of the Chartres Cathedral.[19]

On the topic of beauty, Nicholas followed in Thierry's footsteps in two ways. He too maintains that divine beauty appears in the world through mathematical proportions and harmonies. As Giovanni Santinello has studied in great detail, Cusanus's aesthetics not only makes use of Thierry's theology of *aequalitas*, but also Thierry's sources like *Timaeus*, Boethius and Augustine.[20] But Cusanus followed Thierry in almost

---

16 See THIERRY OF CHARTRES, *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, n. 2 (cf. note 5) 555; IDEM, *Lectiones in Boethii librum De Trinitate* II, n. 59 (cf. note 5) 174.

17 Note that the Vulgate rather reads: »splendor gloriae et figura substantiae.«

18 See e. g. THIERRY OF CHARTRES, *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, n. 41 (cf. note 5) 572; IDEM, *Commentum super Boethii librum De Trinitate* II, n. 32, (cf. note 5) 78.

19 See UMBERTO ECO, Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages, New Haven 1986, 28–42; ADOLF KATZENELLENBOGEN, The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral, New York 1959, 15–22.

20 See GIOVANNI SANTINELLO, Il pensiero di Nicolò Cusano nella sua prospettiva estetica,

never treating beauty as a theme in itself. Of course, as Jasper Hopkins has recently shown, Cusanus discusses divine beauty somewhat frequently in his sermons.[21] But it is significant that Cusanus neither included a chapter on divine beauty in *De docta ignorantia*, nor devoted a treatise to beauty in its own right, nor named beauty one of the ten fields of wisdom in *De venatione sapientiae*. Of course, just as in the case of Thierry of Chartres, this reticence does nothing to diminish the potential of Cusanus's theological aesthetics.[22]

The famous Sermo CCXLIII from 1456, *Tota pulchra es, amica mea*, is the exception that proves the rule. There Cusanus borrowed from Dionysius's *Divine Names*, as well as Albert the Great's commentary, to explain the ubiquity and supremacy of divine *pulchritudo*. Nicholas especially appropriates the theme when he draws on the vocabulary of *De docta ignorantia* in this sermon. For example, Nicholas writes that the unity of proportion and harmony shines through best in pluralities.[23] He calls the human intellect the universal beauty in which all lesser beauties are contracted.[24] He names God the *pulchritudo absoluta*, and defines the Trinity as the source, understanding and love of beauty.[25] Cusanus sounds

---

Padua 1958; DERS., Mittelalterliche Quellen der ästhetischen Weltanschauung des Nikolaus von Kues, in: Die Metaphysik im Mittelalter, hg. von Paul Wilpert (Miscellanea Mediaevalia 2), Berlin 1963, 679–685.

21 See JASPER HOPKINS, *Non est quicquam expers pulchritudinis.* Il tema della bellezza nei Sermoni di Nicola Cusano, in: A caccia dell'infinito. L'umano e la ricerca del divino nell'opera di Nicola Cusano, a cura di Cesare Catà (Scienze storiche, filosofiche, pedagogiche e psicologiche 570), Roma 2010, 63–74. On *Sermo* CCLVIII, see MARC-AEILKO ARIS, »Praegnans affirmatio.« Gotteserkenntnis als Ästhetik des Nichtsichtbaren bei Nikolaus von Kues, in: Theologische Quartalschrift 181 (2001) 97–111. On *Sermo* CCXLIII, see SANTINELLO, Il pensiero (cf. note 20) 3–38.

22 See e.g. STEPHAN VAN ERP, A Renaissance of Theological Aesthetics: Hans Urs von Balthasar's Reading of Nicholas of Cusa, in: On Cultural Ontology: Religion, Philosophy and Culture. Essays in Honor of Wilhelm Dupré, ed. by Iñigo Bocken (Veröffentlichungen des Cusanus Studien Centrums 3), Maastricht 2002, 89–111.

23 »Et ideo bene ordinata et proportionata, hoc est ubi in pluralitate relucet unitas proportionis seu harmoniae, sunt grata.« *Sermo* CCXLIII: h XIX, n. 3, lin. 19–22.

24 »Quare intellectus est quaedam universalis pulchritudo seu species specierum, cum species sint contractae pulchritudines, et quasi ignis est in se complicans omnium calidorum formam et speciem, sic intellectus est vis complicativa omnium specierum intelligibilium.« Ibid., n. 18, lin. 9–15.

25 »Pulchritudo absoluta, quae Deus est, se ipsam intuetur et in sui ipsius amorem inardescit. Nam fons omnium pulchrorum, quem merito omnia pulchra patrem suum appellant, quo modo esset summa pulchritudo, si se ipsam pulchram ignoraret […]. Ecce

most like Thierry of Chartres when he links mathematical harmonies to the enfolding of divine beauty. Every proportion exists in number »enfoldedly« (*complicite*), and every number exists in unity enfoldedly; and in the same way, every »harmony and concordance« exists in divine beauty enfoldedly.[26]

Cusanus clearly recognized the potential of Thierry's mathematical theology and began to redirect his theology toward a broader theological aesthetics. Generally speaking, Cusanus developed Thierry's focus on the medieval *quadrivium* into a rich meditation on divine harmony, unity, and infinity, the sublimity of negation and the intimacy of the fold. But Nicholas did so without naming his aesthetic task as such: his is a *venatio sapientiae*, not a *venatio pulchritudinis*. By contrast, Achard of St. Victor began with mostly the same Chartrian sources as Cusanus. But Achard identified divine beauty as the *telos* of Thierry's mathematical theology in more explicit terms. His major project in *De unitate* is precisely to define the *pulchritudo* of God in terms of *aequalitas* and Thierry's triad. For Achard, only divine equality can fully harmonize plurality and unity, and by doing so it generates infinite beauty.

In the prologue to *De unitate* (I. 1–12), Achard sketches the concept of perfect plurality. Pure multiplicity could never originate in the world, he argues, because it cannot be thought without the perfect unity that is God. For a plurality becomes perfect only when its members are unified with each other by becoming equal in some way. But this reconciliation of pure difference with unity, through the reciprocal equality of every difference with its other, can only be achieved in God. The infinite harmony that would result would be maximally beautiful, indeed a divine beauty (*summa pulchritudo*, *pulchritudo immensa*).[27] In this infinite beauty, the plurality of creation would be unified with God. Achard writes:

> »The beauty of each [creature] would of itself coalesce into the complete unity of the other, and somehow fuse with its beauty […]. It is clear then that nothing can be or can be thought which is more beautiful or greater than the beauty of the aforesaid unity and

    trinitatem in unitate essentiae pulchritudinis, ubi fons pulchritudinis generat intellectum pulchritudinis, ex quibus amor.« Ibid., n. 19, lin. 1–6, 10–13.

26 »Sicut enim in unitate est omnis numerus complicite et in numero omnis proportio et mediatio, in proportione omnis harmonia et ordo et concordantia et ideo omnis pulchritudo, quae in ordine et proportione atque concordantia relucet.« Ibid., n. 23, lin. 9–14.

27 ACHARD OF ST. VICTOR, *De unitate Dei et pluralitate creaturarum* I, n. 5 (cf. note 15) 72.

of its supreme fittingness. It is therefore necessary that it be in God – in fact, that it be God«.[28]

In this text Achard transposes Anselm's *quo maius cogitari nequit* into an aesthetic key: *pulchrius nihil maius esse*. Divine unity is that than which nothing more harmonious (more equalizing) can be conceived. Achard's *De unitate* thus anticipates Cusanus's *pulchritudo absoluta* in Sermon CCXLIII, the absolute divine beauty that enfolds all the contracted beauties of creation. But more radically than Cusanus (at least in Sermon CCXLIII) Achard contends that the beauty of plurality exceeds the beauty of unity alone.[29] God is a plurality, the kind of plurality that is the perfect equality of unity and equality.[30] This requires, Achard says, a deeper understanding of the theology of *aequalitas* (I.10–12), and so in the first book of his treatise he turns to Thierry's triad of unity, equality and connection.[31]

In this light we can credit Achard as an early pioneer of what would later be the Cusan reading of Thierry of Chartres. Thierry's theology of *aequalitas* may begin with the quadrivial vocabulary of unities and numbers. But in fact it makes possible a new theological aesthetics, in which creaturely pluralities are so many refractions of the infinite beauty of the Trinity.

---

28 »Utriusque enim pulchritudo secundum se totam in unitatem illam alterius concurrit et quodammodo confluit pulchritudini […]. Liquet igitur quia pulchritudine unitatis praefatae et summae illius convenientiae pulchrius nihil vel majus esse, sed nec excogitari potest. Ipsam itaque in Deo esse, sed et Deum esse est necesse […].« ACHARD OF ST. VICTOR, *De unitate Dei et pluralitate creaturarum* I, n. 5 (cf. note 12) 74; transl. by Hugh Feiss (cf. note 9) 382.

29 ACHARD OF ST. VICTOR, *De unitate Dei et pluralitate creaturarum* I, n. 5–6 (cf. note 15) 72–74.

30 Ibid., n. 10 (cf. note 15) 78.

31 »Nunc enim personae discernendae sunt proprietatibus et secundum proprietates distinguendae nominibus; cujus tamen distinctionis sive in proprietatibus sive in nominibus postea, Dei largiente gratia, manifestior exponetur ratio.« Ibid., n. 24 (cf. note 15) 96.

2.2 Achard and Nicholas on the mathematical Trinity

Thierry adapted his triad of *unitas*, *aequalitas* and *conexio* from Augustine in *De doctrina christiana*.[32] But where Augustine's third term, *concordia*, pointed toward the harmonies of music in *De ordine* and *De musica*, Thierry altered the term to *conexio*. By doing so Thierry returned the focus to the arithmetical terms *unitas* and *aequalitas*, and thus to the generation of number more than the aesthetics of harmony. Thierry first discussed the triad in his early commentary on *Genesis* from the 1120s or 1130s. The triad reappears in some of his subsequent commentaries on Boethius's *De trinitate*, but by then Thierry's interest had shifted to other topics.[33]

Cusanus used the triad in the first book of *De docta ignorantia* and then again in Sermons XXII and XXIII shortly thereafter.[34] But it is important to note that from the very beginning Nicholas altered Thierry's triad significantly. When Cusanus explains the triad in *De docta ignorantia* (I.7–10), he does not cite from *De doctrina christiana* or from Thierry *verbatim*, but instead weaves together his own synthesis of two of Thierry's commentaries.[35] He leans heavily on second-hand accounts by Thierry's students, such the Hermetic treatise *De septem septenis* and the Boethian commentary that Häring calls *Commentarius Victorinus*.[36]

---

32 See Thierry of Chartres, *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, n. 30–47 (cf. note 5) 568–575; cf. Augustine of Hippo, *De doctrina christiana* I, n. 12 [V. 5], ed. and transl. by R. P. H. Green (Oxford Early Christian Texts), Oxford 1995, 16–17.

33 See Thierry of Chartres, *Commentum super Boethii librum De Trinitate* II, n. 30–43 (cf. note 5) 77–82; idem, *Lectiones in Boethii librum De Trinitate* VII, n. 5–7 (cf. note 5) 224–225; idem, *Glosa super Boethii librum De Trinitate* V, n. 17–29 (cf. note 5) 296–299.

34 See *De docta ign.* I, 7–10: h I, p. 14–21 [n. 18–29]; *Sermo* XXII: h XVI, n. 16–22; *Sermo* XXIII: h XVI, n. 15–17.

35 On *unitas* and *aequalitas*, see *De docta ign.* I, 7: h I, p. 14–15 [n. 18–19]; cf. Thierry of Chartres, *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, n. 30–31, 39–40 (cf. note 5) 568, 571–572. On *unitas* and *entitas*, see *De docta ign.* I, 8: h I, p. 17 [n. 22]; cf. Thierry of Chartres, *Commentum super Boethii librum De Trinitate* II, n. 22 (cf. note 5) 75. On *aequalitas essendi*, see *De docta ign.* I, 8: h I, p. 17 [n. 22]; cf. Thierry of Chartres, *Commentum super Boethii librum De Trinitate* II, n. 31, 35 (cf. note 5) 78–79; and idem, *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, n. 42–46 (cf. note 5) 573–75. Cusanus draws on the very same sources when he revisits the arithmetic Trinity in *De docta ign.* I, 24: h I, p. 50–51 [n. 80–81].

36 Cusanus uses *De septem septenis* to bookend his summary of Thierry's arithmetic Trinity. See *De docta ign.* I, 7: h I, p. 14–16 [n. 18, 21] and ibid., 9–10: h I, p. 18–20 [n. 26–27]; cf. *De septem septenis*, PL 199, 961 C. Cusanus repeats the Trinitarian analogy of triple

In later works Nicholas experiments further with Thierry's formulation, inventing alternative triads of absolute equality, equality of equality, and their nexus in *De aequalitate*; the unity of love, the equality of love, the connection of love in *Cribratio Alkorani*; and most radically, the triad of possibility, equality and their union in several late texts, including *Compendium theologiae*.[37]

Achard of St. Victor also modifies Thierry's triad in *De unitate*, but in a different way. Rather than use *conexio* as a third term, Achard prefers either *communio* or a second-order *aequalitas*.[38] His triad thus becomes unity, the equal of unity, and equality itself.[39] Later in *De unitate*, Achard compares the Trinity to numbers: the first odd number (the number 1), the equality of the first even number (the number 2), and finally the connection of the first indivisible prime (the number 3). Achard also attempts to summarize Thierry's major argument for his triad, namely the identity of unity as preserved through self-multiplication ($1 \times 1 = 1$). But it does not go well, and Achard's version is surprisingly awkward:

> »The number in the power of which stands the force and the form of all things is the equality that comes from unity. It is taught that from equality proceed all species of inequality [...]. But reason shows that, since equality cannot consist except among several, the first equality of all is that which existed between two things, especially if it were the first of all things, so that very equality will be third from them, and will be three with them.«[40]

---

ostension in *Commentarius Victorinus*. See *De docta ign.* I, 9: h I, p. 18 [n. 25]; cf. *Commentarius Victorinus*, n. 128–131 (cf. note 5) 507–508. He also repeats the author's reference to Parmenides. See *De docta ign.* I, 23: h I, p. 46 [n. 71]; cf. *Commentarius Victorinus*, n. 99 (cf. note 5) 502.

37 See the helpful and revealing table of Cusan Trinitarian formulae in BERNARD MCGINN, Unitrinum (cf. note 4) 105–109.

38 Achard also compares the Holy Spirit to *conexio*: see ACHARD OF ST. VICTOR, *De unitate Dei et pluralitate creaturarum* II, n. 3 (cf. note 15) 144–146. Cf. Achard's use of *conexio* in a more philosophical context at IDEM, *De unitate Dei et pluralitate creaturarum* II, n. 10 (cf. note 15) 166. On Achard's independence from Thierry, see JEAN RIBAILLIER, Opuscules (cf. note 11) 178.

39 See ACHARD OF ST. VICTOR, *De unitate Dei et pluralitate creaturarum* I, n. 36 (cf. note 15) 104. Cf. the similar formulation by Cusanus in *De aequal.*: h X/1, n. 24, lin. 16–20.

40 »Numerus quoque penes quem vis et forma consistit omnium rerum ab unitate aequalitatis: ab aequalitate species omnes docetur procedere inaequalitatis. [...] Sed ratio monstrat, cum aequalitas non possit nisi inter plura consistere, primam illam aequalitatem esse omnium quae inter duo constiterat, praesertim si et illa omnium fuerit prima, ut sit et aequalitas ipsa ab eis tertia et cum eis erit tria.« IBID.Achard, n. 20 (cf. note 15) 92; transl. by Hugh Feiss (cf. note 9) 395.

What is missing from Achard's version is Thierry's notion of multiplication and number »generating itself«. This is the arithmetic basis of Thierry's revival of the Augustinian triad. Instead Achard substitutes a principle associated more with Boethius's harmonic principles than with arithmetic: the derivation of inequality from pure equality.[41]

Watching Achard modify Thierry's arithmetic triad in the direction of harmonics (whether Boethian or Augustinian) reminds us that Nicholas modified the triad even more so. By his later works Cusanus transferred Thierry's triad beyond the realm of the *quadrivium* altogether into Aristotelian hylomorphism in his triad of *posse*, *aequalitas* and *conexio*, shifting the foundation of the triad from the mathematics of number to the actualization of possibility.

2.3 Achard and Nicholas on the divine Square

In Thierry's first commentary on Boethius's *De trinitate*, he compared the Son of God to an eternal »square«. Here he is interpreting the prophecy of the Spanish Sibyl, which circulated shortly before the Second Crusade, in accordance with his arithmetic Trinity.[42] In arithmetic two times two makes a square, but unity multiplied by itself is the »first square«. This »squaring«, according to Thierry, is a kind of generation, and the primal generation is that of the divine Son or *aequalitas*: »because the first squaring is the generation of the Son, also the Son is the first square. But such squaring is a figure. […] The square was thus well attributed to the Son since this figure is judged as more perfect than the others on

---

41 See Boethius, *Institutio arithmetica* I, n. 32.1–2, texte établi et trad. par Jean-Yves Guillaumin, Boèce. Institution Arithmétique (Collection des universités de France: Série latine 329), Paris 1995, 66–67. This is also a major principle of Boethian harmonics: see Boethius, *Institutio musica* II, n. 7, ed. Gottfried Friedlein, *De Institutione Musica Libri Quinque* (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), Leipzig 1867, 232. Cf. Thierry of Chartres, *Commentum super Boethii librum De Trinitate* II, n. 36 (cf. note 5) 79; idem, *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, n. 39, 43–44 (cf. note 5) 571–574; *Commentarius Victorinus*, n. 87–88 (cf. note 5) 499.

42 See Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit, Bd. IV: Staufer und Welfen, Leipzig 1877, 502–506. The original sense of the Sibyl concerns German nobles travelling first to Constantinople, where the Greek emperor sits eternally and the nobility stand eternally, and thence toward Jerusalem. On the Sibyls in medieval literature, see Peter Dronke, Hermes and the Sibyls: Continuations and Creations, in: Intellectuals and Poets in Medieval Europe (Storia e letteratura), Rome 1992, 219–244.

account of the equality of its sides.«[43] In Thierry's reading, when the apostle calls the Son the perfect *figura* of the Father (Heb 1:3), he is also referring to a geometrical shape.[44]

Cusanus was deeply interested in the different senses of *figura*, for example, in the use of polygons in contemplation, or the theological significance of squaring the circle. In *De complementis theologicis* he even compared God to a geometer and the divine Son to an infinite Angle.[45] We know that Cusanus cited several passages *verbatim* from the very *Commentum* in which Thierry described the Son as square, and we know that he read another minor text from Thierry's students that excitedly repeats the same image, *Commentarius Victorinus*. But for whatever reason, Cusanus passed over this doctrine in silence. Achard of St. Victor, however, repeated Thierry's image of the Son with enthusiasm. This occurs in Achard's Sermon XIII, given on the festal anniversary of St.

---

43 »Et quoniam tetragonatura prima generatio Filii est, et Filius tetragonus primus est. Tetragonatio uero figura est. Merito ergo Filium figuram substantie Patris appellat. […] Bene autem tetragonus Filio attribuitur quoniam figura hec perfectior ceteris propter laterum equalitatem iudicatur.« THIERRY OF CHARTRES, *Commentum super Boethii librum De Trinitate* II, n. 34 (cf. note 5) 79; cf. IDEM, *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, n. 41 (cf. note 5) 572: »Est igitur ipsa unitatis equalitas eiusdem unitatis quasi quedam figura et splendor. Figura quidem quia est modus secundum quem ipsa unitas operatur in rebus. Splendor uero quia est id per quod omnia discernuntur a se inuicem. Fine enim modoque proprio cuncta inuicem a se discreta sunt.« Irene Caiazzo recently uncovered a twelfth-century commentary on Boethius's *Institutio arithmetica* in Stuttgart (MS Württembergische Landesbibliothek Cod. math. 4° 33; fols. 1ʳᵃ-34ʳᵃ) that, she argues convincingly, is by Thierry of Chartres. See IRENE CAIAZZO, Il rinvenimento del commento di Teodorico di Chartres al *De arithmetica* di Boezio, in: *Adorare caelestia, gubernare terrena*: Atti del colloquio internazionale in onore di Paolo Lucentini, a cura di Pasquale Arfé, Irene Caiazzo und Antonella Sannino (Instrumenta patristica et mediaevalia 58), Turnhout 2011, 183–203. Notably this commentary also cites the Spanish Sibyl (fol. 18ᵛᵇ) and compares God to a square (fol. 27ᵛᵇ): »Vis ergo quadrati in ipsa forma est. Ex vi namque quadrati forma ipsa quoque essendi est aequalitas. […] Prima enim forma essendi ex vi unitatis est immutabilitas. Ex hoc enim deus immutabilis est, qui semper unus est, non nisi uno modo habere se potest. Rursus cum forma sit aequalitas essendi, dico quod divinitas ex vi quadrati forma vel causa est. Ex vi namque quadrati aequalitas et forma est existendi aequalitas, ut iam sepe dictum est.« CAIAZZO, Il rinvenimento, 196.

44 See THIERRY OF CHARTRES, *Commentum super Boethii librum De Trinitate* II, n. 33–34 (cf. note 5) 78–79; cf. *Commentarius Victorinus* 95 (cf. note 5) 501.

45 See e. g. *De theol. compl.*: h X/2a, n. 12, lin. 34–62; cf. DAVID ALBERTSON, Gott als Mathematiker? Das Schöpfungsverständnis des Nicolaus Cusanus, in: MFCG 33 (2012) 99–122.

Victor's founding. And Achard did not simply mention the doctrine in passing, as Thierry's students had, but rather used it as the fulcrum of an extended Christological meditation at the heart of his sermon.[46]

In Sermon XIII, Achard urges his monks to be wise builders like Solomon as they construct the house of God. Solomon built his temple out of stone from Lebanon, but according to Jerome, *Lebanon* means »brightening« (*candidatio*).[47] So Achard states that Christ is the true »brightness« that descends to our dark world: »Solely out of kindness did such a beautiful form unite itself to such unformed material, which was not just unformed but even deformed.«[48] God's »expressed form« (*forma expressa*), the form of Christ, is received by humanity as an »impressed form« (*forma impressa*) that restores our lost beauty.[49] But what is the form of Christ? Achard answers as follows:

> »This form is a square because it is stable and firm. [...] Christ is our form – as the apostle formed by him shows, Christ became a spiritual square for us – according to the apostle's word, Christ 'became for us wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification and redemption' [1 Cor 1:30]. See there a vital, heavenly square! Approach and receive it, you stones, or rather you who without it are dead and earthly. You have been hewn into this square form, and thus you have been transformed from dead to living, from earthly to heavenly.«[50]

---

46 See Châtillon, Théologie (cf. note 9) 218–221.

47 Achard of St. Victor, *Sermo* XIII, n. 11–14, in: Sermons inédits, texte latin avec introd., notes et tables par Jean Châtillon (Textes philosophiques du moyen âge 17), Paris 1970, 145–149; transl. by Hugh Feiss (cf. note 9) 221.

48 »Forma tam formosa ex pietate sola se univit materie tam informi, nec modo informi sed et deformi [...].« Achard of St. Victor, *Sermo* XIII, n. 16 (cf. note 47) 150; trans. by Hugh Feiss (cf. note 9) 228.

49 »Forma autem ista et Dei est et nostra: Dei est quia a Deo est, nostra est quia in nobis est; a Deo est expressa, et ab ipso nobis est impressa.« Achard of St. Victor, *Sermo* XIII, n. 16 (cf. note 47) 150; transl. by Hugh Feiss (cf. note 9) 229.

50 »Quadratura quedam est hec forma, quia stabilis est et firma. [...] Christus forma nostra est, qui, ut ostendit Apostolus ab eo formatus, spiritualis quadratura nobis est factus: Christus namque, juxta verbum Apostoli, *factus est sapientia nobis a Deo, et justitia, et sanctificatio, et redemptio*. Ecce quadratura vitalis atque celestis. Accedite et eam suscipite, lapides vivi, immo sine ea mortui atque terreni; in ea quadramini, et sic ex mortuis vere vivi et ex terrenis celestes efficiemini.« Achard of St. Victor, *Sermo* XIII, n. 17 (cf. note 47) 150–151; transl. by Hugh Feiss (cf. note 9) 229 (modified). On the image of the square, see Châtillon, Théologie (cf. note 9) 219. By viewing Christ as form and in his preference for architectural metaphors, Achard follows his master Hugh of St. Victor. See Boyd Taylor Coolman, The Theology of Hugh of St. Victor, Cambridge 2010, 83–102.

Christ expresses divine form by taking on the dimensions of a square, and monks receive Christ when they are likewise »squared« by Christ. But in Achard's usage, »square« suggests less an arithmetical property or a geometrical figure, as in Thierry, than the architectural instrument used to ensure the uniformity of building stones. He plainly intends this less as a metaphysical statement than as a concrete image to awaken the minds of his brothers. Achard also identifies further »squares« of virtue in the scriptures: »whoever accepts squares of this kind will come through them to that superior square.«[51] Only when we become square can one cleave both to the cornerstone, Christ, and to adjacent stones, one's neighbors.[52]

Achard was just as familiar with Thierry's first Boethian commentary as Cusanus was, and here Achard repeats a geometrical image in Thierry's theology where Cusanus demurs. But one also senses that the abbot of St. Victor valued Thierry's concepts more as practical resources for contemplation than for their theoretical import.

3 Conclusions

We are now able to consider how Achard and Nicholas each distinctively appropriated, and thereby altered, Thierry's Neopythagorean convictions about the relevance of the *quadrivium* for Christian beliefs. Thierry himself began with an intense focus on arithmetic. Like Nicomachus of Gerasa and Iamblichus before him, for Thierry the generation of number from unity was the highest model of divine activity.[53] This much is clear from Thierry's account of the arithmetic Trinity in his early Genesis commentary. But his theology of *aequalitas* seems to imply that God's

---

51 »Qui quadraturas hujusmodi acceperit, per eas ad superiorem quamdam perveniet quadraturam […].« ACHARD OF ST. VICTOR, *Sermo* XIII, n. 22 (cf. note 47) 154; transl. by Hugh Feiss (cf. note 9) 234.

52 »In sola etiam dilectione dei quadratura proponitur et suscipienda nobis imponitur.« ACHARD OF ST. VICTOR, *Sermo* XIII, n. 21 (cf. note 47) 153; transl. by Hugh Feiss (cf. note 9) 232.

53 See e. g. NICOMACHUS OF GERASA, Introduction to Arithmetic, Transl. into English by Martin Luther D'Ooge, with Studies in Greek arithmetic by Frank Egleston Robbins and Louis Charles Karpinski, New York 1926; DOMINIC J. O'MEARA, Pythagoras Revived. Mathematics and Philosophy in Late Antiquity, Oxford 1989.

beauty is reflected in the harmonies of creation, that is, in the quadrivial art of *musica*. Then as Thierry worked through his different Boethian commentaries, developing the powerful dialectic of enfolding and unfolding, he inclined increasingly toward a geometrical model. Not unlike Proclus, Thierry ultimately came to view the unfolding of the One not only through the sequence of numerical unities but through the spatialization of difference into the dynamic cycle of *complicatio* and *explicatio*. Thierry's theology thus encompassed discrete impulses toward arithmetic, toward harmonics and toward geometry. The Breton master himself noted that the triad of *unitas*, *aequalitas* and *conexio* is the foundation of the quadrivial disciplines. As the ground of *numerus*, *unitas* is the foundation of arithmetic; as the ground of *proportio*, *aequalitas* is the foundation of harmonics or music; and as the ground of *proportionalitas*, the *conexio* of *unitas* and *aequalitas* is the foundation of geometry.[54]

Viewing Achard of St. Victor as a precursor of Cusanus helps to expose the contingency and specificity of the cardinal's renewal of Thierry's theology in the fifteenth century. Achard substituted harmonics for arithmetic as the quadrivial basis for Thierry's mathematical Trinity, and redefined the triad in terms of *aequalitas*.[55] In place of the flow of numbers, Achard preferred the beautiful harmonies of proportion, even the »form« of Christ as square. In the second part of *De unitate*, Achard grants that God contains the »numbers« of things, a doctrine Boethius handed down from Nicomachus. But if this is so, Achard reasons, God must all the more contain the »proportions« of things, which are simply »connections of numbers«.[56] In a word, Achard takes up the harmonic impulse in Thierry's theology of the *quadrivium*, and thus connects Thierry with the early Augustine of *De ordine* and *De musica*.[57]

---

54 THIERRY OF CHARTRES, *Lectiones in Boethii librum De Trinitate* VII, n. 7 (cf. note 5) 225. On the distinction of *proportio* and *proportionalitas* in the quadrivium, see BOETHIUS, II, n. 40.1–3, Guillaumin 140.

55 Achard turns to *conexio* only in the second part of *De unitate*, where it serves epistemological rather than theological ends. See ACHARD OF ST. VICTOR, *De unitate Dei et pluralitate creaturarum* II, n. 3, 4, 10 (cf. note 15) 144–149, 166–167.

56 See ACHARD OF ST. VICTOR, *De unitate Dei et pluralitate creaturarum* II, n. 5, 12 (cf. note 15) 152, 170.

57 Achard directs his readers to Augustine's number theory in *De musica* and notes that Augustine calls God the »number without number« in *De genesi ad litteram*. ACHARD OF ST. VICTOR, *De unitate Dei et pluralitate creaturarum* II, n. 5 (cf. note 15) 150; cf.

Certainly Cusanus makes use of the arithmetic and harmonic impulse in Thierry's thought. But the example of Achard clarifies that Cusanus's distinction was to develop the geometrical impulse in Thierry's theology, centered around concepts of folding. In part this was due to Cusanus's own interest in geometrical constructions and proofs; in part to the influence of Proclianism through Dionysius, the *Liber de causis* and Proclus; and in part to the cardinal's deep attention to Thierry's doctrine of the four modes of being, which are built on the framework of *complicatio* and *explicatio*. Cusanus eagerly applies *complicatio* and *explicatio* to a range of conceptual problems beyond what Thierry had ever imagined. His mature *De complementis theologicis*, as Heimeric de Campo once noted, stands as a veritable *theologia geometrica*.[58] In that work, the highest exemplar of divine activity is no longer the arithmetical production of numbers, as in *De docta ignorantia*, but instead the geometrical visualization of space.

So where Achard opted for a harmonic reading of Thierry, Cusanus rather inclined toward a geometric reading instead. But even here we may not yet have measured the full achievement of Achard's *De unitate*. For there are signs that in the missing second half of Book II, the abbot of St. Victor was about to turn to Thierry's *complicatio*, *explicatio* and *modi essendi* – just as Nicholas would, three centuries later.

AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, *De genesi ad litteram* IV, n. 3–4 (8), ed. Joseph Zycha (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 28, 1), Vienna 1894, 99–100. On Augustine's mathematically-oriented theological aesthetics in early works like *De ordine* and *De musica*, see ADOLF DYROFF, Über Form und Begriffsgehalt der augustinischen Schrift *De ordine*, in: *Aurelius Augustinus*. Die Festschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft zum 1500. Todestage des heiligen Augustinus, Köln 1930, 15–62; KAREL SVOBODA, L'Esthétique de Saint Augustin et ses sources, Brno 1933; ERNST HELLGARDT, Zum Problem symbolbestimmter und formalästhetischer Zahlenkomposition in mittelalterlicher Literatur (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters), München 1973, 157–251; WERNER BEIERWALTES, *Aequalitas numerosa*. Zu Augustins Begriff des Schönen, in: Weisheit und Wissenschaft 38 (1975) 140–157; ARBOGAST SCHMITT, Zahl und Schönheit in Augustins *De musica* VI, in: Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft 16 (1990) 221–237; UBALDO PIZZANI, Du rapport entre le *De musica* de S. Augustin et le *De institutione musica* de Boèce, in: Boèce ou la chaîne des savoirs, actes du colloque international de la Fondation Singer-Polignac, Paris, 8–12 juin 1999, ed. par Alain Galonnier (Philosophes médiévaux 44), Louvain 2003, 357–377.

58 See RUEDI IMBACH, Das 'Centheologicon' des Heymericus de Campo und die darin enthaltenen Cusanus-Reminiszenzen: Hinweise und Materialien, in: Traditio 39 (1983) 466–477; cf. FLORIAN HAMANN, Das Siegel (cf. note 3) 50–59.